VEDIC VARIANTS



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VEDIC VARIANTS

A Study of the Variant Readings in the R. Mantras of the Veda



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PREFACE

This second volume of the Vedic Variants deals primarily with Phonetics; included also are graphic variations, false divisions between words, and rune words. It is the largest volume of the series, and probably the most interesting and important

The general plan and objects of the Vapic Variants have been described in the Preface to Volume I, The Verb (Philadelphia, 1930); which also stated the approximate extent to which each of the coauthors participated in the work. The greater part of the first volume was Bloomfield's In this volume my own share is larger. Nevertheless the first nine chapters owe much to Bloomfield, who prepared a draft of their text on the basis of preliminary studies made by me have preserved as much as possible of Bloomfield's language in these chapters those who know his inimitable style will find traces of it at many points in them To my regret, he never continued this work beyond the ninth chapter In the remainder his participation was nearly or quite limited to the gathering of preliminary list of materials This will be true, also, of all the remaining volumes of the series, to which he contributed only an occasional marginal note, aside from the preliminary lists

Cordial thanks are again due to the Linguistic Society of America and to the American Council of Learned Societies devoted to Humanistic Studies, which by their continued generosity have made possible the publication of this second volume of the series

Dr. Murray B. Emeneau, Sterling Fellow and Research Associate in Yale University, has read the proofs of this volume and made a number of useful suggestions. It gives me great pleasure to announce that Dr Emeneau is collaborating much more extensively in the preparation of Volume III, on Noun Inflection With his able and vigorous cooperation it is now (in April, 1932) nearly completed, and we hope to issue it soon Dr. Emeneau's name will appear, most deservedly, on its covers and title-page as eo-author

FRANKLIN EDGERTON

ABBREVIATIONS AND SYMBOLS

These are the same as those used in Volume I, with the addition of VV = Vedic Variants (VV I = the first volume, on The Verb). Most of them, it is believed, are self-explanatory. Vedic texts are referred to by the abbreviations used in the Vedic Concordance. RVRep. = Bloomfield's Rigveda Repetitions.

The asterisk * is used to indicate a variant reading in one text when the mantra occurs in the same text with the reading for which this variant is a substitute, that is, it calls attention to the occurrence of both forms of the variation in the same text

The dagger † is used to call attention to a quotation which needs to be corrected in the Concordance.

CHAPTER I. INTRODUCTORY

PRINCIPLES OF PROCEDURE

§1. An examination of our materials shows that many, perhaps most, of the cases here treated under the general head of 'phonetic variations' are accompanied by, or result in, a lexical or morphological change at the same time. Thus, beginning with RV, the two words $v\bar{u}cam$ and $v\bar{u}jam$ interchange in:

pra vācam (9 35 4a vājam) indur isyati RV. 9. 12 6a, 35. 4a, 'Soma sends forth speech (substance)' Obviously, there is here a change, involving a single sound, from one very familiar Vedic word to another equally familiar, the two having no etymological connexion whatsoever. Tho there is good reason to believe the reading vācam is the primary one (cf. RVRep. 410), the alteration makes good sense and is intentional. Yet when we find this same interchange occurring independently in a considerable number of cases, we cannot doubt that rime and phonetic confusion—both phenomena of sound, rather than sense—hold shares in the transaction, or, more precisely, constitute the prime motive in the shift.

§2. More purely phonetic, yet not devoid of lexical significance, is the following variation, which also involves interchange of c and i

prāñco agāma (TA. prāñjo 'gāmā) nrtaye hasāya RV. AV. TA., 'We have gone forward (swiftly) to dancing and mirth.' For some reason prāñco, surely intelligible and fit, has suggested to the Taittirīyaka the more sophisticated, or tenser, reading pra + añjas 'forward swiftly' (añjas, RV) The commentator's prāñjah = prāñcah is negligible, TA. must have been familiar with añjas in the sense of 'swiftly'.

§3. We find, however, a great many phonetic changes which carry a certain word or expression to the danger-line of unintelligibility, without necessarily reaching the point of senseless corruption. In these cases the secondary reading appears inappropriate to its context, or at least, its motive escapes our appreciation. And yet it would be dangerous to deny the resulting lexical change as a real fact of the tradition of a given school. The study of Vedic tradition must not be content with reconstructing or defining the original body of mantras, by detecting and recording secondary fancies, adaptations, and corruptions. These

secondary readings have their own right to exist, they are, as a rule, the genuine readings of their respective schools. It is our duty to sketch the development of the mantras in all the Vedic schools, assigning, where possible, causes for the changes, but rejecting no unexplained or apparently unmotivated change, however it may seem to conflict with what seems to us good mantra sense. Thus.

ud usrıyah srjate (TB sacate) süryah saca RV SV TB. 'The sun sends forth (accompanies, attends) his ruddy rays all together' (The TB comm seems to come around tortuously to the sense of the other schools: utsacata udgatatvena sambaddhān karoti prasārayatītu arthah) The TB reading is inappropriate, but neither the theory of a quasi-Prakritic substitution of a for r, nor that of interchange between surd and sonant (elsewhere a real phonetic change), alters the fact that the TB understood the word as a form of sac, and had lost sight of the root sr. whatever meaning it attached to sac Note, in passing, that the TB reading results in a kind of alliteration, sacate .. sacā the phonetic considerations involved are complicated by the (at least possible) regressively assimilatory influence of the word saca on the original strate Yet in its final outcome the change is lexical, tho unquestionably related to (and perhaps started by) faulty hearing of sounds Cf. Winternitz in his edition of ApMB, Introduction, xv ff, and xxx.

§4. Clearly, then, such variants are of interest and importance for Vedic phonology Concretely speaking. If we are collecting examples of the quasi-Prakritic shift of r to a, we shall, of course, begin with such a variant as this:

ava sma durhanāyatah (SV. durhṛn°) RV SV.

Here the RV. has an obvious Prakritism which the SV 'corrects' by substituting the Sanskritic durhrn'. This does not mean that the SV knows more Sanskrit than the RV; the RV. itself knows the stem durhrn-(1.84.16; 7.59.8) It is, however, a purely phonetic variation On the other hand, in the variant.

ctām samkrsya (MS. MŚ °kasya or °kusya) juhudhi MS ApŚ. MŚ, who can decide definitely whether the a or u for r is purely phonetic (Prakritie), or lexical? Böhtlingk in fact assumes an improbable samkusya from the root kus. Be this as it may, if we can discern in the Veda signs of a Prakritic change of r to a, then the substitution of sacate for stjate, lexically different tho the two words be, bears in some fashion and in some degree upon the matter of Vedic Prakritism But it is impossible to draw a hard and fast line between purely phonetic and

lexical shifts Our detailed consideration of the variants tries to do this as far as possible, holding itself very free from imposing upon the materials personal theories and predilections.

§5. Our procedure has been to select all sound interchanges, which could possibly have phonetic interest, and then to gather all variants which show these sound interchanges, irrespective of the contributory influence of lexical and other moments. At the same time we have borne in mind the greater interest and value which, for the purposes of this study, must attach to those variants which are purely phonetic—which show different phonetic forms of what must be regarded as lexically the same word. By this procedure we are enabled to present here a new mass and a new class of materials for the study of Vedic phonetics, which are likely to become a permanent factor in future Vedic grammar

SUMMARY OF CONTENTS

- §6. We begin with interchanges between voiced and voiceless consonants, quite numerous and often suggestive of Prakritic phonetics Next, interchanges between aspirates and non-aspirates, few and mostly lexical in character. Then variations between aspirate stops and h, mostly concerning h and bh, and in fact mostly interchanges between grabh and grah
- §7. Next, interchanges in the articulation-series, numerous and extremely interesting. The little section concerning palatals is important out of all proportion to its size (notably the quasi-Prakritic variations between ks, ts, ps, and ch). The numerous variations of labial stops with m and v are partly graphic (b and v, p and v), partly morphological (suffixes containing m and v), partly lexical, but to a large extent purely phonetic (especially in the variation between b and v, a very familiar phenomenon)
- §8. The variations between semi-vowels and liquids differ widely from one another in character. Those between y and r, l, h are not many nor very significant. Those between y and v are more numerous and to some extent quite curious, pointing to phonetic relations between these two sounds hitherto not sufficiently emphasized. The tendency of the Taittriya school to prefer v to y is paralleled by its preference in some cases of the vowel u to the vowel v. The only other important subdivisions of this section are the variants between r and l (numerous, and almost purely phonetic), and those between d and d, or dh and dh (numerous, but mainly a matter of cut-and-dried school usage).
 - §9. With the sibilants we find a very large number of variants between

and $ru(r\bar{u})$ with r show Prakritie tendencies Prakritism is, of course, concerned in the little group of variants between aya and c, and ava and o.

- §14. Next comes a section on insertion or expulsion of vowels. Most commonly the vowel (generally i) is secondarily inserted, contrary to the meter, either before or after a liquid (anaptyxis); the insertion is especially common after r and before a sibilant or h. Only superficially do these cases resemble the next and last vocalle section, which concerns the writing of iy and iv for iv and iv, which is shown to be largely an attempt to represent in writing the vocalle pronunciation of iv and iv (as iv and iv).
- §15. Leaving now the behavior of individual sounds, there is a considerable variety of phenomena which concern groups of sounds. We take up first metathesis: of consonants (transposition of a single consonant without change of other sounds, interchange in position of two consonants, adjoining or not adjoining); then metathesis of vowel and adjoining semivowel. This is followed by an interesting group of variants concerning haplology and dittology.
- §16. Next, a large section dealing with differences in the division of words, which may perhaps hardly be called strictly phonetic, but which are interesting and important because they show, more than possibly any other kind of interchange, the extent of the breakdown during Vedic tradition of both sense and sound values The point is reinforced by a miscellaneous collection of 'patch-words', teaching the same general lesson
- §17. A class of rime-words also throws light on the methods of text tradition. On the slender basis of a vaguer kind of assonance, rather than of real phonetic interchange, words which are easily subject to association are substituted one for another. There is no rubric in which the details of causation can be watched and accounted for more profitably.
- §18. Finally, a considerable number of variants may be based on graphic similarities. Doubtless a eareful study of Indian paleography would suggest much more than we are able to state in this section. Our selections are of the more obvious and simple kind, they seem, however, to suggest the great age to which graphic corruptions in Vedic tradition may go back.
- §19. The variants exclusively concerned with external sandhi in a narrow sense constitute the last chapter of this volume, a large and important one A summary of its contents will be found in its introductory section

khajāpo 'jopakāśinīh ApMB · bajābojopakāśinī HG Uncertain, because the words concerned are barbarous and obscure.

§22. The variations between surd and sonant aspirates are both much fewer, and less certain in their relation to Prakritism; we may however quote two cases (see §§70, 76-7):

mā nah kaścit prakhān (ApŚ praghān) .. KS ApŚ

svāyām tanū (ApMB†MG†tanūn) rlriye (RV.†rlrye) nādhariārām (ApMB nātha", MG bādha") RV. ApMB MG.

§23. Under aspirates and h occur a few forms which might be connected with the later Prakritic tendency to substitute h for aspirate mutes. Dialectic in a broad sense this change certainly is; but see Wackernagel I p. 252f., who holds that h regularly replaced dh and bh in the RV dialect after (or initially before) an unaccented vowel. Cf. Ascoli, KZ 17. 258ff:

asamheyam [perhaps for asamkhycyam?] parābharan JB. asambharyam parā° AV. See §121.

ardhrah sitikakşī vārdhrānasas te divyāh (KSA. vārhīnasas te 'dityūh)
TS KSA. So the single ms of KSA; v. Schroeder emends to
vārdhrīo; the form with h for dh is otherwise unknown, but we should
incline to keep the ms reading. See §122

kakubham (VSK. TS ApŚ kakuham) rūpam ersabhasya (KS. rūpam r.ca) rocate... VS VSK. TS MS. KS ŚB ApŚ. MŚ. The adjective kakuha (with regular h according to Wackernagel's law) occurs in RV, where kakubha is not known See §120.

§24. Under Palatals and Dentals (§§154-61, see especially 156, 159) are found some variations between d and j before y, with obvious Prakritic bearings; the second example we are about to quote shows an interesting hyper-Sanskritism in HG:

sahasrıyo dyotatām (TS. TB. dīpyatām, MS °rīyo jyotatām) . VS TS. MS KS ŚB TB

ava jyām wa dhanvanah AV. Vait ApMB: ara dyām wa dhanwanah HG §25. On Linguels and Dentals sec our discussion below. §163:

avalasya (SV. avalasya) visarjane RV. SV. We believe (for reasons set forth §164) that avala, 'well', is a pure Prakritism, and that, on the evidence of the variants, Prakritic influence in this section of Vedic phonetics has not been sufficiently recognized heretofore

§26. The miscellaneous group of interchanges concerning palatals (Chapter V) contains a number of Prakritic phenomena (cf. Wackernagel I §135) Thus there are the familiar but very interesting cases of ch for ks, ts, ps (§\$183-6); in most of our variants lexical considerations enter in, but note the following

- achalābhih (KSA acharā°, MS. alsarā° in pp, in sp matsarā°, VS rkṣalā°) kapiājalān VS TS MS KSA The same word appears as rcharā in AV 10 9 23 Either MS or VS (or both?) must have hyper-Sanskritic back-formations
- §27. The following may be quoted as a probable example of dialectic khy for kş (§§190-1) Tho the Tait form is none too clear, it seems that the SS has a corruption of it
- ıdhmasyeva prakşāyatah (ŚŚ. prakhyā°) TB TA ŚŚ. ApŚ
- §28. There are a number of cases of mutual interchange between y and y (§§192-3), mostly more or less justifiable lexically Cf Wackernagel I §§188b, 140b In the following example we have a proper name, and may infer that one or the other form is a dialectic corruption of its rival
- saujāmım (ŚG. sauyāmım, with both sc tarpayāmı) AG ŚG—Cf AV. 19 34 2a, jāgṛtsyas tripañcāśīh (mss, wrongly emended in edition), for which read yāh (or yāś ca) kṛtyās, or yā gṛtsyas, see Whitney's note to Transl, and our §192
- §29. The interchange between v and m may be Prakritic, of Wackernagel I p 197, it is fairly frequent (see particularly §§223-5) That between b and v (§§206-19) is certainly dialectic in a wide sense, whether properly Prakritic or not, of Wackernagel I p 183f
- uc chvañcasva (TA chmañcasva) pṛthivi mã ni bādhathāh (TA vi bā-dhithāh) RV AV TA
- yatra bānāh (VS vāṇāh) sampatanti RV SV VS TS AG Both b and v are found in the RV in this word, it is not known which is original.
- §30. The thore confusion of the sibilants in the Middle Indic dialects makes it plausible to suppose that the extensive confusion of them even in the Vedic texts is of like nature (cf. Wackernagel I p 225f.) A few examples out of many may be quoted here, for \$ and \$ see especially §\$274-9
- vi srulayo (AS visrulayo, SS visru^o) yathā pathah SV AS SS And other cases of sru for sru (so that BR even postulate a 'root' sru, 'flow'!) Here's is original and s secondary. The contrary is the case in the next
- šuleşu me (AV sukeşu te) harımanam RV AV TB ApS
- §31. Much less numerous are the variations between \$ and \$, yet they are not rare, and are to some extent at least purely phonetic (see §\$288-90)
- namad devā apnuvan pūrvam arşat (VS arsat) VS VSK IsāU. The proper form is arşat, VS comm. rsa galau

§32. There are very few variations between s and \$ (§291):

ye vikşeşu (KS. caneşu) başpıñjorah (TS raspi°) VS TS. MS KS Thought of the word sasya doubtless influenced TS, and cf taspa

for the other form (a kind of haplology in each ease); see §278

§33. The later confusion between Ih and a (perhaps scarcely to be called 'Prakritic' in a strict sense; of Wackernagel I p 136) finds surprisingly little representation here; in fact we have noted only one case, and that an uninterpretable word (§295):

kaşolkaya svahā TA TAA.: khakholkaya srahā MahānU.

- §34. There are however a couple of interesting cases of variation between & and &h, which must be similar in character; see §296 below
- §35. Under presence or absence of nasals and anustara occur come variations which remind us of Pah-Prakrit sihe for sinhe and the like. altho usually levieal considerations enter in (cf §300).

pūsne 'nghrnaye svāhā TA · pūsna āghrnaye (em., mss āprnaye) stāhā MS aahrni is regular

- §36. Under presence or absence of u we find some interesting eases which remind us of the wide-spread use of an unetymological v between two vowels as a 'hiatus-tilger' (\$§338-44). To be sure, the forms are all grammatically or lexically diverse; but a similar phonetic tendency is surely present. It may be added that there are traces of a similar use of v, altho again the variant forms are lexically justifiable (\$6358ff.). vaisvānaram tia ā (TS. tiāya) jālam agnim RV. SV. VS TS MS. KS
 - PB SB. The secondary and not very intelligent reading of TS shows a tendency to avoid matus by use of the glide-sound v.
- §37. In Pah and Prakrit we find rather free interchange between long or nasalised vowel plus single consonant and short vowel plus double consonant, without much regard for ctymology The conditions are best stated by Geiger, Pali §§5, 6 Traces of a similar tendency may be detected among the variants (§§393-8), the again complicated by other considerations
- agne samrād işe rūye (ApŚ rayyai) . AŚ ApŚ : ise rāve . . VS MS SB TB (See \$396) While the two parallel stems rat and rays are of course concerned here, the result resembles the Middle Indie phonetic change referred to
- §38 There are also (§§406-16) traces of the Prakritic assimilation of two adjoining consonants, this is especially marked when one of the consonants is a semi-vowel or liquid, or (as in the following instance) the two are semi-vowel and liquid.

abhinne khilye (TB khille) nidadhāli devayum RV. AV TB This is a

purely phonetic, Prakritic variant, TB can mean nothing but an equivalent of *khilye* (comm *khilibhūle*).

§39. Of the vocalic sections, the first to claim attention here is that on the interchange of vocalic liquids and other vowels (§§629-45) The Prakritic nature of this change is obvious. These variants are quite numerous, and, especially between r and a, contain not a few genuine phonetic variations.

ava sma durhanāyatah (SV durhrn°) RV SV. The SV restores Sanskritic vocalism, as against the Prakritic form of RV

tejo yaśasw stławram samiddham (ŚG samrddham) ŚG. PG ApMB HG Here ŚG alone has the 'correct' Sanskrit form, and even it has a v 1 samiddham (perhaps felt as 'inflamed', with tejas?)

puramdaro gotrabhid (MS °bhrd, TB maghavān) vajrabāhuh VS MS KS TB A hyper-Sanskritism in MS, see \$636

tvaşirmantas (MS MS. tvaşiri°, ApS tvaşiu°) tvā sapema VS MS KS SB KS ApS MS

samvalsara tlubhih samvidānah (KS °bhis cākļpānah, ApŠ °bhis cākupānah) MS KS ApŠ

§40. Various Prakrit dialects show occasional forms with n or n for Sanskrit r; and the modern vernacular pronunciation of Sanskrit r as n or (e.g. Marāṭhī) n should be remembered in this connexion. Among the variants n for r shows a tendency to be associated with labial consonants. Besides $tvas(rmantas\ (tvas(rr)^2)\ etc.$, §39, we may quote from §§666-84

trşucyavaso (MS trışu°) juhvo nāgneh RV MS The adverb tṛṣu is the only possible form here, the variant of MS is purely phonetic bhrmim (TB bhrumim) dhamanto apa gā avṛnata RV TB The mss of TB seem to be unanimous on bhrumim, an otherwise unknown form.

pruşvā asrubhih VS. MS. asrubhih pruşvām (TS pṛṣ°) TS KSA The form, pṛṣvā occurs a number of times in Tait texts; it may be called a hyper-Sanskritism for pruṣvā

§41. Coming next to the diphthongs, variations between long and short diphthongs (§§703-12, 728-32) naturally remind us of the fact that all long diphthongs are shortened in Middle Indic Among the clearest phonetic variants are:

avārāya kevarlam VS pāryāya kawarlam TB The usual form 18 kar° sukurīrā svaupašā VS TS KS SB sukarīrā svopašā MS Several mss of MS and its p p read sqaupašā

§42. The familiar Prakritic reduction of aya to e and ava to o is paralleled by our §§744-9, e.g.,

namah kinsiláya ca Lsayanáya (MS Lscnáya) ca VS TS MS KS. Lsena is otherwise unknown.

to-to (MS. KS MS tara-tara, TS. ApS to-te) rayah VS. TS. MS IIS SB ApS. MS

§43. The insertion of an epenthetic vowel, generally i, between two consonants, usually a liquid and a sibilant or h, is likewise related to Prakrit phonetics (§§751-65):

tan nah parşad (MS parışad) atı derşah TS MS. Cl Wackernagel I p 57

CHAPTER II SURD AND SONANT MUTES

§44. These are treated in the following order k and g, c and j, t and d, p and b, kh and gh, th and dh (For g and kh see §82; t and dh, §97f.; p and bh, §§112–14) In general the purely phonetic variants are much rarer than those which involve lexical change. They concern, too, for the most part rare words, so that it is often uncertain whether the voiced or voiceless sound is more original, unless the theory of Prakritic influence is sufficient to establish greater probability for the voiceless. It does seem to be true that, especially under purely phonetic variations of k and g, there is a preponderance of the cases in which k appears to be original

k and g

§45. We shall begin with the forms which clearly involve real lexical changes along with the phonetic changes, and first of all with cases where both readings make good sense. In these the question of priority is often peculiarly delicate, both variants may be assumed to represent the conscious intentions of their schools.

athāham anukāmınī (MŚ °gāmınī) TS ApŚ MŚ How near these expressions are to one another may be seen from AV 1 34 5cd, yathā mām kāmıny aso yathā man nāpagā asah Yet MŚ (all mss) is no doubt secondary

grnatā nah sustaye AV kruutam nah sustim (MS KS "tam) VS TS MS KS 'Sing for us unto well-being', 'make well being for us' The meter of AV is easier, but the āprī hynin where it occurs is in a state of corruption so great (cf Bloomfield, Atharvaveda 54, Keith, HOS 18 clxi) as to throw doubt upon its version of this pāda, easier tho it be The word grnatā is preceded by grnata (other forms of grno" in the other Samhitās), this suggests that grnatā is a secondary corruption, due not wholly and perhaps not primarily to the tendency here considered

mitrāvarunā šaradāhnām (MS °hnā) cikitnū (MS cikitiam, KS jigatnū, AŠ cikitvam) TS MS KS AŠ cikitnū of TS (presumably 'intelligent' tho not quoted in the lexicons) and jigatnū of KS ('swift') are both reasonable. See RV 7 65 1, where jigatnu is precisely an epithet of Mitra and Varuna (wrongly Oldenberg, Noten 2 50)

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- namah krchrebhyah krchra patibhyak ca vo namah MS KS · namo grtsebhyo grtsapatibhyak . . . VS TS. See §185
- tato na vicikitsati (VSK ItāU. vijugupsate) VS VSK ItāU.: na tato vijugupsate KU.: na tadā vicikitsati SB BrhU "Then he no more doubts', or, 'then (therefrom) he does not shrink away' Two familiar verb-forms, both appropriate The Kānva recension of BrhU. has jugupsate Cf AV. 13 2 15b
- dhipsyam vä samcakara janebhych MS: yad rädäsyan samjagärä janebhyah TB: adulsan vä samjagara janebhyah TA CI däsyann adäsyann uta sam grnämi (TA and AVPpp uta iä karisyan) AV. TA: adäsyann agna uta sam grnämi AV In all these passages sam-gr seems to mean 'devour, eat', tho doubt has been east on this interpretation (see Whitney on AV 6 71. 3 and 6. 119. 1) If 'devour' is right, sam-cakara 'collect' is secondary, tho in the outcome not very far from the original meaning
- §46. We list next eases in which the priority of one reading is emphasized by the fact that the secondary form, the correct enough considered as an individual entity out of its context, fits that context more or less poorly, so that the term corruption begins to be more or less applicable to it. Here belong, first, several interchanges between the roots k_T and gam.
- ukhām (ApŚ garbham) sravantīm agadām akarma (KŚ. aganma) KŚ ApŚ. MŚ 'We have made the leaking ukhā diseaseless.' The aganma may serve at a pinch, akarma seems to be the true reading; see VV I p 211.
- urvīm gavyām parisadam no akran AV: ūrvam gavyam parisadanto agman RV KS. The original RV, 'surrounding it they penetrated into the stable of the cows,' is done over in AV., 'they have made for us a wide conclave rich in kine' (Whitney).
- vadhūr jajāna (AV. jigāya, MS KS mimāya) navagaj (SG. navakīj) janitrī AV. VŞ TS MS. KS ApMB SG See Whitney on AV. 3. 10 4 for a collection of Hindu guesses on the meaning of navagat, the European guesses are scarcely better. SG. tries a sort of hyper-Sanskritism, rationalizing a tradition which it did not understand.
- imam logam (TA lokam) mdadhan mo aham risam RV AV. TA. 'Depositing this clod of earth, may I suffer no injury.' TA lokam (after imam, this follows so naturally!) makes no sense here. The comm in fact interprets it as lostam (= logam), etymologizing monstrously (lokyate dršyata iti loko lostah!) Some mss and the comm of AV read like TA, however

- pary āgāram (AŚ ākāram) puna:-punah AV. AŚ ŚŚ Only āgāram makes sense; something (a drum?) is being beaten 'about the house', not 'about the form ' The preceding (in AV, preceding but one) pāda is yadı (yadīm, lelim) hanat katham hanat
- ındrāpāsya phaligam ApMB ındrāyayāsya sepham alīkam .HG
 The correct reading is certainly phaligam
- mano jagāma dūrakam (PB dūragāh) RV. PB The latter is a farreaching recast of RV, where dūrakam belongs with manas, dūragāh (in itself a perfectly good word) can only be construed by violently detaching it to go with the subject of the next pāda tan ma āvartayā punah This, according to the PB comm., who so construes, is Soma (whom the epithet dūragāh does not fit at all)
- rājānah satyam kṛnvānāh (AV gṛhnānāh, but Ppp kṛnvāno) RV AV Whinney, who renders 'apprehending truth', notes that the other reading is better
- tasya rathagṛtsaś (MS °kṛtsnaś, KS °kṛtsaś) ca rathaujāś ca senānīgrāmanyau (TS senānī°) VS TS MS KS ŠB The word ratha° 18 a proper name, 'chariot-clever', 'kṛtsa 18 probably a corruption of the first stage, leading over to °kṛtsna, which does not fit
- abhūr gṛṣtīnām (AV * v āpīnām mss , R-Wh vasānām, false emendation withdrawn by Whitney ad loc , ApMB and one ms of HG. āpīnām, HG. āpīnām) abhīsastīpā u (HG ApMB °pāvā) AV. (bis) HG ApMB . bhavā lṛṣṭīnām (AV gṛ°, but Ppp lṛ°) abhīsastīpāvā (AV °pā u) AV PG. ApMB HG See Whitney on AV 19 24 5, Roth, ZDMG 48 110 The word must mean 'people'; 'heifers' is nonsense (see Sāyana's ludicrous attempt to justify it).
- prānān samkrošaih MS samkrošān prānaih (VS °krošaih prānān) VS TS. samghoṣān (ms °goṣān) prānaih KSA Here what was originally probably a mere corruption in KSA (s for s, loss of r) becomes, if we accept the emendation, a lexical variant
- §47. We come now to cases where the new reading produces a word or combination of words which seem to defy interpretation. At the same time the putatively original forms are themselves apt to be not above suspicion. The cases concern great textual decay, and belong largely to the Yajurveda schools.
- nikīrya tubhyam abhya āsam Vait nikīrya tubhyam madhye ApŚ nigīrya tubhyam madhiah MŚ nigīrya sarvā ādhīh KŚ The passages are unintelligible, kir, 'scatter', does not seem to be recorded in composition with ni, which points, perhaps, to nigīrya 'swallowing down' (note madhvah in MŚ)

tena samhanu kṛnmasi AV.: tena sann anugṛhnāsi HG The meaning of AV. is uncertain (perhaps corrupt, see Whitney's note). The individually irreproachable words of HG mouth over an uncomprehended text. Cf. §386

arepasah sacclasah (ete) svasare manyumatlamās (SV. ApS. "mantas) cite goh (SV. citā goh, ApS. cidākoh) SV. AV. ApS. MS. cidākoh, with metathesis of voice-quality, as if from a stem "cidāku, is corrupt

salma yat to goh MS KS.. sagme (TS sanyat) to goh VS TS. SB

'What power of (over) the cow is thine', MS. KS, perhaps correctly
and originally. In VS SB. sagme looks indeed like a Prakritism
for sakma But on account of the different cases it is doubtful
whether it is felt as having the same meaning (cf however the
adjective sagma, from root sak) It seems, rather, vaguely conneeted with sa and the root gam VS comm, followed by Griffith,
sagme yajamāne (1), goh gauh (very simple!). BR read in TS.
sampdite with one ms (pp. samyat, te), but the comm, followed by
Weber, ISt 13 197, takes samyat as = samyak. So also Keith
('to match thy cow'). BR regard sampdite as = sagme, both
meaning 'Einswerden im Handel'; they render 'wenn du auf eine
Kuh eingehst' They therefore derive sagma from sa and gam.

rudra yat te krayî (VS KS. kravı, VSK. kravı, MS MS giri-) param nāma tasmaı (VS. MS. SB. tasmın) hutam ası VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS SB ApS MS. These various names of Rudra are all equally unintelligible The reading giri- is especially sophisticated, having

in mind Rudra's mountain habitat

idam aham sarpāṇām dandaśākānām grīvā upa grathnāmi (MS mss kṛtsnāmi; Knauer conjectures kṛnatmi) TS ApS MS. 'I now tie up the neeks of the stinging serpents' But kṛtsnāmi is not kṛnatmi, and the MS. may have merely a corruption of TS., in spite of Knauer's belief that the mantra was not taken from TS Somewhat the reverse of this is found in pumān enam etc. \$48

Cf. also jāgrtsyas tripancāšīh etc., §192.

§48. In the remaining cases the possibility of real lexical change becomes fainter. We believe that we are now dealing with what are

essentially nothing but phonetic shifts, if not pure corruptions:

invakā (MS. $^{\circ}g\bar{a}$) nakṣatram MS KS. This name for the constellation Mṛgaśirṣa is recorded in its g form only here, and in its k form according to BR. (V. 1144) only once more (TB. 1. 5 1. 1). The priority of invaka, 'pervading', is hardly to be questioned, but MS. may have felt the word as a compound of inva plus ga, $g\bar{a}$.

sā prasūr (SG suprasūr) dhenukā (HG °gā) bhava AV. SG HG ApMB dhenukā is a pet-word to dhenu 'mileh cow' In dhenugā there may be a touch of popular etymology, a hint of the stem go, 'cow', but the form is essentially Prakritic

āšuh kāṣṭhām wāsaran (read °ram with comm, Ppp, Whitney, and Bloomfield) AV. 2 14 5b All mss gāṣṭhām, kā° is emendation Ppp also (ms) gā° (em Barret, JAOS 30 193.kā°), comin glāṣṭhām whah (KSA magh) kswākā nīlašīrsnī te 'ryamne (KSA °mnah) TS

KSA The word is always mla, except here.

srkāhastā (TS KS srkāvanto, MS srgavanto, one ms srka°) nisaūgiņah VS TS MS KS The stem concerned is always srka 'spear', except in this and the following passage, and in a lexical quotation, perhaps based on these readings

namah szkäyibhyo (TS szkävibhyo, MS szgäyibhyo) zighäńsadbhyah

VS TS MS. KS See preceding

vīnāganakıno (ŚB °gıno) devair imani yajamānam samgāyata ŚB ApŚ Also: vīnāganakınah pūrvaih saha sukrdbhī rājabhir imani yajamānam samgāyata ApŚ vīnāganaginah purānair imani yajamānam rājabhih sādhukrdbhih samgāyata ŚB Cf further KŚ 20 3 2 Altho the compound vīnā° does not occur outside these passages, its meaning is plain ('master of a band of lute-players'), and it seems that it must contain -ganaka, with suffixal ka Perhaps the g is due to assimilation to the preceding g, or to sophistication from the root gā, 'sing' (so comm on ŚB and KŚ, both of which implausibly understand vīnā-gaṇa as meaning 'a quantity of [various kinds of] lutes'), cf Conc under gāyatam .

punīnkasthalā (KS † punīnga°) ca krtasthalā (VS ŠB kratu°) cāpsarasau VS TS MS, KS. ŠB This name of an Apsaras appears in later

literature, always with k

pumān enam tanuta ut kṛnatti RV. pumān enad vayaty ud gṛṇatti AV. See Whitney's note on AV 10 7 43. gṛnatti is doubtless a mere corruption, promoted by confusion with the root grath, granth 'tie', which with ud is nearly synonymous with ut-kṛt More or less the reverse of this shift is found above, §47, sdam aham etc

§49. In the following variants there is for the most part little evidence to support the greater originality of either k or g, the words are almost

or quite ἄπαξ λεγόμενα

vīryam kuhābhyām (KSA gu°) TS KSA. A part of the horse's body For ku° the TS comm says, hastayor madhyasamdhī (cf vışu-kuh) The other form suggests perhaps guhya, 'pudenda'. Neither 18 recorded lexically.

- pratikramanam kuşthābhyām (KS. gu^o) TS KSA.: ākramanam ku^o MS Both otherwise unknown; hke the preceding they designate a part of the horse's body. Bhāskara, hastāparārdhamam, Keith, 'the two centres of the loins'. Cf. kuşthikā, 'dew-claw, spur', etc
- agne kahya MS KS. MS (agne) gahya TS Neither in lexs, and neither interpretable Keith, not plausibly, 'abysmal' (thinking of gāhya)
- salılah salıgah sagaras te na ādıtyā havışo juşānā vyantu svāhā MS KS: lekah salekah sulekas te na ādıtyā ājyam juşānā vyantu TS ApS Allısolated and uninterpretable.
- grāmyamaūkīradāsakau ApŚ grāmyam maūgīradāsakau MŚ : vyāghram maūgīradāsa gauh Vait In Vait read maūgīradāsagau, or possibly with Caland, °dāsakau Two preper names, Maūgīra or Maūkīra, and Dāsaka (or Dāś°), are involved
- namo vah kirikebhyo (MS MS namo girikebhyo) devānām hīdayebhyah VS TS. MS KS SB. MS In such a formula, of the Satarudriya, either epithet remains doubtful, tho girika, of course, suggests 'mountain-born' like girika etc The possibility of different lexical interpretations may be admitted, but the variation is probably purely phonetic
- uruka urukasya (ApŚ. uruga 1 ugasya) te vācā vayam sam bhaktena gamemahi (MS "mahy agne grhapate) MS ApŚ. Neither form is in the lexs; uruga may be felt as uru-ga, 'wide-going' (so Caland). Is uruka some bird of good omen?
- vi te bhinadmi takarīm (KS °rim, AVPpp [Roth] tagarim, AV. mehanam)
 AV TS KS. Ap\$ There is no evidence as to the meaning of takarī (°ri, tag°) except the context and the variant mehanam; and none whatever as to its derivation or original form.

c and j

§50. Prakritic interchanges between the two sounds go in both directions (Pischel, §202) This of itself makes difficult the appraisal of their phonetic aspect in the variants. Moreover all variations produce passably good words of different origin or etymology, so that priority must be determined by sense, or by the established superiority of one or the other text. We are unable to discover anything like a concerted movement, either from c to j or vice versa. But on the whole we have the impression that the main current is from c to j, and that it is Prakritic in character (prā \vec{n} jo from prā \vec{n} co, ud-aj from ud-ac). §51. Most notable and extensive is the riming interchange between

the forms vācam and vājam Tho not synonyms, they are both familiar in ritualistic language as words of good and useful meaning Their interchange begins in the RV itself

pra vācam (vājam) indur işyati RV (both).

Here there seems reason to regard vācam as prior, see RVRep 410 In the next following cases vācam is also original

vācaspatir no adya vājam svadatu VSK vācaspatir vācam (VS * † 9 1, \$B * † 5 1 1 16 vājam) nah svadatu VS KS \$B SMB · vācaspatir vācam adya svadāti (MS °tu) nah (TB te, Poona ed nah) TS MS KS TB The word vācaspatir, with the preponderance of texts, shows that vājam is secondary

pavitravantah pari vācam (TA vājam) āsate RV. TA N The older vācam refers either to the sound of the soma-drops (Grassmann) or

to the hyrans of the officiating priests (Ludwig)

premam vājam vājasāte avantu AV premām vācam višvām avantu višve TS MS KS In all texts the preceding pāda reads marutām manve adhi no (AV me) bruvantu The Maruts seem here to be regarded as singing priests (RV 3 14 1, 5 29, 3, 1, 1 78, 1), who may well help the vāc of human priests AV is a banal recast

vācam asme nī yacha devāyuvam VS ŠB vājam asmīn nī dhehī devāyuvam MS.. tapojām vācam asme nī yacha devāyuvam TA In MS a specious lectio facilior, tapojām in TA, as well as the viprānām devayā vācas of RV. 5 76 1, prove that the other texts are right

§52. In the remaining cases it seems likely that vājam is the original word

sā dīkṣitā sanavo vājam asme (MŚ vācam asmāt) TS MŚ sā samnaddhā sanuhi vājam emam (MG sunuhi bhāgadheyam) AV † MG 'Do thou (O woman), consecrated, win strength (holy speech) for him (from (this),' or the like. bhāgadheyam is a sort of synonym of vājam. In MŚ asmāt refers to the girdle with which the Pratiprasthātr binds the woman as he recites this verse (it pratiprasthātā yoktrena patnīm samnahyati), vācam is simple but secondary

undram vājam vi mucyadhvam TS KS TB · indrāya vācam vi mucyadhvam MS MŠ The verb on which the first two words of this quasi-pāda depend is ajijapata, of ajijapatendram vājam VS ŠB As the interested person is a king, vājam is clearly required, vācam, 'prayer' or 'Sarasvati', is far-fetched Cf vājajic and vāja-

ntyāyai . m Conc

asredhanta ıtana vājam acha RV adroghāvītā vācam acha AV The

poor meter and general corruption of AV. (in which RV. 3 14 6 is somehow involved) make it unintelligible, see Whitney's note Tho vācam would fit fairly well, RV is original at all points

Analogous to these is one variant between vacasā and ojasā,

- sam eta višvā (AV † višve) vacasā (SV ojasā) patīm dīvah AV SV —Ppp evidently means to read ojasā, its text, as quoted by Roth, has višvā oham ā This supports SV, tho the otherwise corrupt Saunakīya text inakes as good sense as its rīvals 'Go all together to the lord of heaven (the sun) mightily (with prayer).' See, however, above under vācam asmc. §51
- §53. There are next a pair of riming variants in which ud-ac, 'draw out' ('schopfen', of liquids) seems to vary with ud-aj. This is the nearest approach to purely phonetic or Prakritic change, the ud-aj may at a pinch be a fairly good synonym. 'drive out' in the sense of 'obtain, acquire'. Thus in RV 1 95 7 uc chukram atham ajate simasmāt, which we take with Geldner, Ved Stud 2 189, to mean 'he draws out (derives) from himself a bright garment'. Otherwise ud-aj is the favorite word for driving eattle (often mythical) from their stable, which comes metaphorically even closer to ud-ac
- aviraghnīr ud ajantv (ApMB acantv) āpah AV. ApMB 'Let them draw forth waters that slay not heroic sons'; cf. vyuhşat krūram ud acantv āpah ApMB 1. 1. 7 Weber, Ind St 5 198, and Whitney on AV. 14. 1 39 go the length of emending ajantv to acantv, which is doubtful practice (cf §3) But probably the mantra was first composed with acantv, despite RV 1 95 7 above
- samudrād udajani vah (ApŚ udacann wa) srucā MS ApŚ Herc MS is probably secondary or corrupt, but possibly understands a form of root jan, 'was born out of the ocean'.
- \$54. There are two cases in which derivatives of roots can and jan vary, it seems that they divide the honors of originality.
- canisthad (SV ja°) agne angirah RV SV Little can be done with the anomalous canisthad (Whitney, Grammar, §906b, Oldenberg, Noten, on 8 74 11); less with janisthad, the the ideas of either 'giving delight' or 'arousing' are well enough.
- sāntro 'sı canodhāh (MS janadhāyāh) VS MS ŚB Cf tutho 'sı janadhāyāh (PB 'yah) MS KS. PB. MŚ: stuto 'sı janadhāh TB ApŚ 'Thou art Savitar's joy-giver (creature-nourisher)' The preponderance of texts favors jana-; there is no other criterion; both are reasonable enough
- §55. In two other individual cases the change is clearly from c to j, the in both the forms with j are tolerably defensible

prānco agāma (TA. prānjo 'gāmā) nrtaye hasāya RV AV. TA See §2 devebhyas tvā devāyuvam (KS devāvyam) prnacmī (so MS by emendation, mss mostly prnaymī! ApŠ prnajmī) yajnasyāyuşe MS KS ApŠ MŠ prnajmī (all mss of ApŠ) is supported by Dhātup and by anavapīgna RV 1 152 4, which is placed by Wackernagel I p 117 and doubtfully by Whitney (Roots) under prc See however Scheftelowitz, IF 33 136, and Neisser, ZWbch d RV 1 33 (root *parzg) But the matter is uncertain, the forms with g, j may be based on root prc, and due to proportional analogy with other 7th-class roots in j, which have k by internal sandhi in certain forms (e g, bhanakti bhagna bhanajmī = pīnaktī pīgna pīnajmī)—In this connexion also

upa mā jakşur (¹) upa mā manīsā KS 13 2 19, where jakşur is either misprint or Prakritic anomaly for cakşur

§56. In several cases the variation between c and j is in the reduplication of roots in k and g, which latter it really concerns, see §45 mitrāvarunā śaradāhnām (MS $^{\circ}$ hnā) cikitnū (MS cikitam, KS $^{\circ}$ jigatnū,

AS cilitram) TS MS KS AS

tato na vicilitzati (vijugupsate), etc

dhipsyam vā samcakara janebhyah, etc

§57. The remaining cases are miscellaneous

somah sutah püyate ayyamānah (SV suta reyate püyamānah) RV SV Here the original form of root ay (añj), 'adorn', is replaced in SV by rc, 'praise', a lexical change with hyper-Sanskritic tendency tve kratum apı vṛñyantı viśve (AV *pṛñcantı bhūrı) RV AV (both) SV TS AA ApS MS 'In thee they all set (mingle) their mind' The combination apı aprāk once more AV 10 4 26, and nowhere else For apı varī (original) see Bloomfield, JAOS 35 281

agne vyacasva (RV MS yajasva) rodasī urūcī RV AV MS 'O Agni, make sacrifice to (embrace) the wide heaven and earth' AV has a contaminated lectio facilior, cf RV 10 111 2 mahānti cit sam vivyācā rajānsi, and the converse, RV 8 12 24, na yam vivilto rodasī; or 10 112 4, yasya mahimānam ime mahī rodasī nāviviltām

dwas (SV dwah) prziham adhi tizihanlı cetasā (SV \dagger rohanlı tejasā) RV. SV. With metathesis of c(j) and t

ud usrıyāh srjate (TB sacate) sūryah sacā RV SV TB See §3
anāhanasyam vasanam carışnu (ApMB HG ja°, PG jarışnuh) ŚG
PG ApMB HG As an epithet of a garment, jarışnu would mean
possibly 'much worn' or the like, as an epithet of the subject,

aham (PG), possibly 'attaining or destined for old age'. To us (contrary to the opinions of Kirste and Oldenberg on HG) ja° seems, with the majority of the texts, the original reading, rather than SG carisnu (Oldenberg, 'wallend')

jāmim (KS†cami) mā hinsīr amuyā (MS anu yā) sayānā KS. TB ApS MS· mā jāmim mosīr amuyā sayānām AV—The KS reading (of a single ms) should certainly be corrected to jāmim

gharmas trisug vi rājati (SS rocate) VS SB SS Hardly belongs here, rocate is a perfect synonym of rājati.

yuklās tisro vimījah (comm ribkījah) sūryasya PB: yunajmi tisio vipīcah sūryasya te (MS virītah sūryah savc [or, savah]) TS ApS MS In PB the comm has two equally fatuous guesses on vibhījah 'dividers' (of the sun) But there is little more sense in vipīcah, apparently 'separators' (of the sun); it seems to be applied collectively to pīthivī, vāyu, and vāc It can hardly mean 'separate, distinct' as BR take it Keith, doubtfully. 'spaces', Caland and Henry, Agnistoma, 128, equally doubtfully, 'épouses'

girā ca (AV virājah) śruṣtih sabharā asan nah RV AV VS TS MS KS SB The AV reading shows far-reaching adaptation to a secondary purpose, as it seems also to include with most of SPP 's mss (and his oral reciters) and the comm śnuṣṭih for śru° Whitney adopts śnu°, which Ppp. also intends with its sumṣṭas (Barret, JAOS 30 207) Sec §865

purā jatrubhya (TA ApMB jartrbhya, MS calrbhyā, p p valtrbhyah) ātrdah (MS °da) RV AV SV MS PB TA KŚ ApMB The original is obscure enough, but MS is hopelessly corrupt and unintelligible Note its loss of final h (§384)

t and d

§58. We have found practically no variants here; the one recorded involves plausible but secondary change from 1st to 3d person in a verb form (VV I p 217).

viśvāvasum namasā gīrbhir īde (ApMB ūte) RV ApMB

t and d

§59. Here we find, first, a number of cases in which d is substituted for t as what seems to be a purely phonetic, Prakritic change, real lexical difference being scarcely, or only in a very strained way, conceivable:

cılrā elagvā (TB eda°) anumādyāsah RV MS TB The comm on TB

- ignores the word. The etymology of clana (AJP 17, 426) furmishes no opportunity for the change.
- pārāvataghnīm (TB "daghnīm) mare emplithinh RV MS KS TB N pārāvataghnīm (se sararvatīm), either 'slaying the distant (enemy)', or 'slaying from a distance' TB comm has a labored and worthless explanation. If the text had anything in mind it must have analyzed pāra + avadaghnīm, root dagh, something like 'reaching across' (pāra, 'further bank')
- sa îm păhi ya rjişî tarutrah (VaradapU tarudrah) RV AB GB TB. NrpU VaradapU Perhaps vague popular etymology in tarudrah, as if 'tree-cleaving'
- time 'rātsur time subhātam (MS sādam') al ran TB ApS MS. The latter (quoted by Kuaner from an unpublished part of the text) evidently intends subhādam, for subhātam, since it is followed immediately by
- ıma udvüsil ärtna (MŠ 1mü uddhäsicürina) ime durbl ülam (MŠ °dam) al ran TB ApS MS Cl. pree
- agotām anapatyatām (vulgate with most mes anapadyatām) AV 4 17 6b Some mes and the comm read anapatyatām, which must be intended, as guaranteed by its juxtaposition with agotām Ci RV 3 54 18 yuyota no anapatyām . pašumān astu gātuh.
- yadā rālhātyau vadatah ApS yadā rāghaļī taradah Vait, yad adyūrādhyam vadanlah MS See §§70, 272a Vait is thoroly Prakritic §60. In the next following cases lexical considerations enter more forcibly, yet the change continues to be from primary t to secondary d.
- tayam hi vām purutamāso (AV. °dam°) asvinā AV AS SS. Is the epithet (here applied to the poets, kāru, but in juxtaposition to the word asvinā) a bungled reminiscence of its application to the Asvins in RV 7 73 1 (purudansā purutamā) ? Roth, ZDMG. 48 107, and Whitney on AV. 7 73 1, consider the AV form, 'having many houses', corrupt
- mã me hārdi tvişā (MS, hārdim dvişā) tadhīh TS MS A replica of RV 8 79 8c mã no hārdi etc , dvişā is lect fac
- sato tah pitaro desma VS sado etc ApS SMB GG In VS 'of what is ours, O Fathers, we will give to you' The others with lect fac, 'a seat, O Fathers' etc, this is facilitated by the quasi-synonym grha in the preceding pāda grhān nah pitaro datta. Cf the next
- mulham sad asya irra it salena (TB sadena) VS MS KS TB The texts all intend sad asya (so MS pp and VS comm), TB comm apparently reads sam asya VS comm. takes salena from a stem

- sata, said to be a sacrificial implement, and says that the stem sat (in sad) = sata, 'chāndasah'. TB sadena, taken by its comm. to mean 'seat', may be a sort of phonetic perseverance, matching sad-asya Cf. prec
- śwā rutasya (VSK śwa rtasya, TS and v l. of MS. śwā rudrasya) bheşajī (MS °jā) VS. VSK. TS MS KS. See §684.
- gāva upāvatāvatam (SV. upa vadāvaļe) RV. SV. VS. In SV. a form of upa-vad; in the others, of upa-av. SV. is uninterpretable; its verb is singular, but the subject can only be gāvah.
- svasāra āpo abhi gā ulāsaran (SV. udāsaran) RV. SV. In SV. a form of ud-ā-sr (quotable nowhere else) is substituted for the original, uta+asaran.
- ya ātrnatty (ViDh āvrnoty, SamhitopB. ātrnoty) avilathena (VāDh. avilathena) karnau SamhitopB VāDh. ViDh. N. avilathena can at a pinch mean 'unsacrificial' or 'not according to rule', but the use of the hieratic vidatha is very questionable at this stage. The reading is simply Prakritic or corrupt.
- yathāpah pravatā yanti TA. TU. Kaus: yathā yantı prapadah SMB. The latter is secondary; Jorgensen, 'wie die Wege gehen'. In his note he suggests pratipadah, which is not enticing in view of the variant.
- agne län vellha yadı te jälavedah HG. ApMB.. tvam vellha yalı te jälavedah RV VS yadı, 'if', ıs lect fac.
- ā vatso jagatā (AG zāyatām, PG zagadanh) saha AV. AG PG. ApMB. HG. MG. zagadanh (comm 'guards', anugai rahşakanh) is certainly poor and secondary. The comm. however is probably right in his interpretation, as the next variant interestingly shows:
- isānam jagadanh saha PG: īśāno jagatas patnh AV. TS KS ApMB. The context is different; the two pādas are hardly variants of each other. PG comm jagadanh, anucaranh Cf. prec.
- htvā na ūrjam pra patāt patīsthah (AV prapadāt pathīsthah) RV. AV. MG In RV., 'leaving us food may it fly forth, most swift-flying' AV, doubtless intentionally, 'leaving us food, may it set out, being on the road', which seems to make possible sense, the it is secondary (Whitney, however, abandons it and translates the RV. version).
- vanā vananti dhṛṣatā (MŚ mss °dā; one, dṛṣadā) rujantah RV. TS JB. ŚB MŚ The corruption of MŚ mss is due to thought of dṛṣad, 'mill-stone'. RV 8. 49 (Vāl 1) 4 may have dhṛṣat in this sense. But see Oldenberg, Noten, on this passage
- amocı (AV. amukthā) yakşmād duritād avartyai (AV. avadyāt) AV TB ApMB avartı 'distress' seems likely to be original

ā sutrāvne (MS KS bhūyışthadāvne) sumatım āvrnānah AV MS KS osışthadāvne sumatım grnānāh TS See §355

In a couple of cases involving adverbs in d and t the t seems older, they are grouped below, §68, with similar cases in which d is older

- §61. In the next group we find different division of the words, but the change is still from t to d (cf. §65)
- pathā madhumatā bharan (MS madhumad ābharan) VS MS TB Either reading is interpretable, in VS TB madhu° goes with pathā, in MS with the object of ābharan We judge that the former is probably original, ef RV 10 24 6 madhuman me parāyanam madhumat punar āyanam
- yena bhūyas carāty (MG caraty) ayam (AG ca rātryām) AG ApMB MG yena bhūris carā divam PG The original form is that of ApMB MG, of which AG is a corruption PG changes the verb from 3d to 2d person, carās (VV I p 235), this is connected with the further change that introduces divam
- tvam no devatātaye (AV deva dātave) RV AV SV—Ppp reads devatātaye, indicating that AV (Ś) is secondary—It makes, however, a sort of crude sense 'do thou, O god, (stir) us (up) unto giving'
- arepasah sacetasah cite goh (citā goh, cidāhoh), see §47 Note the metathesis of surd and sonant qualities in the two consonants (t-q, d-h)
- jīvann eva prati tat te (so Jorgensen for SMB, v 1 pratidatte) dadhāmi (SMB dadāmi) TA SMB† jīvann eva pratidatte dadāmi MS. The latter is corrupt
- $\S62$ The cases in which the change is, certainly or presumably, from d to t do not impress one so much with the presence of a purely phonetic movement. They consist either of downright blunders, or of variations in which either reading makes fair sense but the t forms represent a later or easier reading. Thus in the first case the t is a palpable blunder that turns an impeccable passage into a group of unintelligible syllables $ah\bar{a}$ neta (GB netar a-, SS $ah\bar{a}d$ eta) sann $avcetan\bar{a}m$ AV AB GB SS
- ahā ned asann apurogavānı (so divide) JB—This is followed by jajāā (JB Caland, yajāā) neta sann apurogavāsah (JB Caland, avcetanāsah) AV AB GB JB yajāā eta sann apurogavāsah SS Gaastra reads GB as yajāā netai asann apuro, and so in the pree, read in GB netar asann Weber, Ind St 9 306, suggests correctly ned asann for AV etc The true form of the two pādas is ahā ned asann avi, yajāā ned asann apuro, 'lest the days be without distinction, lest the sacrifices be without a leader' So

Caland, ZDMG 72 24f., who quotes JB. as reading thus, except for the interchange of the two adjectives. AV and SS are hopeless, but GB (as read by Gaastra) makes possible sense

 $\S63$. But in other cases, as indeed in one secondary form of the preceding (that of GB), either reading makes reasonable sense, the for various reasons we believe that the d is older.

part dosād udarpithah KS: parītosāt tad arpitha ApS. Preceded in KS by yo nie 'dya payaso rasah; in ApS. by yan me 'tra payasah It is an expiatory formula after a nocturnal emission Caland adopts part dosād ('without [part, sc. my] fault') from KS, and reads udarpitah We agree with him that this is the original reading, but consider that he is wrong in emending ApS to accord with it; parītosāt, 'thru excessive gratification', tho a slipshod lect. fac, is clearly what ApS intended

godhāyasam vi dhanasair adardah (TB atardat) RV. AV MS TB. The antique and rare adardah (3d sing imperf intensive of dar) puzzles TB sufficiently to provoke the synonym atardat

priyo me hido (MS hito, v 1 huto) 'si (MS † bhava) TS MS The latter is simply a lect fac

sapta rājāno ya udābhişiklāh KS AA · anu sapta rājāno ya utābhişiklāh TB The TB stumbles over udā, 'with water', and eases it up to the colorless adverb uta

yās ca (AV yā) devīr (SMB devyo, PG devīs) antān (AV antān, PG tantān) abhito 'dadanta (PG SMB tatantha) AV. PG. SMB ApMB. yās ca gnā devyo 'ntān abhito 'tatananta (so em; mss. tatantha) MG. The reading tatantha could only intend a monstrously augmented form alatantha, because of the preceding abhito (note sandhi) Roth, ZDMG 48 108, considers it obvious that tatantha is a corruption for 'dadanta In PG, however, the corruption has become infectious, because there antān is further changed to tantān under the influence of tatantha The comm on PG (see note in Stenzler's translation) treats the muddle of the text as Vedic heense Cf VVI p 139f

yatrādhi sūra udīlo vibhāti (TS udītau vyeti) RV VS VSK. TS yasminn adhi vitatah sūra eti MS KS Of course RV is original, but vitatah is found also in the AV version, yasyāsau sūro vitato mahitvā

vidad yadī (MS†yadī, TB ApS. yatī) saramā rugnam (MS† saramārunam) adreh RV. VS MS KS TB ApS The original yadī (yadī), 'when', is corrupted into a fem pple. yatī (TB comm

- gachantī) suggested by the final $\bar{\imath}$ of $yad\bar{\imath}$, and supported by RV 5 45 7 $yat\bar{\imath}$ saramā Saramā, the messenger, is hardly ever mentioned without the implication that she is a great traveler, cf. RV 10 108, 1, 3, 5, 7, 9, and note $g\bar{a}t$ at the end of 3 31. 6, the stanza here concerned. Caland in his Translation of ApŚ unwisely abandons $yat\bar{\imath}$ for $yad\bar{\imath}$
- yad vo derā atrpādayāni (AŚ °tayāni) TB AŚ ApŚ. ati-pad and atr-pat are synonyms, 'transgress' TB comm alaranam anyathā-laranam cātipattih. There is little reason for preferring either, except the somewhat greater evidence for the pad form (two texts confirm each other)
- űrdhvā yasyāmatır bhā (so divide) adidyutat (VSK. ati dyutat) savīmani AV. SV. VS VSK. TS MS KS SB AS SS N. The VSK reading, if authentic, is secondary. See VV I p 128
- śvetāya vaidārvāya (PG °darvyāya, ApMB HG °darvāya, MG vailahavyāya)...AG. ŚG. PG. ApMB HG MG The epithet vaitahavya does not belong to the serpent demon Šveta, and is a secondary misunderstanding.
- $\S64$. In the following cases the t variant produces readings that are increasingly difficult or suspicious, and that tempt more to emendation Even here, however, we cannot be sure that the secondary or false reading was not the established text of the school.
- duras ca visvā avrnod apa svāh RV.: turas cid visvam arnavat tapasvān AV.7 Whitney translates AV · 'may he, quick, rich in fervor, send all ' Since Ppp agrees with RV., it is clear that AVS is secondary But turas is lexically defensible.
- tvam rājāsi pradīvah (VS VSK pratīpat) sutānām RV. VS VSK. TS MS KS N. pratīpat is hardly intelligible; Mahīdhara takes prātīpat sutānām as a compound, ignoring the accents: 'draughts pressed on each initial day of a lunar fortnight.'
- harmasya raghuşyadah (ApŚ. °şyatah, two mss °şyadah) AV ApŚ Caland adopts the AV reading, if ApŚ really intended °taḥ, it simulates a pres pple form from a denominative *raghuşya-.
- agne (Poona ed agre, but comm agne) vikşu pratīdayat (v. 1 °yan; not in Poona ed) TB: agre 11ksu pradīdayat RV. Comm on TB, groggily pratīdayat, pratyelam eva prāptam āsīt (as 1f prat1, 1d, ayat!).
- §65. Here again we find some cases accompanied by false division of words (as in §61):
- salyā tā dharmanas patī ApS: salyād ā dharmanas (SS and mss of MS

- onā) patī (Vant MS parī, SS omits) AS SS Vant MS Caland in his Transl. of Vant understands satyādā as one word (nom dual), which may be right. He also adopts this reading in ApS, which is surely wrong in principle. The secondary, ApS is perfectly clear, and undoubtedly intended just what it reads.
- tad vipro abravīd udak (SS u tat) AV SS Followed by quadharrah kāmyain vacah SS has a lect fac which would be quite acceptable but for its repetitousness (tat, twice).
- balım ıchanto vıtudasya (AG vı tu tasya, v. l vıdurasya) presyāh (MahānU AG presthāh) TAA MahānU AG The AG attempts to rationalize the obscure vıtudasya (said by TAA. comm to be a name of Kūlūgmrudra), a ἄπ λεγ which it does not understand
- §66. The remarkable case of *tevi* for *devi* deserves special emphasis; it is best regarded as merely a hyper-Sanskritism, of §21.

disām devy (MS tevy) avalu no ghrtācī TS MS. AŚ.

In the pada mālīth kva cana vidyate, TA. 1 5 1d, the comm (does not read mādīth, as Conc states, but) interprets mālīth by mādīth, which seems the only possibility.

§67. A few other special cases with problems of their own:

- piwo (VS MS pidvo, KSA bidvo) nyañkuh kakkalas (MS kakuthas, TS KSA. kaŝas) le 'numatyai (KSA °yāh) VS TS MS KSA. None of the forms pilvo etc occurs elsewhere Some animal is meant; remotely possible is connexion with pedu
- mayamdam (MS MS mayawtam) chandah VS TS. KS MS SB MS. An otherwise unknown fanciful name of a meter Mahīdhara, sukham dadāti; Keith, 'delight-giving' This is probably right mayamda for mayoda in deference to the prevailing type of nambic dipody compounds with prior member in m Sec Bloomfield, JAOS 21. 50ff, Wackernagel 2 1, pp 204ff
- parişilah kveşyası ApMB. parışīdah kleşyası HG parımīdhah kva gamışyası PG. The true reading is that of PG., with dh, and neither t nor d Sec Stenzler's translation ('umpisst'). Comm on ApMB gets fairly close in general sense chāndasam dīrghatvam, parişilah paribaddhah
- [suṣadam id gavām asti pra khuda AV . susatyam id gavām asyasi pra khudasi SS The AV mss read exactly as SS, except that they read gavom and pra sudasi The variant is not genuine, but only due to Roth's false emendation]
- §68. In a number of cases adverbs in t or d interchange. In the first two cases the d forms are certainly older, but in some of the others the reverse is the case:

ado (MŚ ato, AV. ado yad) devī (AV. KS devī) prathamānā pṛthag yat (AV. °nā purastāt) AV. KS ApŚ MŚ

adah su madhu madhunābhi yodhīh RV AV SV AA MS. ata ū şu madhu madhunābhi yodhi TS.

ıtı cıd dhı (AV *yadı cın nu) tvä dhanā jayantam RV AV (both)

grhā nah santu sarvadā (PG sarvatah) ApŚ PG HG

dhātar āyantu sarvadā (TA TU sarvatah svāhā) TA TU Kaus samavayantu sarvatah SMB

tato na (KU na tato, ŠB. BrhU na tadā) vicilitsati (VSK 15āU. KU vijugupsate) VS VSK ŠB BrhU. IšāU KU See §45 tato is certainly older

parı krośatu sarvatah (HG sarvadā) HG ApMB

p and b

§69. Here occur only a few stray variants

phalgūr (KSA °gur) lohitornī balakṣī (VS pal°, KSA balakṣīs, em by ed to °kṣī) tāh †sārasvatyah VS TS KSA MS balakṣa, of unknown etymology, means 'white, and is clearly intended here. The change to pal°, not otherwise recorded, may be due to contamination with palita, VS comm simply says that pal° means bal° avātratam brsayasya (TB prathayasya) seṣah RV, TB Brsaya, name of a

demon TB comm takes its form also as the name of a demon, it is clearly a corruption of the RV form

khajāpo 'jopakāśinīh ApMB bajābojopakāśinī HG The readings are untrustworthy, and neither form is intelligible

pilvo (pidvo, bidvo) , see §67

There are also a number of cases in which b as reduplicating syllable of bh (in bibharti etc.) varies with p as reduplicating syllable of p (in piparti etc.), they are gathered in §112

kh and gh

§70 Here again are only a few stray variants

mā nah kas cit prakhān (ApS praghān) mā pramesmahi KS ApS 'May no one harm us (or the like), may we not be injured ' Probably KS is original, pra-khān BR (Nachtrage to V), 'durch Graben zu Fall bringen' praghān is felt as coming from root han, tho problematic in form, it appears to ease the meaning Prakritic influence is likely

saghāsi jagatīchandāh TS sakhāsi (ŚŚ adds patvā) jagacchandāh ŚŚ MŚ Cf sakhāsi gāyatrani chandah MŚ (Bloomfield, JAOS 16.

3ff.) It seems that sakhā is a sophisticated leet fac, it is clear that saghā (stem saghan, comin 'vulture') is original; preceded in TS. SS. by syeno 'si gāyatiachandāh, and suparno 'si triştupchandāh (SS inserting palvā both times)

yadā rāghatī varadah (ApS rākhātyau radalah) Vait ApS. yad adyārādhyam vadanlah MS The form rā° appears to be a proper name, not found elsewhere and wholly meomprehensible. BaudhS 16. 23 reads rākhandyau (?), and one ms of ApS rākhāndau

th and dh

§71. Aside from the interchange of the adverbs alha and adha, or similar adverbs, the material is seanty. It may be partly graphic, since th and dh are practically indistinguishable in some South Indian alphabets. There is no clearly defined phonetic movement in either direction. Yet there seems to us to be, as in the preceding rubrics, perhaps a slight tendency to favor dh for th in readings that are obviously secondary, showing the presence of what we have thought to be Prakritic influence.

 $\S72$. In the one common ease of interchange between the adverbs, chiefly atha $(ath\bar{a})$ and adha $(adh\bar{a})$, we should expect on general grounds to find that the dh forms are generally original. This expectation is realized to this extent, that the SV, with only one exception among the variants, substitutes th forms for RV dh. Yet the AV, relatively late and popular, surprizingly favors adha $(adh\bar{a})$. The RV. in its hieratic parts favors the dh form as we should expect, and in its more popular parts the th forms. The remaining texts in general favor atha, but now and then fall into the archaizing adha

§73. We begin with eases in which RV shows adhā, other texts athā (atha), included is also one case of RV. viśvadhā, SV. viśvathā:

vi bhānum viśvadhātanat (SV. viśvathā°) RV. SV

adhā jivrī (AV atha jivrir, mss jirvir; ApMB athā jīvrī) vidatham ā vadāsi (RV vadāthah) RV. AV. ApMB

adhā (SV athā) no viśvacarşane RV SV

adhā (SV. athā) te sakhye andhaso vi vo made RV SV.

adhā (SV athā) te sumnam īmahe RV AV. SV TS

adhā (TS MS. athā) te syāma varuna priyāsah RV TS MS KS

adhā (TS MS athā) śatakratvo yūyam RV VS TS MS KS ŚB rudrasya maryā adhā (SV athā) svaśvāh RV. SV.

§74. Next, cases in which RV. (almost always in Books 1 and 10) shows the more popular atha (athā), while other texts have the archaining adha ($adh\bar{a}$). The latter occurs most frequently in AV. (of course

- secondary, of the similar preference of AV for the archaic kmo- as against karo-, VV I p 116ff), once in SV ($\bar{u}rdhvadh\bar{a}$ for RV $^{\circ}$ $th\bar{a}$), once or twice in other texts
- pra śmaśru (SV śmaśrubhir) dodhuvad ūrdhvathā bhūt (SV. °dhā bhuvat) RV (10) SV
- athā (AV adhā) nah sam yor arapo dadhāta (MS °tana) RV (10) AV VS MS KS N· athāsmabhyam sam etc TS
- athā (AV adhā) pītīn sundatrān upehī (AV TA. apīhī, TS† apīta) RV (10) AV. TS TA Add to VV I §370
- athā (AV adhā) mano †vasudeyāya kṛṣva (AV kṛnuṣva) RV (1) AV Despite the grandiloquent adhā, AV is secondary as shown by the meter
- athā (AV adhā, MS KS tato) no vardhayā rayım (RV JB gırah) RV.
 (3) VS TS AV. MS KS JB. SB TB JābU.
- athā (AV adhah, comm adha, but Ppp adhah, Barret, JAOS 40 161) sapatnī yā mama RV (10) AV ApMB · adhā sapatnān māmakān AV.
- atho (AV adhā) vayam bhagavantah syāma RV. (1) AV KŠ ApŠ N athā (AV adhā, comm atha) vayam ādttya vrate tava RV. (1) AV. VS TS MS KS ŠB N. athādttya vrate vayam tava ArS SMB
- athā (KS adhā) somasya prayatī yuvabhyām (KS yuvā°, v 1 yuva°) RV. (1) TS KS N
- athā (MS adhā) devānām apy etu pāthah RV (2) TS MS.
- §75. Among the remaining cases, it may be noted that AV again prefers the dh form repeatedly, as against other texts with th
- adha syāma surabhayo (ApŚ corruptly, syām asur ubhayor) grheşu AV. KS ApŚ athā syāta surabhayo grhesu MS
- adhā jīvema saradām salām AV atho jīva saradah salam VSK And others, see Conc under asau jīva
- adhā (HG atha) māsı punar ā yāla no grhān AV HG.
- adhā (MS MS athā) poşasya poşena VS MS KS MS
- adhā vişvāhārapa edhate grhe VS atha visve arapā edhate grhah TS
- athā (VS SB adhā) sapatnān (KS †°nān, TS, twice †°nān, once °nān) indro me VS TS MS KS SB ApS MS
- athā (VS SB adhā) sapatnān ındrāgnī me VS TS MS KS SB ApS MS
- athā jīvah (KS adhā viṣitah) pitum addhi pramuktah (so divide) TS MS KS: athailam pitum addhi prasūtah VS ŠB
- adhāsyā madhyam edhatām KSA · athāsya madhyam ejatu VS LŚ athāsyai (TS. MS TB °syā) madhyam edhatām (Vait °tu, AŚ LŚ. ejatu, ŚŚ ejati) VS TS MS ŚB TB AŚ ŚŚ. Vait LŚ.

ındro marudbhır ştuthā (TS ApMB °dhā) krnotu TS MS KS AS, SS ApMB

devā no yajāam rtuthā (TB Ap\$ rjudhā) nayantu VS TB. Ap\$ Sec \$157.

- §76. Somewhat like the change of adha to atha is one interchange between the roots $n\bar{u}dh$ and $n\bar{u}th$, since here $n\bar{u}dh$ is clearly prior. But $n\bar{u}dh$ is commonly considered to be in origin a secondary and quasi-Prakritic form of $n\bar{u}th$ (von Bradke, ZDMG 40 678ff, cf. Wackernagel I p. 123):
- svāyām tanū (ApMB† MG 7 tanūn) rtriye (RV† rtvyc) nādhamānām (ApMB nātha°, but many mss nādha°, MG bādha°) RV ApMB MG
- §77. For the rest we find no very definite phonetic movement in either direction. But it may be significant that the cases in which th seems probably the original—listed in this paragraph—are somewhat more numerous than those in which the appears older:
- avakro 'vithuro (ApŚ 'vidho', Kauś adds 'ham) bhūyāsam AŚ ApŚ MŚ. Kauś That avithuro (root vyath) 'not staggering' is the original is indicated by the majority reading, and by its closer agreement in meaning with avakro, avidhuro is clearly secondary.
- maisām nu gād aparo artham (TB ApS ApMB ardham) etam RV. AV VS SB TB ApS ApMB · mā no nu gād aparo ardham etam TA ApS 'Let not another of them go to that goal (side, part).' artha and ardha are here synonyms, cf RV 1 164, 17.
- ābhūr (VS TS ābhūr, NīlarU. sīvo) asya nīṣangathīh (VS °dhīh, NīlarU. °tīh) VS TS MS. KS NīlarU Comm on VS 'sheath of a sword', but 'quiver' is more plausible since arrows are mentioned in the preceding pāda Hindu lexicons quote nīṣangathī as meaning 'embracing' etc; the other forms are āπ λεγ. Probably °dhī is influenced by thought of root dhā (popular etymology), while °tī is a mere corruption
- parīdam vāso adhīthāh (HG adhīdhāh, ApMB adhī dhā) svastaye AV. HG ApMB The original (AV.) form is 2 sing nor mid. of dhā, the personal ending -thāh is mouthed over in the later texts to a sufficiently plausible form of dhā (dhāh), the first part becoming the preposition adhī See VV I p 39
- ākhuh kaśo mānthālas (MS mānthālavas, VSK māndhālas) te pitīnām VS VSK MS. pānktrah (KSA pānktah, but all mss of both TS and KSA pāmtra-) kaśo mānthīlavas (KSA † ma°) te pitṛnām (KSA † mīr°) TS KSA We may guess that the majority of

texts preserve the original th, but the forms occur nowhere else Said to mean 'flying fox'

- indrāvathuh (VSK [°]dhuh, KS * TB ApŚ [°]tam) kāvyair (TB ApŚ karma ā) dansanābhih RV AV VS VSK. MS KS (both) ŚB TB ApŚ The subject is the Asvins, so that VSK is hardly interpretable See VV I p 282
- apa snehrtīr (SV snīhrtim) nīmanā adhatta (SV. adhad rāh, KS† nīmanām adadhrām) RV AV SV KS upa stuhi tam nīmnām (Poona ed snuhi tam nīmanām) athadrām TA See §110 §78 In the rest dh seems to be the original:
- apāma edhi mā mṛthā na indra SMB amā ma edhi mā mṛdhā na (AS † ma) indra AS SG anāmayaidhi mā riṣāma indo Kaus The original (AS SG) 'be at home with me, do not desert us (me), Indra' This SMB converts into the unbelievable 'be an off-warder of disease, do not die for us, Indra' At least the comm takes it thus, seeing in mṛthā(h) a 2d sing mid of mṛ (one ms. reads mṛdhā), riṣāma of Kaus confirms mṛdh as original The variation is somehow connected with the sphere of sa mā mṛta (tam mā mṛdhah), which see in §98 On Kaus's reading see §344
- madhavyau stokāv (MS °kā, AV mathavyān stokān) apa tau (AV yān) rarādha AV TS MS Several mss and the comm on AV read madhavyān, which Whitney properly recommends
- adhorāma (HG atho^o) ulumbalah (HG † ulumbarah) ApMB HG adho^o = adhas is obviously correct, HG mechanically recalls the many phrases beginning atho (= atha u), q v in Conc
- dīrghām anu prasitim (KS samṛtim) āyuşe dhām (KS tvā) VS TS KS SB TB. dīrghām anu prasītim samspṛsethām MS An extensive alteration, yet still showing the change of dh to th (°se dhām °šethām)

ph and bh

- §79. The instances are few and all concern questionable forms phalāya, and, phallāya KhG·bhalāya svāhā, and, bhallāya svāhā SMB GG The words are addressed to the sun, or to the evening twilight, their meanings are unknown. The form with single l and the variant with ph make it questionable whether bhalla is Prakritic for bhadra (Wackernagel I §195), in spite of the form bhallākṣā which is probably so to be explained (Weber, Ind. St. 288).
- kanātkābhām (AŚ pranākāphā) na ābhara TB AŚ See §151 yā sarasvatī varšambhalyā (ApŚ °balyā, v l °phalyā and °bhalyā) tasyām me rāsva . TB ApŚ See §114

CHAPTER III ASPIRATES AND NON-ASPIRATES AND H

880. The subdivisions of this chapter are very unequal in size and In most of them we find only stray variants, often eoneerning obscure words of doubtful belongings Sometunes both forms may be interpreted and defended, but on the whole they suggest that phonetic confusion between aspirates and non-aspirates played no slight rôle in changes of the Vedie tradition Variants of aspirate and non-aspirate mutes in considerable numbers are found only as between t and th, where however graphic confusion is undoubtedly largely to blame, and as between the dental aspirates and non-aspirates. It is here that we find much the largest and most interesting group appear that lexical and morphological considerations enter in to a large extent, yet it will searcely be doubted that phonetic resemblance accounts at least in some measure for the swollen bulk of the variations between roots $d\bar{a}$ and $dh\bar{a}$, for example, or between verbal endings of different sorts containing t and th—The variation of aspirate inutes with h is appended to this chapter as a special section. §§115ff

L and kh

§81. Here occur two variants, both concerning very dubious forms. gohya †upagohyo marūko: (PG mayūkho) manohāh PG. SMB Cf. grhyo ete Names or forms of Agni The mss vary The form mayūkha, 'ray', would fit fairly well, but may be merely a leet fac. The lexicons report marūka in various meanings

kaşotkāya (MahānŪ lhakholkāya) svāhā TA TAA MahānŪ The MahānŪ form recurs in the Purānas; it is interpreted as kha-kha-ulka ('), 'sky-meteor', i e the sun The other form is ἄπ λεγ, and the comm 's explanation is not worth quoting

g and kh

§82. Two variants between the synonymous stems sukha and suga, to which no phonetic significance can be attached. The form sukha is later both times.

sugam (VS MS ŚB sukham) meşāya meşyaı (RV meşye) RV. VS VSK TS MS KS ŚB LŚ

sugam (VS MS sukham) ca me śayanam ca me VS VSK TS MS KS

g(k) and gh

§83. Only a few variants, one very obscure, one corrupt, cf yena mahānaghnyā jaghanam AV. Kauś, where apparently all mss of both texts read so, but the emendation mahānagnyā is obviously required and is assumed by the Conc. and by Whitney

yanasya ghoşad asi TS TB. ApŚ · goşad ası MS KS. MŚ TS comm 'wealth', Keith 'substance', remarking that ghoşad is probably a corruption for goşad, which however is itself not clear

yatheyam strī pautram agham na rodāt AG SMB PG ApMB HG yathedam strīpautram aganma rudriyāya MG See §801

 $t\bar{a}s\bar{a}m$ $\bar{i}s\bar{a}no$ bhagavah (MS maghavan) VS TS MS KS The words are virtual synonyms

apūpakrd aslake ŚG apūpaghrtāhute ApMB. Addressed to an aslakā, same context, one must be a phonetic corruption of the other 'O cake-making A', or 'O thou that hast cakes and ghee as oblations'

c and ch

§81. Two variants, one an onomatopoetic word

cec-cec chunaka srja PG chad apehr.. ApMB Cf the English 'skat'

karnābhyām (PG godānāc) chubukād (ApMB cu⁵) adhi RV AV ApMB PG. A v 1 of AV with its comm. cubukād; one ms of ApMB cibukād, which is the form found in later Sanskrit.

g and gh

§85. A single variant

apām naptre jaṣah (KSA jhaṣah) TS KSA. jaṣa is otherwise not unknown (AV), but jhaṣa is regular in the later language. The word is of non-Aryan origin

t and th

§86. These variations are without doubt largely, perhaps mainly, graphic. In every case but one they concern interchange of st and sth, which are practically indistinguishable in most alphabets. In nearly every instance the th form is proper, or at least more usual. Many of the words, however, are obscure in derivation.

kuşthayā (MS kuştayā) te krīnām MS ApŚ Regular is kuşthā, designation of a measure; kuştā is not recorded lexically

nadībhyah paunījistham (TB °tam) VS TB Also

namah punnisthebhyo (TS etebhyo) nisadebhyas ca vo namah TS KS.

namo msädebhyah punnishebhyas (MS "febbyas") ca vo namat VS MS. The word punns or paunn "fisherman" or "fowler" seems usually to be written with "fha, but there is no hitle fluctuation. Its unknown, perhaps non-Aryan, origin is not illuminated by the proposed worthless etymologies.

ranistum (AB TB AS MS. *thum) asya mā rānista MS KS AB TB.

AS SS † 5 17 9, MS The regular form is constitut of unknown derivation Knauer (on MS) would emend MS to *thum

- ahorātre ūrvaştīce (VS "şthūce) brhadrathamtare ca me yojāena l'alpetān (VS † kalpantām) VS MS (Add to VV I \$357) The proper form is ūrv-aşthūa, the latter part being a modulation of asthi-vant, knee'.
- śatāpāṣthādya (read with Poona edd oschā gha) riṣū pari no rṛnal.ti TB TA śarā rāṣtād (p p vā, aṣṭāt) dhariṣā rārnah (read [a-] iarnah?) MS As a missile (hcti) is the subject, the true reading contains apāṣtha, 'barb'. The MS is entirely corrupt The Poona ed of both TB and TA. makes the pāda begin with the preceding word ugrā

anupūrram yatamānā yatī siha (AV siha, TA. yalīsta) RV. AV TA yalīsta could only be an aorist; but as it retains a double accent (yāh-siā) it is obviously corrupt (suggested by the preceding yatamānā) for yātī sihā, 'as many as ye be'

- rdhag ayā (TS MS KS ayād) rdhag ulāšamış(hāh (MS KS °şia) VS TS MS KS. ŚB N·dhruvam ayā (AV ayo) dhruvam ulāšamış(hāh (AV ulā šamş(ha) RV. AV Here both forms are correct; there is a shift of verbal person, from 2d to 3d (explained VV I p 211). On the corrupt reading of AV. see §234 Cf next
- āşla (MS āşlhāh, KS ms † āşlāh, em v. Schr. āşla) prolişlhām . . . TS. MS KS PG See VV I p 238, and cf. prec.
- vity area canishayā (SV. panislaye) RV. SV. If the SV. reading is tenable at all (panislaye, 'for praise') it points to a stem in ti, whereas RV (of course original) has a superlative in istha.
- inir asthausam asmriam GB Vait ApS Quoted in Conc with astavisam from GB and Vait But the Vait reading is a mere misprint, corrected by Garbe p 119; and Gaastra reads asthausam in GB. without report of variant Accordingly we may assume that astavisam never existed. The form is from sthu = sthiv 'spit' (of sthute, ApS))
- §87. In the preceding sth is the proper or at least the usual spelling We now come to the cases where st seems proper. Both are dubious,

the first belongs to the sphere of the Kuntāpa hymns, whose textual tradition in all versions is of the worst sort, and the second has th only in the p p of MS

şaşlım (SS şastlım) sahasrā navatım ca kaurama AV AS SS The combination şaşlım sahasrā is very common, see e g Cone thereunder SS, if its reading has any real standing, has confused şaşlı with the ordinal stem şaşlha

mā no agnim (p p agnih) nirtur mā na āştān (p p āşthām) MS mā no rudro nirtur mā no astā TA Sce VV I p 93 The forms are doubtful, read āṣṭām?

§88. The following is the sole variant between t and th not preceded by § Nothing is known about the word kakutha or kakkata except that, as the context shows, it is the name of some animal

privo (privo, bidvo) kakkatas (kakuthas) , sec §67

t and th

§89. These sounds interchange a good deal in old, historie, morphological elements which are otherwise identical (or nearly so) in form, and frequently identical or similar in meaning. Hence, with variations containing such forms, it is not easy to say to what extent the change was morphological in character, and to what extent it resulted from an error of speech or hearing. No doubt both influences were concerned in most cases. We find, for example, that 2d personal verb forms containing th (indicative) and t (modal) are often interchanged, there is seldom any connexion in which either of them is impossible or even difficult (cf. VV I, especially §§14ff, 116). Again 2d and 3d duals often differ only in this single consonant, t or th, and VV I, especially §§20f, 292ff, 326ff, has shown how easy is the shift between second and third personal forms, often with no further change in the context. There are also cases concerning noun formation, suffixation etc., where this slight phonetic difference is concerned.

§90. We begin with the variations between the verbal endings that and ta, the former properly present indicative, the latter modal (or pretcritc) They have been listed in VV 1 p 23f. In the majority—listed first—the t form appears to be older, in the last five, at least, the th form

āpura stā SS āpūryā sthā TS AS Add to VV I le tam sma jānīta (VSK. °tha) parame vyoman AV VS VSK TS KS SB MS jānīta smainam (TS MS jānītād enam) pa° vy° AV TS MS etam jānātha (TB jānītāt, KS jānīta) pa° vy° VS KS TB

- SB Note especially that VSK jūnītha is apparently a blend of jānīta and jānātha, tho jūnītha is grammatically better than jānātha.
- śwa no bhavata (ApŚ tha) jīvase MS ApŚ
- śuddhāh pūtā bhavata (TA °tha, MG. °ntu) yazīnyāsah RV. TA. MG. aśvā bhavata (AV. TS KS °tha) vāznah AV VS. TS. MS KS. ŚB · devā bhavata vā° RV
- tena krīdantīš (SG. krīl°) carata (SG °tha) przyena (AV vašān anu) AV. TS SG PG ViDh. vašān anu in AV is due to infection from RV. 1.82 3, 10 142 7.
- devebhyo bhavata (TB. °tha) suprāyanāh RV AV. VS. MS. KS TB. N. datto asmabhyam (KS dattvāsma°, AŚ dattāyāsma°, SMB dattāsma°) dravineha bhadram AV KS AŚ. SMB. dadhatha no dravinam yac ca bhadram MS
- ye 'tra pıtarah... bhūyāstha AV. SS. ya etasmın loke ... bhūyāsta TS TB A primary ending on a precative form is absurd, yet all mss. of AV. and SS. seem to agree on "tha; see Whitney on AV 18 4 86.
- arālāg udabhartsata (AV. mss °tha) AV \$\$ The AV. reading, augmented but with °tha, is a monstrosity. Roth's violent emendation, āsannā udabhir yathā, has no standing
- aulaba (HG °va) it tam upā hvayatha (HG. °la) ApMB HG. Several mss of ApMB read °la, in such trash as this it makes little difference what is read
- saputrilāyām jāgratha PG., yajamānāya jāgrta ApS. See note in Stenzler's translation of PG. 1, 16, 22
- indrena yujā (TB sayujā) pra mṛnīla (TB. °tha [Bibl Ind pranītha]) salrūn AV. TB Add to VV I §16
- payasvatīh kṛnuthāpa (TS °tāpa) oṣadhīh śwāh (TS. omits śwāh) AV. TS. Followed by
- wrjam ca tatra sumatum ca punvata (TS °tha) AV. TS. (Add to VV I §18.)

 The clauses are parallel and we should expect the same mood in both; yet both are inconsistent Little weight is to be attached to the Ppp readings, quoted by Roth as having t thruout the stanza, even in pada d (yatrā naro marutah suñcathā madhu), where the relative clause should ensure the th form (indicative; see VV I pp 78f.). Contrariwise, the AV. comm. reads pinvatha for °ta, which seems to suggest, perhaps, that originally all the verb forms had th.
- yad āmayatı nış kṛtha (TS MS KS kṛta) RV VS TS MS KS kṛtha, tho a dubious root present, really a back formation from norists like kṛdhi, is the older reading, kṛta lect fac

yūyam (MS divo) vrstim varsayathā (MS °tā) purīsinah RV TS MS KS—MS, which borrows divo vrstim from e.g. RV 2 27 15b, is secondary also as regards °tā.

ud īrayathā (MS MŚ °tā, AV KS °ta) marutah samudratah RV AV TS MS KS AS. MŚ

§91 About equally often second and third duals containing thand t interchange (listed VV I pp 24f.) Even when the context is to our feeling inconsistent in one or the other reading, as often happens, we should generally resist the temptation to emend, for reasons made clear in VV I (references quoted §89) We begin with passages in which the th forms seem to be the older, in the majority there is little to choose between them

citrebhir abhrair upa tişlhatho (MS °to) ravam RV † MS Followed by dyām varşayatho (MS °to) asurasya māyayā RV MS See VV I p 241 yāv (MS KS yā) ātmanvad bibhrto (KS†°tho, AV viŝatho) yau ca rakṣatah (AV. KS†°thah) AV TS MS KS Followed by

yau viśvasya paribhū (KS viśvasyūdhipū) babhūvathuh (TS†°tuh), same texts See VV I p 228 The unanimity of AV. and KS, partly supported by MS, perhaps indicates that the 2d persons are original, we fail to see any ground for Keith's opinion (on TS 4.7.15 3) that the 3d persons are more logical'.

tat satyam yad vīram bibhṛthah (MŚ † °tah), and, in same passage, vīram janayışyathah (MŚ °tah),

te mat prātah prajanayişyethe (MS °te),

te mā prajāte prajanayişyathah (MŚ °tah) TB ApŚ MŚ See VV I p 236

ghṛtena (Kauś vapayā) dyāvāpṛthivī prornuvāthām (VS TS ApŚ prornvāthām, MS MŚ † prornuvātām) VS VSK TS MS KS ŚB Kauś ApŚ MŚ · also see Conc under svarge (°gena, suvarge) loke (-na) prornuvāthām etc (only MS °tām; VS VSK. TS KSA [†samprornuvāthām] ŚB TB Vart. °thām)

yā rājānam (MS KS °nā) saratham yātha (MS yāta) ugrā TS MS KS juşetām (and, °thām) yajāam işlaye RV (both) Add to VV I §21

kāmam duhātām sha sakvarībhih AV rāstram duhāthām sha revatībhih TB. See VV I pp 25, 224

purā gṛdhrād araruṣah pibātah (TS 'thah) RV MS TB Here, and in the following cases, it seems fairly clear that the t forms are original

sam (ApMB sam) üdho romasam hatah (ApMB hathah) RV ApMB See VV I p 24.

hato (SV TB hatho) vrirāny āryā (AV TB aprati) RV SV AV TB followed by,

- hato (SV hatho) dāsāni satpatī RV SV., and,
- hato (SV. hatho) wśrā apa drzah RV SV. See VV I pp. 222, 232.
- yajñasya yultau dhuryā (TB ApŚ °yāv) abhūtām (MS. °thām) MS. KS†TB ApŚ And, in the same stanza.
- dw (KS dwe) yyotir ajaram (MS KS uttamam) ärabhetäm (MS. KS.† °thām), same texts abhüthām is certainly wrong, and all texts have a 3d person in the 1st-pāda of the verse. See VV 1 p 235
- §92. There are further a few anomalous variants concerning other verbal endings containing t and th, or, in the last case, n verbal ending with th varying with a nominal ending with t.
- abhiramyatām (MS. *thām') MS. SG YDh BrhPDh The MS form, if correct (it occurs in an unpublished part of the text), is hopelessly anomalous, see VV I §22
- yāś ca (yā) devīr (devyo, devīs) antān (antān, tantūn) abhīto 'dadanta (tatantha), etc., sec §63
- ubhāv ındrā (ŚB ındro) udıthah sūryaś ca VS. ŚB· aya(h)sthūnam (TS °nāv) udıtā (TS MS KS °tau) sūryasya RV TS. MS. KS The old loc sing in °tā is shifted in VS ŚB. to a second person dual verb, udıthah
- §93. In nominal endings, suffixal or quasi-suffixal, this variation has a certain scope, but is complicated by corruptions or other obscurities
- asunītāya (TA °thāya) vodhave AV. TA The AV comm reads °thāya, which is clearly original; °tāya is infected by asunīti; cf. Whitney on AV. 18 2. 56
- punar brahmāno (AV. brahmā) vasunītha (AV °nītir, KS * °dhītam, 38. 12b† °nītha, MS °dhīte) yajāaih (AV MS KS * agne) AV VS TS. MS KS (bis) SB All forms are rare and dubious KapS (v. Schr. on KS 8 14b) has vasudhītam or °tim (so also v 1 of KS.).
- nurriho (MS °lo) yas ca nisvanah (AV nisvarah) AV. MS TA nirrio in MS is a secondary blend of nirriha (old) and nirrih (common).
- svasti nah putrakrtheşu (MG. pathyākrteşu, but v. 1 as RV) yonişu RV AB MG Note metathesis of i and th in MG.; if the reading is correct, it is a blunder due to pathyāsu in the preceding
- ābhur (MS KS ābhūr, NīlarU. śwo) asya nīşangathīh (VS °dhīh, NīlarU °tīh) VS TS MS KS NīlarU. The last has a corruption, see §77
- paktā (KSA panthā) sasyam TS KSA Comm. on TS, pākašīlam. KSA corrupt, see Keith on TS 7.5 20 1
- stuto 'sı janadhāh TB ApS (LS. pratīka, stutah): tutho 'sı janadhāyāh

(PB °yah) MS KS PB MS LS Is stuto lect fac for tutho of unknown meaning?

samıddho agnır vrşanāratır (AV °nā rathī, ŠŠ °nā rayır) dwah AV AB AŠ ŠŠ From RV. 3 3 6, 4 15 2, 8 75 1 it is probable that rathī is the true reading

garbhas ca sthātām garbhas carathām RV Conc would read cáratām .(gen pl of cárant), but caráthām (gen pl of carátha) may stand (Oldenberg, Noten)

§94. In a few adverbial forms this variation is primarily morphological, but rather indeterminate phonetic tendencies may have been at work.

atho (MU ato) annenawa jivanti TA TU MU

tato (AV ArS tathā) visvan vyakrāmat (AV tathā vyakrāmad visvan) RV. AV ArS VS TA

atho rājann (AV uta rājñām) utlamam mānavānām AV TB

atho pitā (MS utāyam pitā) mahatām gargarānām AV TS MS KS §95. As regards lexical interchange of t and th, RV 8 13 27 harī indra pratadvasū abhi svara has been suspected of harboring a corruption of prathadvasu, 'increasing wealth' (Yāska, prāpta-vasu, Sāyana, vistīrna-dhana), or pratata-vasu But there is not the slightest reason for any Vedic poet to blunder away from so obvious a form as prathad-vasu The word as it stands may be pra-tad-vasū, '(carrying) forward his (Indra's) wealth', so the two bay steeds, as subject Cf the doubtful kriād-vasū (kria-tad-vasū with haplology?) in RV 8 31 9; see however Wackernagel, 2 1 pp 64, 319, Oldenberg Noten on the passages

§96. The lexical interchanges are otherwise few, largely corrupt, and

partly based on different word divisions

tābhyām (MS KS add vayam) patema sukrtām u lokam (Kauś. pathyāsma sukrtasya lokam) VS TS MS KS ŠB Kauś Dhātup has a root path 'go' doubtless abstracted from the noun path, panthan Possibly Kauś intends pathyā(h) sma In VV I p 110 we have treated its form as a precative It is likely, however, to be a mere corruption as regards the th

hıtvā na ürjam pra patāt patisthah (AV padāt pathisthah) RV AV MG

See §60

samsrāvabhāgā (VS SB KS samsrava[°], MS [°]bhāgāh, KS Kauś °bhāgās) stheṣā (Kauś tavṣā) brhantah VS TS MS KS SB Kauś tavṣā is a sophisticated assimilation to brhantah

aktam (MS MS aptubhī, KS *artham) rihānā vyantu (TS TB KhG

viyantu) vayah TS MS KS. (bis) TB MŚ GG. KhG: ryantu vayo 'ktam rihānāh VS. ŚB KŚ aktam rihānāh, 'licking the fat', is certainly original, the KS. artham rationalizes poorly, or rather is a mere corruption. Indeed von Schroeder on KS 31 11 suggests emending artham to aktam. On MS sec §152

alho mātātho pītā TA·hatā mātā hatah pītā SMB: hato hatamātā krimih AV See §386

atho ye kşullakā wa AV hatah krımīnām kşudrakah SMB · atho sthūrā atho kşudrāh TA. Sce ibid

sarve rādhyāh siha (SS °yās tu) putrāh AB SS

grho hiranyayo mitah (AS gromio hio) AV KS AS Here all AV. mss. and comm read mithah, which makes no sense and is clearly a corruption; RWh read mitah with Ppp and KS AS

parītosāt tad arpitha Ap\$ pari dosād ud arpithah K\$. Read in both udarpitah, see §63

upa yazñam asthita (AV. comm astria, MS astu no) vaisiadevī RVKh AV ApS MS.

t and dh

§97. Here we find chiefly forms of the roots vrdh and vrt, which in composition with several prepositions are almost synonymous, but in every variant which occurs one reading or the other is suspicious or corrupt. It happens that the vrt forms are correct or original in every case except the first two, where the reverse is true.

bhīma ā vāvrdhe (SV vāvrte) savah RV, SV.

madanli devīr amrtā rtāvrdhah (Vait °vrtah) Vait ApS MS Caland on Vait 13:20 assumes that °vrtah (all mss) is an error

abhı rāştrāya vartaya (AV vardhaya) RV. AV. The AV is certainly poor, and Ppp has vartaya, see Whitney on 1 29 1. Cf next two

yenendro abhivavite (AV. ordhe) RV AV In same verse as pree; same conditions Cf also next

abhi somo avīvitat (AV. °vidhat) RV AV In next verse to the prec two, same conditions

nivario yo ny avīvīdhah (ApMB °vītat) HG ApMB. Oldenberg adopts °vītat for HG

pumānsam vardhatām (†text is right, despite Cone) mayi \$G.: pumān samvartatām mayi PG. pumān garbhas tavodare SMB 'Let them two (Indra and Agni) make a male grow in me', 'let a male be in me' or the like \$G\$ has a 3 dual active verb See §840

Note further the exchange between the old (RV) adjectives rtarrah

and dhriawata (not concerning root vrt) in: āvitie (āvinne) dyāvāprihwī riāvrdhau (dhriavrate), and others, see §§466, 665

§98. The remaining cases are sporadic, and again largely suspicious or corrupt

samvatsarasya dhāyasā (AV VS tejasā) AV VS TS KSA HG Synonyms

sa mā mṛta (MG vṛtat) AG ApMB MG: cf tam mā mṛthah SG 'Let him not die', or 'do not fail him', and §78, apāma edhi mā mṛthā na indra, etc The MG has a mere corruption, see §225 ābhur (ābhūr, śivo) asya niṣañgadhih ('thih, 'thh), see §77

vn te (PG tau te, HG vndhe) krodham nayāması PG HG ApMB Kırste suggests emending HG to vn te, and this apparently Oldenberg assumes in his translation, vndhe may be somehow felt as from vn-dhā, but is really hopeless

yebhyo madhu pradhāvaii (AV pradhāv adhi) RV AV TA Comm on AV, followed by SPP in text and by Whitney in his Translation, reads as RV See Whitney's note and Lanman, ap Whitney, p xen

śriyai (MG śriye) putrāya vettavai (MG vedhavai) ApMB MG For the MG Knauer suggests veddhavai, Conc vettavai

sınantı pākam atı (ŚŚ †adhı) dhīra etı (ŚŚ emi) AŚ ŚŚ ApŚ adhı is very inferior in sense

d and dh

§99. This interchange occurs in a considerable and heterogeneous mass of variants, most of which are isolated and either lexical or under suspicion of corruption. The manuscripts certify to the ease of confusion between the sounds by very frequently showing variation between them in the same passage of the same text; of e.g., Whitney on AV 11 1 23 (ansadhrī "drī), to mention only one out of numerous possible examples. In the midst of this miscellaneous mass, however, there looms a large and compact block of variants between the two roots $d\bar{a}$ and $dh\bar{a}$. These two roots, thruout the whole of their inflection and in large part in nominal derivatives, are rime-words, differing (in general) only in the aspiration or lack of it. They are also in large measure synonymous, or so near it that it amounts to the same thing

Roots da and dha

§100. They are thus used interchangeably, without betraying any perceptible difference of meaning, in ritual formulas like the following. āyurdā asi ŠŠ . āyurdhā asi TS JB AŠ

āyurdā (MS KS °dhā) agne'si VS TS MS KS. ŚB ŚŚ. PG. cakşurdā (KS °dhā) ası VS KS ŚB

varcodā asī VS SB ŚŚ rarcodhā asī AV TS MS KS JB TB ApŚ MŚ.

varcodā (MS °dhā) ague 'sī VS TS MS ŚB ŚŚ PG —All these formulas are followed by āyur (cakṣur, varco) me (mayı) dehi (dhehi), the verbs in the two associated formulas being always consistent

§101. There is, to be sure, one regular difference between these two verbs as regards the cases they govern, tho it is one-sided rather than reciprocal $d\bar{a}$ does not govern the locative of the person, but only the dative. The root $dh\bar{a}$, on the other hand, while it seems (to our feeling at least) most naturally construed with the locative, may also govern the dative. We have noted among the variants only two cases of $d\bar{a}$ with the locative, both of which may reasonably be suspected

tokhām dadhātu (MS dadātu) hastayoh VS TS MS KS SB This is no real exception, first because a dative (tubhyam) in the preceding pāda is connected with the verb, the locative hastayoh being really epexegetic, but also and chiefly because the MS reading is nonsense, since the preverb ā is joined with dā, which could only mean 'take', a meaning that is manifestly impossible here. Cf mā no andhe, \$105

mayı puşlım †puşlıpalır (AV puşlam puşla") dadhātu (AG †dadātu) AV. MS KS TAA MahānU ApŚ AG SMB. Here the isolated dadātu in the late AG is evidently an error

[mays rucam dhāh (KS †dhehs) MS KS Cone dehs for KS]

§102. On the other hand, we find cases like payo me dāh, MS, recurring as payo mayı dhehi ApS, and in the same text (TS) all three possibilities in a formula like āyur me dehi TS 1 5 5 3, āyur me dhehi 1.661, and āyur mayı dhehi 7 5 19 2 (but, NB, no *āyur mayı dehi).

§103. In very simple formulas of the type presented in this paragraph, there is as a rule no criterion for establishing the greater originality of either reading. Indeed, it is doubtful to what extent they are properly to be considered variants of one another, not infrequently they may very well have originated independently.

rayım me dah (AV dhehr) AV. MS

ojo dehi KS ojo dhatta TS KS ojo mayı dhehi VS TB.. ojo me dāh (svāhā) AV VS SB

balam dehi KS balam dhatta TS MS balam mayı dhehi (AV me dāh svāhā) AV VS TB

saho mayı dhehi (AV. me dah svaha) AV VS. TB

prānam dhehi (KS dehi) KS TA ApS. See Conc in the vicinity of these

vācam dhehi (MS. me dāh) MS TA

annam me deht (PB * dheht) PB (both) LS Kauś, cf note on Kauś 136 4.

āyur dhehi (KS dehi) KS TA ApŚ. MŚ · āyur me dāh (svāhā) AV VS MS. ŚB TA ApŚ MŚ · āyur mayı dhehi VS TS ŚB āyur me dehi VS TS ŚB ŚŚ. PG : āyur me dhehi VSK TS KS KSA MS TB. ApŚ. āyur me dhattam TB ApŚ

śrotram dehi (TA dhehi) KS TA śrotram mayı (KSA †mayı, not me) dhehi TS KSA · śrotram me dāh AV MŚ

calşur dehi (TA dhehî) KS TA calşur me dhehi (KS KSA dehî) VS KS KSA. SB calşur mayı dhehi TS · calşur me dāh (svāhā) AV MS.

tejo mayı (AS me) dhehi (AS dehi) AV VS TS KS SB TB AS IS SG, ApMB : tejo me dhāh (AS dāh svāhā) TA AS

varco mayı dhehi VS TS PB SB ApS varco me dāh (TA dhāh) MS MS. TA.: varco me dehi VS TS SB SS PG · varco me dhehi VSK MS KS JB ApS varco asmāsu dhatta (AS dhehi) AV AS vīram dhatta (AS vīram me datta, MS °no datta) pitarah AS ApS MS

vīrām dhalta (AS vīrām me dattā, MS "no autā) pitarut AS Aps MS vīrān nah pitaro dhalta ViDh vīrān me pitaro (tatāmahā, pratatāmahā) datta Kaus

ürjam mayi dhehi VS VSK MS KS. PB SB LS. ApS MS ürjam me dhehi (PB LS. dehi) VSK TS KS PB GB TB Vait LS KS

hrdisprk kratusprg varcodāh (MS °dhā ası) MS AS

§104. Prose formulas of a somewhat less simple type continue the same style of variations without introducing any additional criteria of textual correctness or priority

aśvibhyām pradhāpaya (TA °dāpaya) MS TA

apām osadhīnām garbham dhāh (MS garbham me dāh) TS MS

adhi datre vocah VS TS SB · adhi dhatre vocah MS KS

calşurdā varcodā varivodāh TS·varcodhā varvodhāh MS varcodā varvodāh (TA varvodā dravnodāh) VS TS KS SB TA

bhūs (also, bhuvas, and svas) tvayı dadhāmı (MG te dadāmı) SB BrhU PG HG MG. bhūr bhuvah svah sarvanı tvayı dadhāmı (MG svas te dadāmı) SB BrhU PG MG

anādhrstāh sīdata sahaujaso (TS MS KS sīdatorjasvatīr) mahi ksatram (varcah) ksatriyāya dadhatīh (KS dadatīh) VS TS MS KS SB

iyam vah sā saiyā samdhābhūd (MS samvāg abhūd) yām indrena samadhadhvam (MS °dadhvam) TS MS eşā vas sā saiyā samvāg abhūd yām indrena samadadhvam KS yām indrena samdhām samadhathāh (comm and some mss samadhattāh) AV. Where the noun samdhā occurs, it guarantees connexion of the verb with the root dhā, note that in MS KS it is replaced by samrāg; but even so, samadadhvam may perhaps be felt as from root dhā (Wackernagel I p 128).

astrto nāmāham...ātmānam ni dadhe dyāvāpṛthivībhyām gapīthāya (KS. dyāvāpṛthivyor ātmānam pari dade ..) AV. KS

devīr āpo apām napād ...devebhyo devatra dhatta (VS SB. datta, KS dāta) VS TS KS SB . . . tam devebhyah śul.rapebhyo dāta MS

puştapate cakşuşc cakşuh smane smānam...dehy asmaı MS · puştipataye (AŚ °pate) puştiś...asmaı punar dhehi (AŚ. dhehi or dehi svāhā) AŚ ApŚ For smane smānam see Bloomfield, AJP 21 324

agnır annādo 'nnapatır. mayı dadhātu (TB yajamānāya dadātu) \$B TB. K\$ Similarly nine other formulas with other gods [udgātar devayajanam me dehi \$B Ap\$ (Cone dhehi for Ap\$)]

§105. The metrical variants bring in a larger number of texts, but offer little new evidence, only the familiar chronological relations of the various texts offer any basis for distinctions of priority, as when, in the first cases to be mentioned, we naturally assume that the RV is original.

rayım devî dadhātu me AV. rāyo devî dadātu nah RV.

purumedhas (SV odhās) cit takave naram dāt (SV. dhāt) RV SV

dakşam dadhāsı (KS dadāsı, v 1 dadhāsı) jīvase RV. MS KS TB. ApS asmabhyam dattām (AV dhattām, but comm dattām) varunas ca manyuh RV AV—Ppp also dattam

vasudeyāya (KS °dheyāya) vidhate vibhāti RV KS In RV vasudeya occurs twice more, but no vasudheya

tato no dehi jīvase RV TB TA · tasya no dhehi jīvase AV SV Kauś lisro dadhur (KS dadur) devatāh samrarānāh VS † (so for Conc RV) 19 81b, MS KS TB The majority are probably original

somāya rājāe paridhātavā (HG °dā°) u AV HG ApMB. As Kirste remarks, HG is secondary or corrupt, the first pāda of the verse has paridhātta in all texts

mā no andhe tamasy antar ādāt MS (properly emended by Knauer to ādhāt, cf §101) mā sv (Poona ed mo şv) asmāns tamasy antarādhāt TA mo şvatvam asmāntarādhāt MS † (corrupt)

pratyādāyāpara 18vā AV 10 1 27, read pratyādhāyā°, see Roth, ZDMG 48 681, and Whitney's and Bloomfield's Translations

dhātā dadhātu (TS, ApŠ ApMB, dadātu) no rayim AV, TS, MS,† KS ApŠ, ApMB Kauš. See §106 first two variants.

drātā dadrātu (ApS. dadātu) surranasyamānah AV. MS KS. ApS.

indre a ma indrigam dattam ojah AV.; asmin nara indrigam dhattam ojah TS. Comm. on AV. and Ppp. dhattam.

āņur no dehi jīvase ŠG.: āyuz te (AV. āyur no) višrato dadhat AV. TS TA. Apš. Aš. HG. BDh. Cf. ray in no dehi . . . §106.

rāyas poşarī ci²iluşe (AV. ^eşī AS. yajamāne) dadhālu (SS. dadālu) AV. TS. MS. KS AS. SS.

işarı ürjanı yajamanaya dhehi (Vait. datteā, AV. duhrām) AV. VS. TS MS. KS. ŠB. Vait.

lolam asmai yaicmānāya dehi (MU, dhehi) TS, KSA, MU.

traștă răpări dadrati (SB. KS. dadati) sarasrati SB. TB. AS. SS. KS. dadati is a secondary adaptation to dadătu in the next păda.

asme dieli (SV. dehi) jūtaredo riahi šravah RV. SV. VS. TS. MS. KS. krivī (AV krivā) savarņām adadur (AV. adadhur) vicasvate RV. AV. N. The AV. is undoubtedly secondary, but it is perhaps a little strong to call it a 'corruption' (Whitney).

derebhyo (VS. devānārh) bhāgadā (TS. °dhā) asat VS. TS. MS. KS.† pra ņo (MS. KS. rnā) brū'ād bhāgadhān (ApŚ. °dhām, MS. °dām, KS

dharirdā) deralāsu (KS. Urbiyah) TS. MS. KS. Ap\$.

§105. In the preceding there seemed to be some reason for preferring one reading or the other. In the following we find none, or so little as not to be worth noting:

Thôid dedôtu (AV. dedôdiu) dōsuşe AV. AS. SS. AG. SG. N. See next. Pôid riêtā rāryā dadhāt i AV.: dhāid dedātu dāsuşe rasūni TS MS ApMB. In variants like this and the preceding, the occurrence of a derivative of the root dhā in the context may be noted. But as an argument for priority it may be a two-edged sword. Does it indicate that the original verb was dhā, or rather that an original

dā was attracted to it?

rayin, ro đehi jivase \$8.: rayim no dřehi yajnizam M8. Ci. āyur na dehi jivase, \$105.

rnedhām agnir dadātu me (SMB dadhātu te) SMB. ApMB.; cf. medhām ta indro dadātu HG, medhām dhātā dadātu (RVKh. Scheftelowitz dadhātu) me RVKh. VS.

tasrio: riā derāķ paridhaticha sarre AV.: tasrioi no derāķ paridaticha (KS. MŚ. *dhatia PG. *dhatiel a) sarre (MŚ.) rišre) TS. KS. MŚ. SMB. PG. BDh. Comm. on AV. also *daticha. called by Whitney a better reading: of this we are less sure.

tasya no rāsta tasya no dheht (AS dāh) AV. AS,

juann eta prati tat te dadhami (SMB dadami) TA SMB j. jirann eta pratidatic dadāmi MS

udno (AV. ed ūdhno, but mss ulno etc.; Whitney transl reads udno) dieyasya no dhālah (TS, KS deht) AV, TS MS KS Comm. on

AV, dhāta, explaining by dhehi (1) mahi tarcah ksatriyaya dadhatih (KS dadatih, TS tantanih) TS. MS

KS.

§107. Leaving now the roots da and dha, we come to other d and dh variations. They are practically all lexical, or else involve dubious and probably corrupt readings But their very frequency, and the frequency of corruptions between the two sounds in the ms., certifies to the ease with which they could be confused. We begin with a group in which the variant forms are still fairly close to one another in external form; in the first they are even etymologically equivalent, concerning divergent forms of the desiderative of the root dabh. This (originally *dhabh) produces both dhips and dips, of which the first is historically regular, while the second, the analogical in origin (:dabh), is the usual form. nindād vo asmān dipsāc (VS SB. dhipsāc) ca VS. TS. MS. KS SB. TA.

dhensyam rā sameakara janebhyah MS : aditsan rā samjagara janebhyah Here dhips varies with the negative desiderative of do (cf. §§180, 45).

vam te sradhāran sradayanti dhenatah RV .: yam te sradātan sradanti gurlayah RV. The second version is inferior in sense and meter; see RVRep on 8 5. 7a and 8. 49. 5c.

sā brahmajāvā vi dunoti rāstram AV.; sā rāstram ava dhūnute brahmajyasva AV Roots du and dhū.

rajani (AV. ed. em. rajjuni) granther danam (AS. dhanam) AV. AS. Vait. The emendation rajiuni is very pat; the passage means 'the tying of a rope', and dhanam, like rajani, is nonsense.

adhi ksami (SV. asmin ksaye) pralaram didhyanah (SV. °ram didyanah) RV. AV. SV. See Whitney on AV. 18 1 1 and Geldner, Gurupūjākaumudī 20. SV. has an obvious lect. fac infected by ideas such as RV. 5. 64 5, suditibhih . . . sre Lsaye . . . rrdhase, or RV. 5 23. 4, eşu kşayeşu ... dīdihi Geldner seems to have the right sense (with didhyānah)

yad banhistham nätwidhe (TB vide) sudana RV. MS. KS TB. AS Both readings make a sort of sense; TB comm natyaniam labhyam But the compound ati-red is not really Sanskrit, and is properly wanting in the lexicons However, one ms. of MS, has "vide

- undra dartā (SV dhartā) purām ası RV. SV. AV The foolish antonym of SV is disproved by RV. 1 130, 10, 3 45 2, 6, 20 3
- [dhāmno-dhāmno rājan VS TS MS KS SB AS SS KS LS ApS MS MG. So also mss. on AV 7 83 2, emended by RWh to dāmno-dāmno Whitney, Transl, keeps the emendation, the even Ppp has dh- But Keith on TS, 'from every rule' (ordinance), which is conservative and possible At any rate there is no variant. In the preceding verse also the AV mss have sarvā dhāmāni muñcatu, emended by RWh to dāmāni, the variant KS 3 8, AS. 3 6 24 has dhāmno-dhāmna iha muñcatu.
- §108. A little less close to each other are the roots vid and vidh, which exchange several times, the 'Prakritic' exchange of r and i also comes in here. In the first two variants vid is clearly original, in the last the precedence is less clear.
- mā no vidad (KS vidhad) vijinā (KS TB ApŚ vijanā) dveşyā tyā AV KS TB ApŚ Cf Conc under mā no vidad (vidan)
- hotrāvidah (RV. °vida, TB °vrdha) stomataştāso arkaih RV AV MS TB On hotrāvid ef RV 5 8 3; hotrāvidh is not recorded
- ındrartublır brahmanā vävydhānah TB ApS · ındra ybhublır brahmanā samvıdānah SS
 - §109. Remoter lexical variants are the following-
- śyenasyeva dhrajato (MS KS dravato) ankasam pari RV VS TS MS KS ŚB. dravatah is a banal easing up of the poetic dhraj- with śyena; cf RV 1 165 2
- avocāma kavaye medhyāya RV. VS TS MS pra vedhase Lavaye vedyāya (TB ApŠ. MŠ medhyāya) RV KS TB ApŠ MŠ srutkarnāya Lavaye vedyāya AV KS ApŠ
- āpo asmān (MS mā) mātarah sundhayantu (AV MS KS sūdayantu, TS ApŚ sundhantu) RV. AV VS TS MS KS ŚB AŚ ApŚ sūdo is evidently secondary. Note that in AV 20 136 16d the word suddham of the vulgate is based on mss readings sudam and sunam (Whitney, Index).
- tam tvā bhrātarah suvṛdho (HG suhṛdo, AV suvṛdhā) vardhamānam AV ApMB HG suvṛdhā vardho, 'growing with good growth', is original In iIG. there is a slipshod assimilation in sense to bhrātarah ('brothers, friends')
- spardhante dhiyah (TS. KSA divah) sürye na (SV süre na, TS KSA † süryena) wisah RV SV TS KSA In RV., 'Pious thoughts (prayers) vie for him (Soma) as people (vie for) the sun,' poetic but intelligible, is done over in TS KSA, into 'The people of the

sky vie with the sun (seated on Soma as on a steed)' So at least the TS comm., followed by Keith; this however implies emendation of the accent of divah to divah (ignored by them). If correct, this concept is otherwise apparently unknown, and it is strange that it supplants the familiar notion of 'conflicting prayers' (Bloomfield, Acts 14th Congress Orientalists 242ff, or Johns Hopkins Circulars 25 lff) The whole verse is obscure.

§110. The rest arc obscure if not corrupt.

- apa snehilīr (KS ms snihit, em v Schroeder; SV. snīhitim) nīmanā adhatta (SV. adhad rāh [so divide], KS † nīmanām adadhrām) RV AV. SV KS · upa stuhi tam nīmnām (Poona ed snuhi tam nīmanām) athadrām TA—KapS reads snehilī tīmanām athamdrī In RV 'Hc, the heroically minded, drove away the enemies' Cf. 1 74 2 Benfey takes adhad as norist of dhā, and rāh as 'riches' The TA comm. understands snuhi as bhūmau prasrāvaya (root snu), and glosses athadrām by adhodravanašīlam (v. 1 atho, as if atha = adhas+drā') Why these terrible readings instead of the simple version of RV.?
- anāgaso adham it samkṣayema TB · anāgaso yathā sadam it sam kṣiyema Vait Comm. on TB. adham id, anantaram eva; but no adverb adham is otherwise known. It seems to be a nonce-formation = adhā by proportional analogy, on a pattern such as sadā sadam = adhā adham, note that the TB. comm assigns to it the meaning of sadam, 'always' Cf VVI p 195
- upākriam sasamānam yad asthāt (MS sadhasthāt, v l. sad asthāt) AV. TS. KS MS If sadhasthāt is more than a blunder it must depend on upākriam 'fetched from home' or the like
- vanā vananti dhṛṣatā (MŚ. mss dhṛṣadā and dṛṣadā) rujantah RV. TS. JB ŚB MŚ See §60
- ud vansam iva yemre RV SV TS KB N·ūrdhvam kham wa mentre Mbh
- adhā vişitah pitum addhi prasūtah KS adomadam annam addhi pramuktah AV And others, §870 adomadam is obscure, we suspect that it contains adas (pronoun).
- [layā madantah sadhamādyeşu (RVKh VS. sadhamādeşu) RVKh VS MS KS TB And others; §325 Scheftelowitz prints °mādhyeşu in RVKh; but his ms °mādyeşu.]

p and ph

§111. Only in the synonymous roots gusp and gulph Aspiration in the latter may be somehow connected with sibilation in gusp, but the

relation is obscured by other forms such as guph, gumph (Whitney, Roots), see Bloomfield, Hymns of the AV 338, top, where gustiam SB 3 2 2 20 is a mispinit of that text

mano yad asya guspitam (ApŚ gulphilam) MS ApŚ yad asya guspitam (ApŚ gulphilam) hrdi MS. ApŚ visāne vi sya guspilam (some mss and comm gulphilam) AV

p and bh

§112. These sounds vary chiefly in rime-words of nearly synonymous meanings most commonly the roots pr and bhr, in the meanings 'preserve' and 'support' In AV 3 5 4c, $tam\ prij\bar{q}sam\ bahu\ rocam\bar{q}nah$, we must read $bhrij\bar{q}sam$ with Whitney

manas tanūşu bibhratah (TB * ApŠ * LŠ pipratah) RV VS TB LŠ ApŠ Kauš Both readings in TB, ApŠ.

utem (ŚŚ uto) āśu mānam piparti (ŚŚ bibharti) AV AB GB ŚŚ One ms of ŚŚ piparti, which should perhaps be read even in that text tam piprhi daśamāsyo 'ntar udare ŚG tam mātā daśa māso bibhartu ApMB HG

a tvā rāṣtrāya subhṛtam bibhartu AV 13 1 1d, Ppp according to Roth pipartu for bi, which must be secondary if Ppp has subhṛtam as indicated by Roth's silence This is just the converse of the following, which concerns three pādas of AV 11 5 (1d, 2e, 4d) sa ācāryam tapasā piparti (Ppp bibharti),

sarvān sa devāns tapasā piparti (Ppp bibharti), and

śramena lokāns tapasā piparti (Ppp bibharti), all AV. and Ppp

 $\S 113$. There are also two interchanges of the partly synonymous roots yup and lubh, the former being original both times, see Bloomfield, AJP 12 414ff ·

samyopayanto duritāni višvā RV MG samlobhayanto duritā padāni AV ayupitā (ApŚ. alubhitā, and once āyupitā by misprint, see Errata to Vol. 2) yonih MS ApŚ MŚ

§114. Finally two miscellaneous cases

agner nhvāsi suhūr (VSK TS TB subhūr, KS supūr) devebhyah (TS TB devānām) VS VSK TS. KS TB ŠB ŠŠ suhū, 'calling enticingly,' fits jihvā best

yā sarasvatī vaišambhalyā (ApŚ balyā, vv ll phalyā, bhalyā)

TB ApŚ The true form, derivation, and meaning of this epithet are unknown TB comm has a fatuous explanation

ASPIRATE MUTES AND H

§115. That there was in Vedic times, as in Prakrit, a tendency to reduce aspirates to h is indicated e g by Wackernagel 1 §218 Nearly all our cases concern bh and h; and a majority of these, again, the single root grah (grabh) Any rule as to early phonetic interchange between these two forms of the root (Wackernagel, l. c., p 252) is cheerfully neglected. The same school or the same text will use grabh in one place and grah in another, under like conditions. The popular texts, AV and most of the Grhya Sūtras, seem to like grah a little better, but they are not consistent, they are merely moving in the direction of Classical Sanskrit, with which they are in other respects more closely affiliated than the hieratic language. Perhaps the same preference may be discernible in TS and KS RV and other archaizing texts—seemingly including VS, MS, SB, and ApMB—and the RV, sūtras prefer grabh on the whole. But really the one stable factor is inconsistency.

bh and h

§116. We begin with bh and h, which includes grah: grabh and with it nearly all that may have historical significance First, grah and grabh grbhnāmi (AV. HG grhnāmi) te saubhagatvāya (ApMB HG suprajāstvāya) hastam RV. AV AG SG SMB PG HG ApMB MG

jagrhmā (RV jagrbhmā, TB jagrbhnā) te dal sinam indra hastam RV SV MS TB Svidh In VV I p 252 we have suggested that the form jagrbhnā (comm vayam grhītavantah) may have been a 1st person subjunctive [In the ms of this section Bloomfield wrote. 'If this startling form is more than an old and inexplicable blunder, it seems to contain dissimilation of m to n after the labial aspirate' I myself am now inclined to see in it only a sort of confused blendform, jagrbhmā (in which -mā is the 1st plural ending) of RV is stupidly altered to -nā with thought of the present infix in forms like grbh-nā-ti —F E]

na hy asyā (ApMB asyaı) nāma grbhnāmi RV ApMB : nahı te nāma jagrāha AV

hıranyapavah pasum asu (SV apsu) grbhnate (AV.† grh°) RV. AV SV sania (AG. ApMB HG. MG °lā te) hastam agrabhīt (AV SMB MG °hīt) AV. AG SG SMB ApMB HG. MG: devas te savitā hastam grhnātu AV.

ıdam rādhah pratı grbhnīhy (JB. grhnīhy) añgırah AV. GB. JB ŚŚ bhagas te hastam agrabhīt (AV. °hūt) AV ŚG. ApMB

- agnış te hastam agrabhīt (SMB °hīt) SMB ApMB. HG
- aryamā (ApMB. °mā te) hasiam agrabhīt (SMB °hīt) SG SMB ApMB oşadhayah prais grbhnīta (TS KS grhnītāgnim etam, MS MS grbhnītāgnim etam) VS VSK TS MS KS SB MS
- nākam grbhņānāh (TS KS grh^o) sukrtasya loke VS TS MS KS SB agne brahma grbhnīşva (MS MŚ grhnīşva, KS grhīşva) VS MS KS SB MŚ
- apo devīr (VS SB devā) madhumatīr agrhnan (MS KS agrbhnām, VS SB agrbhnan) VS TS MS KS SB ApS
- āpo devīh pratigrbhnīta (TS KS Apچ°grhnīta) bhasmaitat VS TS MS KS ŚB ApŚ MŚ
- devo vah savıtā hıranyapānıh pratı (MS MŠ °pānır upa) grhnātu(VS SB pratıgrbhnātv , VSK °vah savıtā pratıgrhnātu.) VS VSK TS MS KS SB TB ApS MS
- adıtıs te (VS MS SB $^{\circ}$ tış te) bılam grhnātu (VS MS SB grbh $^{\circ}$) . VS. TS MS KS SB TA ApS
- tam vo gṛhnāmy (MS tam te gṛbhnāmy) uttamam VS TS MS KS ŚB TA
- prati grhnāmi (MS. TB † AŚ grbh°) mahate vīryāya (MS. KS mahata indriyāya) MS KS TB AŚ—TB. Poona ed text and comm grbh°.
- yasya yonim patireto grbhāya (HG prati reto grhāna) ŚG HG vy asya yonim prati reto grhāna ApMB
- §117. The same variation occurs in the independent but semantically synonymous roots bhr and hr, without other motive than the close similarity in sound. The first two variants in §118 belong also here parāpuro nipuro ye bharanti (MŚ har°) AV VS ŚB AŚ ŚŚ ApŚ MŚ SMB
- rātrīm-rātrīm (VS ŚB* ahar-ahar, AV TS rātrīm-rātrīm) aprayāvam bharantah AV VS TS MS KS ŚB (both) ahar-ahar balım it te harantah AV
- śarma varmedam ā bhara ApMB śarma varmaitad ā hara AV viṣnuh sambhriyamānah VS viṣnur upāvahriyamānah TS prānāpānābhyām balam āharantī (ApMB ābhar°) SMB ApMB
- prānāpānābhyām balam āharantī (ApMB ābhar°) SMB ApME (Other forms, see Conc)
- §118 Next come a number of shifts between the participles -hita (-dhita) and -bhrta (-hrta, cf preceding) Tho quasi-Prakritic as regards both vowel and consonant change, this variation really concerns approximate synonyms Cf also -dhita -bhrta, §175
- hıranye 'smın samāhıtāh (HG samābhṛtāh) RVKh HG ApMB Schoftelowitz reads 'hṛtāh in RVKh

devīr devaih samāhītāh (TB °bhītāh) SV TB: devair devīh samāhītāh RVKh But Scheftelowitz, here also, reads °hītāh for RVKh'; if this is right the variant belongs in the preceding paragraph alone. gandharvo dhāma vibhītam guhā sat VS: gan° nāma nihītam guhāsu TA MahānU. And others; §855.

sūryarašmim samābhriam TS TB. sūryān (p. p. °yūt) hihram samābhriam MS sūryc saniam (KS TA sukram) samāhitam (KS TA °bhriam) VS. KS ŚB TA.

yad agne pürvam prabhītam (AS prahītam; MS nihītam) padam hī te TB ApS AS MS

§119. Next we group together a number of cases in which derivatives of the root $bh\bar{u}$ vary with others from $h\bar{u}$ and hu. All are ritualistic epithets compounded with su- or sva-, and in such language these epithets are very nearly interchangeable, one does about as well as another

agner jihvāsi suhūr (subhūr, supūr) devebhyah (devānām), sec §114 ekavā ca dašabhiš ca srabhūte (AV cā suhūte) AV VS MS SB. TA AS.

SS According to Roth Ppp has ca bhūte, evidently intending ca svabhūte, which is presumably original Vayu is addressed

ā tvā subhava (AB AS sukava) sūryāya AB KB SB AS SS

samudram na suhavam (AV subhuvas, TB 'oona ed suhuvam) tasthrvänsam AV. TB ApS: mahisam nah subhvam tasthivänsam MS—AVPpp reads as MS except subhavas, for which Barret, JAOS 35 46, reads subhuvas. The root hu may be concerned here, despite TB comm (sukhenāhvālum šakyam).

suhulakṛtah stha . . AS : subhūtakṛta stha ApS.: subhūtakṛtah subhūtam nah kṛnuta SS

§120. In two cases—besides the grah grabh variants—the identical word, or a derivative of the same root, appears with bh and h

kakuham (VSK TS ApŠ kakuham) rūpam vrsabhasya (KS rūpam rs°) rocate brhat (VSK brhan) VS VSK. TS MS KS ŠB (pratikas, ApŠ MŠ)—kakuha occurs already in RV, which does not know kakubha Cf §23

apām gambhan sīda VS ŠB KŠ apām gambhīram gacha KS ApŠ. apām tvā gahman sādayāmı.. MS MŠ

§121. Miscellaneous cases

brāhmanebhyo hy anujfātā (TA 'bhyanu'') TA MahānU hi (a)bhi asambhavyam (JB asamheyam, perhaps for asamkhyeyam) parābhavan AV JB

abhi dyumnam (RV. VS sumnam) devabhaktam yansiha (MS KS devahitam yansihya) RV. VS TS. MS. KS ApMB

nābhimīše (MS KS nābhidhīse) tanvā (TS tanuvā) jarbhurānah (TS MS KS jarhīsānah) RV VS TS MS KS SB

asmān (MS KS asmān) u devā avalā haveşu (MS KS bhareşv ā) RV. SV VS TS MS KS asmān devāso †'vatā havesu AV

dh and h

§122. Here we find only a few variants They are partly based on familiar phonetic alternates (imperative ending dhi hi, participle hita dhita), partly on lexical changes

nřnh (MS nřnš) pāhi šrnudhī (SV °hī) girah RV SV VS MS KS ŠB Cf Wackernagel I p 253

uşnena vāya (ApMB vāyav) udakenehi (SMB GG °naidhi, MG vāyur udakenet) AV AG SMB GG PG ApMB MG ihi edhi, both regulai, the latter obviously secondary

upasthe soma āhitah (ApMB ādhitah) RV AV ApMB MG Note archaism in ApMB

ye bhakşayanto na vasūny ānṛdhuh (TS ānṛhuh, MS ānaśuh) AV TS MS Whitney (Roots) rubricates ānṛhuh under arh The obscurity of the passage makes it impossible to say whether this is right or whether it is a phonetic form of ānṛdhuh, see Whitney's note on AV 2 35 1 and Keith on TS 3 2 8 3

grdhrah sıtıkakşī vārdhrānasas te dıvyāh (KSA ms vārhīnasas te 'dıtyāh)
TS KSA Von Schroeder emends to vārdhrī', questionably, see
Edgerton, Studies in Honor of Hermann Collitz 28, and above §23

harşamānāso dhṛṣītā (TB °atā) marutvah RV TB N harşamānā hṛṣītāso marutvan AV Three mss of AV dhṛṣītāso, Ppp ms ṛṣamānāso ṛṣadā, for which Barret, JAOS 35 59f, reads dhṛṣatā The form hṛṣīt° is obviously suggested by the preceding harṣa° usrāv (VSK KS usrā) etam dhūrṣāhau (VSK MŠ °vāhau, KS °bādhā)

. VS VSK TS KS ŠB MŠ

gh and h

 $\S123$. We find only a few cases, which seem on the whole to concern phonetic reduction of gh to h arghyam $\S\S$ HG arghyam bhoh Kauś arhan $\S\S$ hg

AnG See §321, end arh = argh

angharır (SS anharir, all mss) ası bambharıh VS TS MS KS PB SS LS The word is obscure, but SS looks like a phonetic reduction

somam le krīnāmy ūrjasvaniam payasvaniam †vīryāvaniam abhımālışāham

(KS vīryāvantam bahvargham sobhamānam) TS KS: somavikrayin somam te krīnāni mahāntam bahvarham bahu sobhamānam MS am ghed agnir vidhāvati RV TS · tam hed agnir vidhāvati MS Particles gha and ha

vīram hi (read avīraghnī?) vīravatah suševā MG: avīraghno (ApMB† "nī) vīravatah (ŚG vīratarah, HG "tamah) suvīrān (HG suševān) AŚ ApŚ ŚG HG ApMB

kh and h

§124. Only one real variant, which concerns an onomatopoetic word imitating the sound of a frog With this cf asambhavyam (JB asamheyam) parābhavan AV JB, where asamheyam may be for asamkhyeyam; see §121

khanvakhā31 khaimakhā31 madhye taduri AV: haimahā3 haimahā3 KS Cf haimahā31dam madhv. SS LS. ApS

CHAPTER IV. INTERCHANGES OF THE MUTE SERIES

1. GUTTURAIS AND PALATALS

125. Interchange between gritturals and palatals is of special interest, because both go back to identical IE sounds, namely value or laboralers, with the exception of the voiceless aspirates which are perilise. The general rule that palatals appear before IE e, ē, i, ī, and y, much disturbed by analogies even in established words and classes of words, is still further rendered unstable by the more sporadic forms that mostly appear among the variants. Especially VEK affects forms like torally if or toracmi, yrragmifor yamajmi (§§127, 131), etc. It may be observed that in these particular forms VSK is historically regular, the variant forms being analogical. But since VSK, also replaces j with g before m when j is an IE palatal, which should never appear as g, it is makkely that it here preserves unchanged a real prehistoric form. Rather we are dealing with a secondary matter of school oddity. Wackernagel, I §§119ff., especially 121ff., deals fully and ably with the leading aspects of the interrelation of these sounds.

k and c

§125. The variants are not numerous. They occur occasionally in the same word, but more often in words which, while not identical, are available for interchange because of greater or less semantic proximity. Thus, first, in two desiratives of the root cit:

garnīnari celo abhisarinikalistam (TB. kelo abhirarinabhadhitum) AV. TB. ā no ome tucelurā (TB. Apš. saketruā) RV. SV. MS. TB. AŠ. ŠŠ. Apš.

The exicum below is \$1.147., and is doubtless due to confusion between celow and below both of which are historically regular. TB. communications that have both of which are historically regular. TB. communications that the meaning of the Classical below (perhaps from a, follow, rather than air). The form-below of the second instance is too be sure with different meanings) commoner and more primary than-celou, patterned after the prevalent a forms of the root. Cf. Wachennagel I p. 145. and further Oldenberg on RV. 5. 65. 4; Neisser, ZWbch. d. RV., s. v. belong. Yet the reading subdumā is erifertily secondary.

tobat (TS. total) prihinga uta ra diran pari VS. TS. MS. KS. SB. total in tradey, and analogical.

0

kanīkhunad wa sāpayan TB: canīkhudad yathāsapam AS c- 1s again analogical; for the intensive reduplication see Wackernagel I p. 147.

yatraıtān (VS. ApMB °nān) veitha nihitān parāke (SMB. parācah) VS AG Kaus SMB ApMB. HG MG. parā(ñ)c- and its extension parāk-a-

nū cit (SV. nakih) sa dabhyate janah RV. SV. cit'is, of course, in origin the regular neuter to the stem ka-; but equally of course no consciousness of this relationship can have been present at the time when this variation occurred

atho adhinkartanam (ApMB *cartanam) RV. AV. ApMB Here the two roots are unrelated · kft 'cut' and cft 'tie'. In both the initial sound has been generalized (Wackernagel I p 145). The primary reading of this variant was 'cutting off'; the secondary, 'untying'.

ima udvāsīkārına . TB. ApS · $im\bar{a}$ uddhāsicārına . . . MS. See §59 The MS reading is secondary and poor; it is felt as containing root car, as against the original k_{Γ}

§127. In a class by itself is the curious phonetic treatment of an established root-ending c as k before m in VSK, see §125:

ındrasya (MS. MŚ ındrāya) tvā bhāgam somena tanacmı (VSK tanakmı, MS MŚ somenātanacmı) VS VSK KS ŚB· somena tvā tanacmīndrāya dadhı TS. TB ApŚ

g and c

§128. An isolated case concerning unrelated words; the majority reading with c is presumably original na vai śvelasyādhyācāre (HG °bhyācārena, MG. °bhyācāre, AG śvelaš

cābhyāgāre) AG PG. ApMB. MG

k and ch

§128a. An isolated lexical variant-

chavīm (KSA †Lavīn) chavyā TS KSA. The latter is doubtless original, assimilation to the next word in TS, resulting in absurd repetition of the same stem.

kh and ch

§129. Two variants contain forms of khid and chid, identified by Haug, ZDMG 7 517, and hesitatingly by Uhlenbeck, Etym Wbch Wackernagel however (I §§121, 131), with most scholars the against Brugmann, denies any historic connexion between kh and ch. See his references §131b, end, and cf Guntert, Reimworfbildungen 23, 32

yalah (MS yena) prajā alhıdrā (MS achıdrā) ajāyanta . TS. MS KS alhıdrāh (ApŚ aghorah) prajā abhıvıpasya KS ApŚ achınnaputrāh (MS °traḥ) prajā aruvīkşasva VS. MS ŚB

g and j

§130. The distinction between the two kinds of Sanskrit \jmath (Wackernagel I §§120, 136ff) is such that \jmath from IE palatal g should properly never vary with g, whereas \jmath of the velar (labio-velar) series should appear only before IE e, \bar{e} , ι , $\bar{\iota}$, y Nevertheless \jmath from palatal g produces analogically some g forms (Wack §138), and the velar voiced sound at the end of roots before consonantal endings (usually m and v) is regularly treated as \jmath (Wack §130c) The variants regard all historic distinctions of this sort little or not at all

§131. To begin with, VSK as we have remarked (and in one case SV) shows g for j before m (§§125, 127) This applies equally to both kinds of j (root yij with velar, roots mij and sij with palatal)

mıtrararunayos tva prasastroh prasışa yunajmı (VSK °gmi) . VS

VSK TS MS KS SB TB APS MS

agnım yunajmı (VSK °gmı) savasā ghrtena VS VSK TS MS KS SB KS Aps MS

agnīşomābhyām juştam ni yunajmi (VSK °gmi) VS VSK ŠB vājinam tvā vājedhyāyai (TS sapatnasāham, KS vājin vājayatyāyai) sam mārjmi (VSK °gmi) VS VSK TS KS ŠB

vājinīm tvā vājedhyāyai (TS sapatnasāhīm, KS vājini vājayatyāyai) sam mārjmi (VSK °gmi) VS VSK TS KS Corresponding formulas of other schools all with mārjmi, see Cone under vāji tvā upa trā kāmān mahah sasrjmahe RV AV upa tvā kāma īmahe sasrgmahe SV

§132. Besides the above, derivatives of the roots yuj and sij show each a couple of variations between g and j

hınvāno mānuşā yugā (SV. yugā) RV SV

dawyam mānuṣā yugā RV SV. VS TS SB mprāso mānuṣā yugā KS dawam mānuṣā yujā MS The SV form of the first variant may be taken with Benfey as instrumental from root-stem yuj In this case both are phonetically normal, as the RV. has a neuter plural of yuga (of Wackernagel I §128a, d) In the second case also MS may have an adverbial instrumental

dıştaya rajjusarjam (TB "sargam) VS TB

prajūpate vištasrj (MS °srg, mss mostly srk, one srj) jīvadhanyah.

MS TB AS † 2 14 12c [also in Cone under idam no deva pratiharya

havyam, read AS. 2 14.12d] ApS — The $\delta \pi$ $\lambda \epsilon \gamma$, rajju° seems to mean 'rope-maker' (TB comm rajjūnām srastūram), and the vocalism of the radical syllable points to an a-stem. Since a-stems from roots in velar j tend to have g (Wackernagel §128a), the root srj is carried away with the rest; of the familiar nomen actionis sarga. The 'historically correct' sarja, occurring here alone, may therefore be secondary. On srj srg see Wackernagel I pp. 173f, 329. In the second variant srj before j might stand for srt, of helow, §112, brahman tvam as višvasrt (°srk).

§133. Once an intensive reduplication varies between g and j; cf. the same with k and c, §126, kanikhunad etc:

nı galgalīti dhārakā VS SB . nı jalgulīti (KSA † mss. jalgalūti, ed em. jalgalīti) dhānikā TS KSA

§134. The rest concern miscellaneous words of independent origin: †prajāyāmasy agratah HG. pragāyāmasy agratah PG ApMB.: pragāyāmy asyāgratah MG. Verb forms of pra-gai and pra-jan, the latter obviously secondary, but found in other places besides HG; see Kirste's note

sadā yācann aham girā (SV. jyā) RV SV N. Comm on SV. reads girā with RV Since jyā is unaccented, Bensey posits a verb-form ('potential optative') of root ji, with loss of final m, for *jyām = *jiyām. Very dubious

apa (AV. ava) šveta padā jahi AV. AG. SG. PG ApMB HG: apah (most mss apa) švetapad āgahi (so all mss) MG. See §817.

punar brahmāno (AV brahmā) vasunītha (°nītir, °dhītam, °dhīte) yajnath (AV. MS KS * agne) AV. VS TS MS. KS. (bis) SB. See §93.

2 GUTTURALS AND LINGUALS

§135. A single stray variant concerning obscure forms in k and d: lekas ca sasaramalankas ca HG: lekas ca sasaramalandas ca ApMB. See §165.

3 GUTTURALS AND DENTALS

§136. The variations between gutturals and dentals are interesting, hut none too numerous and for the most part difficult or dubious. To some extent they concern final consonants; in one of these cases the ultimate root concerned has a palatal ending, and the variation is really one of sandhi. The majority of guttural-dental variants are levical in character; often the change is in consonant combinations, again bringing in (this time internal) sandhi or assimilation.

k and t

§137. We begin with lexical variants, where we find first the absolutely equivalent rime-roots stabh and skabh; see Bloomfield, IF 4. 74ff; Guntert, Reimwortbildungen 26ff. Among the variants, RV always has stabh, while AV prefers skabh

jagatā sındhum dıvy astabhāyat (AV asla") RV. AV

mahān mahī astabhāyad (AV KS † aska°) vi jātah AV TS KS AB. AŠ yam krandasī avasā tastabhāne (AV avataš caska°) RV AV. VS VSK TS ya ime dyāvāprthivī tastabhāne MS KS AVPpp (Barret,

JAOS 35 44f)

vy astabhnā (VS ŠB asla", MS asla", KS asla", TS aslabhnād, TA aslabhnād) rodasī visnav ("na, "nur) ete RV. VS VSK TS. MS KS ŠB. TA

dwam skabhāna KS: dyam stabhāna KS

§138. There are few other cases in which k and t, not final, exchange in a purely lexical or corrupt fashion.

stuhi sūram vajrinam apratīkam (TB. apratītam) MS TB The Bibl.

Ind ed of TB. has apratītlam, but comm and Poona ed text correctly, apratītam, 'invincible' MS has a mere blunder.

avānyāns tantūn kırato dhatto anyān TB: prānyā tantūns tirate dhatte anyā AV See Whitney on AV 10 7.42

purā jatrubhya (TA ApMB jartībhya, MS. cakrbhyā, p p vaktībhyah') ātīdah (MS °da) RV AV SV MS PB TA KS. ApMB See \$57.

ugro (HG. ūrdhvo, MG agne) virājann (MG °jam) apa (MG upa) sedha (AV virīkṣva) satrūn (MG. sakram) AV. ApMB HG MG §139. Next a group of cases in which the combination it varies with kt (and occasionally with other consonants before t), cf. §416, to which all these variants also belong

n no rāstram unattu payasā svena TB. sam te rāstram anaktu payasā ghrtena AV. For n-unattu cf RV 1 164 47, 5 83 8, for samanaktu, RV. 10 88 4, 118 4 The variation is lexical, hardly phonetic

devair nyuptā (KS. nuttā, AV uktā) vyasarpo mahitvā (AV "tvam) AV KS ApS MS "Cast forth (KS impelled, AV spoken") by the gods thou (earth) hast spread out greatly (to greatness). Ppp reads mahitvā, and also srṣṭā for uktā, seemingly an ancient gloss which states in plain language what all the texts really mean

anyām icha prirşadam vyaktām (ApMB, vritām) RV ApMB jāmim icha prirşadam nyaktam (read °lām) AV. Here the assimilated

form of ApMB (with samprasarana) is clearly secondary

- sarvān it lān anu vidur vasisthāh RV.: sarvam uktam anuvidur vasisthāh JB A more drastic reconstruction or Verballhornung in JB.
- tha prasatto (AV prasatto, TB. prasapto) vi cayat kṛtam nah RV. AV. MS. TB. prasapto (comm prakarṣcna samūgatah san, ns if from pra-srp with Prakritic a for r) has no standing. AV, tho also secondary, makes fair sense, 'attached'; RV. probably 'gracious', in the sense of the later prasanna
- nwiktyai (TB wwityai, read with Poona ed wwittyai) kṣaltāram VS TB. wwiktyai, 'for discernment', is certainly original TB comm. wiseṣa-lābhābhimāninyai but the form of root vid is isolated if vi be regarded as the preposition, and anomalous if it be taken as reduplication
- dhātuh katkaṭah (KSA kakkaṭah) TS KS Original form unknown; VS 24 32 has kakkaṭa
- avımuktacakra (v. 1 °rā) āsīran PG.: vivrttacakrā āsīnāh HG ApMB.
- §140. There are also several cases of variation between k_s and k_s , reminding us of the fact that both these combinations become ch in the Middle Indic languages, and to some extent in Vedic dialects, see below, §§183ff These variants indeed really belong in that chapter; they manifestly concern the pronunciation of both combinations as something verging on ch In five out of six cases the writing with k_s (thrice in SV., once in AV, once in MS.) is secondary, and in three it is more or less foolish, if not utterly uninterpretable
- vṛṣanam pṛtsu (SV. pṛkṣu) sāsahim RV. AV. SV. Here only pṛtsu, 'in battles', can be meant; 'in delights' (root pṛc) is silly.
- yat te ditsu (SV dikşu) prarādhyam RV. SV. The RV. has a nom sg. neut of a desiderative adjective from dā, agreeing with manas SV clearly secondary and poor (Benfey, 'in aller Welt')
- yad ditsasi (SV yac chikşası) stuvate māvate vasu RV. SV. In this case the two forms are practically synonyms; silşeyam and ditseyam together in RV. 8. 14 2; a similar passage RV. 1. 81 2.
- agnum (AY agnth) sruco adhvareşu prayatsu (AV. prayakşu) AV. VS TS MS KS Cf. prayaty adhvare, familiar formula in RV. at the ends of pādas (RVRep. 660) Wackernagel I §156a, note, erroneously suggests that prayatsu may be for prayatsu = prayakşu (pra-yaj), but the form does not really construe The hymn AV 5 27, with its miserable corruptions (Bloomfield, Atharvaveda 54), does not call for any serious treatment of prayakşu (the p p leaves it undivided); it is, like most of the SV readings with kş for ts, a phonetic blunder for prayatsu

- āvītsī (MS āyukşī) sarvā oṣadhīh RV VS TS. MS KS Roots ā-vīdā-yūj
- prāsmān ava prianāsu pra viksu (TB yulsu) RV TB Here, of course, ks is original, yulsu is suggested by prianāsu
- §141. There is also one isolated anomaly in which kn is substituted for tn, somewhat as in the preceding. Here too kn seems to be a phonetic variant or blunder, based merely on similarity of the sound combinations
- tādītnā (TB † °knā) šatrum (TB °ūn) na kīlā mnise (TB Conc mvaise, read mnise with Poona ed text and comm) RV TB tādīknā is repeated in the comm (Poona ed), which glosses tādršān! It seems that it must mean simply tādītnā
- §142. Finally, a few cases of interchange between l and t final All concern the ends of padas. Two concern adverbial forms in -l from anc stems, a third is simply a matter of external sandhi
- anamıtram no adharāt (KS °rāk, VSK me †adharāk) AV VSK KS Equivalent adverbs, one abl of adhara, the other acc neut of adharāñc The same pair sonantized, below, §145, ottarād adharād (°rāg) ā purastāt

tad vipro abravīd udak (SS u tat) AV SS See §65

brahman (MahānU brahman) tvam ası vıšvasrt (MahānU °srk) TA
MahānU There is a v. l °srk in TA, and as the next sentence
begins with t, the variant may be graphic Possibly, however,
srt may be for srt by dissimilatory influence of the lingual vowel r,
cf. Wackernagel I §156a, note, and as regards the final treatment
of this root in general, §149a, α [Delete brahma tvam ası etc in
Conc]

samyak (TS MS TAA Ap\$ * M\$ sam it, KS * sarit) stavanti sarito na dhenāh RV VS TS MS KS \$B TAA K\$ Ap\$ M\$ See §830 sarasvatī tvā maghavann abhiṣnak (TB Ap\$ abhīṣnāt) RV AV VS MS KS \$B TB Ap\$ Altho TB comm fatuously glosses by bhiṣajyatu, abhīṣnāt (abhi+iṣnāmi) is doubtless an independent lexical word, 'inspire', into which the phonetic relation of k t enters as a factor While abhiṣnak is āπ λεγ, the word, as well as the treatment of its final consonant (Wackernagel I §138), is primary

Note also yaśo bhagaś ca mā rışat MG 1 9 27c, where Knauer reports that practically all his mss point to rışak as the true reading, of course it must mean the same as rışat Cf Wackernagel I §260a, β , small print, §277a

Cf also AV. 1 18 2a: nır aranım savılā sāvışat padoh, so the vulgate,

but all mss. sāviṣak, retained by SPP. and approved by Whitney; see Whitney, Grammar 151a, and the preceding variant. According to Whitney, the comm and Ppp both have sāviṣat. The same form occurs in the VSK. version of the following, on the subject of final k:t see most recently Renou, Ehrengabe für Wilhelm Geiger 163n; Oertel, ibid. 137; and our §272a, na me tad etc; our §145; and abhiṣyak for egyat, PG. 3. 1. 3b (VV I p. 242, infra).

tasyām no devah (MS tasyām devah) savīlā dharmam (VS.† VSK † TS † SB † dharma) sāvīşat (VSK ° şak) VS VSK TS MS. KS. SB.

The next is an error of the Cone:

[trivrd yad bhuvanasya rathavrt TB ApS . trivrd bhuvanam yad rathavrl. KS Cone , but read rathavrt, text ovrj jīvo—]

kh and t

§143. In the single variant following, PG. has a corruption, due to assimilation to the word sakhyāni in the following, Stenzler on PG 2 11 12 translates the AS reading See his note there, and his critical note

parı salyasya dharmanā (PG sakhyasya dharmanah) AS. PG.

g and d

- §144. Except final, this interchange occurs in only a few stray variants. The first may possibly contain a phonetic confusion or assimilation.
- ā galdā dhamanīnām (ApŚ. galgā dhavanīnām) ApŚ. MŚ N. galgā is undoubtedly secondary (by assumlation to the preceding ga-?); galdā is Rigvedic (8 1. 20), but nevertheless obscure Pischel, VSt 1 84, and KZ 41. 183ff, discusses the word without knowing the full stanza in ApŚ MŚ. After him many others, see Oldenberg, Noten, on 8 1 20 The following word in ApŚ. is also a phonetic corruption for dhamanīnām, see §225 Caland leaves the pāda untranslated.

yad annam admı (PrānăgU. agnır) bahudhā vırūpam (etc., §619) AV. TA PrānāgU.

na var gāvo mangīrasya (KS mandīrasya) KS Vait. MS. Proper names, of unknown etymology

rudras (MS ugras) tantıcaro visã TB. ApS MS. GG KhG.

marudbhir ugrā ahrnīyamānāh AV . marudbhī rudrāh samajānatābhi TS. Whitney considers ugrā a corruption for rudrā

āsmīnn (KS. ā sīm) ugrā (MS ā samudrā) acucyavuh TS MS KS. ApS. In an obscure ritual verse, MS doubtless a lect fac §145. In the rest the sounds are final (either absolutely, or before pāda endings); as under k.t (§142), matters of external sandhi seem to some extent involved. But it is hard to isolate or define the extent of that influence; it is complicated by lexical confusions and corruptions. The first case is purely morphological, presenting (before a following sonant) the same two adverbs, adharāt and ${}^{\circ}r\bar{a}k$, which we met in §142, first variant.

ottarād adharād (TB °rāg) ā purastāt RV MS KS TB

nıyudbhır (AV. vıyugbhir) vāyav (AV VSK MS vāya) tha tā ti muñca (SS †muñcah) AV. VS VSK MS SB TA AS SS ApS [Add to VV I §§25 and 156] Also:

prayugbhya (TB prayud°) unmattam VS TB. In the first of these two viyugbhir is untenable, because the niyutah are technically the span of Vāyu (Brhaddevatā 4. 140) In the second, prayugbhyah of VS is hardly translatable (not glossed by Mahīdhara, Griffith, 'for Motives') Comm on TB glosses prayud° by prakarşena yoddhrdevebhyah, as if from pra-yudh At TB 3 7. 9 1, Ap\$ 12 3 2 occurs prayutan, which TB comm glosses prakarşena somam misrayantah (adopted by Böhtlingk, 'durcheinander mengend'). This idea fits unmattam 'mad', thus favoring the TB reading But PB 1. 2 5 reads maruto for prayuto in the corresponding passage; Caland gives up prayutah.

nrcakṣāh soma uta suśrug (comm., and Poona ed text, śuśrug) astu TB sucakṣāh soma uta sasrud astu MŠ The latter is not quite certsin; the mss record forms which look towards the TB reading. But sasrut occurs several times in RV. TB. obviously contains root δru (comm $\delta rot\bar{a}$); so that apparently g=k must stand for d=t It belongs with our §142, and Wackernagel I §§260a, β , note, 277a. See also our §283.

mayum (also gauram, gavayam, meşam, śarabham) te śug rchatu (KS te kşut) VS MS KS SB Mixed lexical and phonetic (sandhi). KS actually reads kşud, before a following sonant

trıśug (AŚ °śrud) gharmo vibhātu me (KS gharmas sadam in me ribhāti) KS TB TA AŚ °śrud here is poor and doubtless corrupt

yamasya dūtas ca vāg vidhāvati MS yamasya dūtah svapād vidhāvasi TA The subject is grdhrah 'vulture'; TA is correct, and MS an unintelligible corruption, in which the sandhi relations of $g(\lambda)$ and d(t) have a share

dadhrg (TA. dadhad) vidhalsyan (AV. "kşan) paryañkhayāte (TA "tai, AV. parīñkhayātai) RV. AV TA. Roots drh and dhā

\tilde{n} (for k) and n (?)

§146. One variant concerns an obscure name of a gandharva, of which the original form is uncertain; it is obvious that MS. (secondarily) etymologizes on it, changing it to su-rāc 'beautiful-voiced':

sutān nabhrād . MS MS svān nabhrād . . KS : svāna bhrūjānghāre . . . VS TS ŚB : svāna bhrāt . TA.

amāsi sarvān (AS sarvān) asi pravislah AS. Kans The original is sarvān (sarvānc 'turned in all directions'); AS, secondary,

Guttural and dental aspirates

§147. The few cases under this heading present little of interest grame vidhuram (HG vikhuram) ichanli svähä HG ApMB Both in wretched hoeus-poeus, from which scarcely any meaning can be extracted

aghadvışlā devajātā AV. Kaus . atharcyuşlā devajūtāh ApS The latter is a mere corruption

deva purascara saghyāsam tvā TA Ap\$: decapuras carasa rdhyāsam tvā MS The former is original 'may I be able to carry thee'. MS has a slipshod substitute

yad aghrıyata (KS 'yathās) tad ghrtam (KS adds abhatas) MS KS: yad adhrıyata tad ghrtam abhavat TS — As Keith says, the TS etymology is not too bad for a Brühmana; but the other is certainly original

4 GUTTURALS AND LABIALS

§148. Wackernagel's treatment of this interchange (I §117b) receives additional illustrations from the variants. They almost all concern k and p, and reveal no new principle. For the peculiar Tauturiya treatment (not mentioned in TPr.) of the final sound of the stems anustubh and tristubh as k(g) in all case-forms except before vocalie endings, and as word-finals in sandhi except before surds (occasionally however k before p), and before j, d, and dh, see Weber, ISt 13 109, in 2, Keith, HOS 18. p xxxviii. This applies to TB as well as TS., but apparently not to ApS.:

anuşiup (TB anuşiuk) pañktyaı (MŚ pañktaye) TB ApŚ MŚ anuşiup (TS anuşiuk) pañktyā saha VS TS MS KSA. triştub (TS triştug) graişmī VS TS MS KS. ŚB.

§149. The word, of unstable form, which occurs in the next group refers to some kind of aquatic bird; AV 11. 2. 25 adds $pur\bar{\imath}kaya$ (comm. $pul\bar{\imath}$). It may be noted that most forms contain both p and k somewhere in the word — The original form cannot be determined:

mitrāya kulīpayān (MS pulīkayān) VS MS

nākro makarah kulīpayas (TS kulīkayas, MS pulīkayas, KSA pulīrayas) te 'kūpārasya (KSA †kūvarasya) VS TS MS KSA

kulīkā devajāmibhyah VS devānām patnībhyah pulīkāh MS

§150. Very varied also are the forms of the following words—It is impossible to say what the original form is, unless the solitary occurrence of nicumpuna in RV decides—It may be onomatopoetic

avabhṛtha nīcumpuna (TS TB ApŚ nīcankuna, MS KS MŚ nīcunkuna) VS TS MS KS SB TB LŚ ApŚ N

- nicerur ası nıcumpunah (TS TB nıcankuna, MS KS nıcunkunah)
 VS TS MS KS SB TB LS In same passage as preceding,
 nom changed to voc in TS TB by form-assimilation to the
 adjoining formula
- §151. Other, isolated cases which concern chiefly textual decay, with more or less obscure phonetic bearings, are the following, lexical considerations enter in faintly with some of them
- kanātkābhām (AŠ pranākāphā) na ābhara TB AŠ Note the dental n in AŠ, despite preceding r Comm on TB, desperately, kanakavad bhāsamānām rūpavatīm kanyām Both forms are hopeless bajābojopakāšinī HG khajāpo 'jopakāšinīh ApMB. Again both are hopeless
- kūtanānām (VS ŚB kukūnanānām, MS pūtanānām) tvā patmann ā dhūnomi VS MS KS ŚB kotanāsu (so te sukra sukram ā dhūnomi) TS An otherwise unknown, perhaps onomatopoetic, epithet of waters
- sam to (AV* sam u, TA sam u te, KS MS sam nah) santv anūpyāh (TA anūkyāh) AV KS TA MS anūkyāh might be considered a purely phonetic variant, it should be remembered that Tait texts show a certain preference for at least final gutturals in place of labials (§148) The word is an epithet of waters and must mean about the same as anūpyāh, from anūpa, so comm, anūpadese bhayā anūkyā āpah Formally, however, anūkya is imaginable from the stem anvaūc ('successive'? or 'going along with', approximately 'helping'?), and it is likely that influence from this sphere has been at work in TA
- pūlyāny (ApMB kulpāny) āvapantīkā AV ApMB lājān āvapantīkā SG. PG. MG. agnau lājān āvapantī SMB HG kulpāny may conceivably be understood in the light of the Tait preference for gutturals, cf the prec and §148

vanakraksam (SV °praksam) udaprutam RV SV 'Sounding in (vessels

of) wood' The onomatopoetic root kraks also in kraksamāna, arakraksin SV °praksa has no lexical basis and is doubtless phonetic, the the commit, followed by Benfey, absurdly derives it from pra-ksi 'abide'.

ansum (AV ausūn) babhasti (ApS. gabh°) haritebhir āsabhih AV. KS. ApS The ApS stanza is otherwise corrupt, and gabh° is uninter-

pretable Caland gives up the verse

grīvāyām (KS grīvāsu) baddho apilaksa āsam (MS. apipalsa āsam) RV. VS TS MS KS SB N Original is apilalse, a certain part of the body MS (p p api-palsah) may have been influenced by thought of palsa (cf. Keith on TS 1.7 S 3)

visralopa visradāvasya trāsaā juhomi TS GB. Vait i visloka visradāvye trā samjuhomi svāhā MS visloka is perliaps a sort of leet, fac, but visialopa is itself not clear, cf. Keith on TS 3 3 8 2

§152 The rest concern cases where lexical rather than phonetic considerations dominate, that is, words of independent origin seem more clearly to be involved

agner (ApS deiā) akrnvann (RV apunanu) ušijo amityaic (RV. vah,

ApS amartyare) RV. MS AuS

yad adya dugdham prihusim asrpia (TB. ApS asakia, MS abhakia) AB TB AS ApS MS. In MS, as in AB ...S, the parallel following pada contains asrpad, in TB. ApS, asarad

tha prasatto (AV. prasakto, TB prasapto) et cayat ketam nah RV AV MS TB See §139

krānā (SV prānā) sisur mahīnām RV, SV. And:

kiānā (SV prānā, AV prānah) sindhūnām kalašān acikradat (RV. avīvašat) RV SV AV The SV. is really inexplicable, AV attempts to rationalize it CI Oldenberg, Proleg 279 On the much discussed krānā see last RVRep 136

devair nyuptā (IS nuttā, AV uktā) vyasarpo mahitvā (AV. *tiam) AV

KS ApS MS Sec §139

aktam (MS MS aptubhī, KS *artham) rihānā vyantu (viyantu) vayah
TS MS KS * TB MS GG KhG. And others, see §96 The
stem aptu (certainly secondary here) is said to mean 'small' It is
hard to apply this meaning here, perhaps adverbially, 'daintily'

asmın goşihe karişınih (Kaus anah, MS purişınih) AV MS Kaus The runing synonyms karişa and purişa, cf Bloomfield, AJP 16 409ff Different context, hence different gender, in Kaus

kriyania (TB priyā ta [so divide]) ā baihih (TB Conc °his, Poona ed °hih) sīda RV AV KS TB Preceded by imā brahma-

vāhah (TB † °ha) 'These prayers, O thou to whom prayers are offered, are made (TB, are pleasing to thee), sit upon the barhis' [pra so agne tavotībhih] suvīrābhis †tirate (SV TS taratī) vājabharmabhih (SV TS °karmabhih) RV SV TS KS

sugandhım (AV subandhum) pativedanam AV VS SB ApS sugandhım puştivardhanam (KS rayıpoşanam) RV VS TS MS KS SB TAA Vait, LS N The AV changes sugandhım by adaptation to the meaning of pati-vedanam (pati suggests bandhu)

§153. To the same category as the preceding section belong three cases of variation between the roots pr and qr (qir), which have a special interest because in each of the three derivatives of the root uar are closely associated These words are pivotal for the interpretation of the variants The roots var and or go naturally together (sacrifice and praise), and abhi-ar (as in the third variant) likewise goes with yay because sacrifice gratifies the gods ($a\bar{u}rta = Lat \ ar\bar{a}tus$), see e.g. RV 1 15 3, 3 6 10, 10 15 6 On the other hand yaz and pr 'give' are perhaps even more constant companions (istā-pūrta), see Windisch, Festgruss Böhtlingk 115ff . Bloomfield. AJP 17 408ff In the third variant abhipūriam and pūriam are clearly secondary, suggested by ustam which recalls ustanurta In the first variant text-history makes it equally clear that gr is secondary In the second, KS seems to give the best sense, but may be a lectio facilior The fact is that the two roots, riming in sound and ritualistically so close in meaning, easily slip over into one another Aside from the matter of rime, they contain little of phonetic significance

ındro yajvane pṛnate (AV gṛ°) ca śikṣatı (AV °te) RV AV TB sviṣṭam agne abhi tat pṛnāhi (PG pṛnīhi, KS tad gṛnīhi) KS TB ApŚ PG HG

ışlam vītam (AV pūrtam) abhıgūrtam (AV °pūrtam) vaşaţkrtam RV AV VS TS MS KSA [Delete in Conc reference to AV under ışlam vītam

§153a. The following variants, the concerning independent words each of which is suitable to the context, are interesting phonetically as involving the quasi-Prakritic equivalence of ks and ps (cf. §§182-6)

somasya drapsam (AV bhakṣam) avṛnīta pūṣā (AV śakrah) AV TS MS KS Either a 'drop' or a 'draught' of soma will suit, it is hard to see any reason for preference-

hrisu kratum varuno (MS °nam) vikşv (RV apsv, MS dikşv) agnım RV, VS †TS †MS KS ŠB †

5 PALATALS AND DENTALS

§154. These variants are mostly lexical in character except before y, the combinations dy and y exchange on a purely phonetic basis. A suggestion of a similar 'palatalization' of t before $\bar{\imath}$ or y seems to occur in the first variants quoted under §156

c and t

- §155. Here occur first a number of variations between the approximately synonymous riming roots car and tar'
- yajñasyāyur ann sam carantı (AS taranlu) TS AS Cf yajñayur anusamcarān TB ApS
- na tad (AV namam) rakşānsı na piśācāś carantı (VS °cās tarantı, AV °cāh sahante) RVKh AV VS But Scheftelowitz reads RVKh as VS
- achinnam tantum anu sam tarema (TA carema) AV TA Comm on AV caro
- ŝamyāh prataratām (Vait °tā) wa (MŚ pracaratām nha) Vait KŚ. ApŚ MŚ
- §156. The rest are sporadic, and partly corrupt; the first two have interesting phonetic aspects
- sā šamtātı (SV. °tā; TB ApŚ °cī) mayas Larad apa sridhah RV. SV. TB. ApŚ The TB ApŚ reading (conceived as an adjective agreeing with Aditi, the subject) is apparently felt as modelled on directional adjectives in -ācī, fem to -ārīc (like prācī), so, perhaps, the comm understood it (aniṣṭaśamanaprāpikā satī) But it seems at least possible that palatalization of the original dental was not unrelated to the following 1-vowel Cf next
- arcişātrıno nudatam pratīcah AV arcışā satrūn dahatam pratītya AG Here in the secondary AG we have an essentially phonetic change, the reverse of the preceding
- satyaujasā. TS MS. KS sacelasāu...AV. See §305 Here we suspect that AV is secondary, with palatalization of ly to c
- agre (TB agne, Poona ed. agre) yamasya cetatah (RV. socatah) RV. KS TB.
- vidyām yām u ca (ŚŚ uta) vidmasi AB ŚŚ
- jagdhā vitrstir (HG vicastir)...HG ApMB And others, see §634 Oldenberg on HG. assumes vitrsti. 'thirst'
- dwo vābhişihām anu yo vicasie MS: devānām visihām (ApS† nisihām) anu yo vitasihe VSK TB. KS ApS

- yat kşurena marcayatā (MG vartayatā) sutejasā (AG PG HG ApMB supeśasā) AV AG PG. HG ApMB MG—AVPpp reads varcayatā (varcas)
- vācam (RV AV vātam) viņnum sarasvatīm RV AV VS TS MS ŠB viņnum vācam sarasvatīm KS vācam is secondarily suggested by sarasvatīm, note that KS places it next to that word AV comm also has vācam
- śraddhe kam indra carato vitarturam (TB mcar°) RV TB The latter is perhaps mechanically assimilated to the preceding carato Comm regards it as an intensive formation from root tvar! (wśesena tvarā yathā bhavati tathā)
- yuktās tisro vimījah sūryasya PB yunajmi tisro vipīcah sūryasya te (MŚ vivītah sūryah save, or savah) TS ApŠ MŚ Here j as well as c is involved, cf next See §57

j and t

§157. Besides the last variant quoted, we find several miscellaneous lexical variants, the phonetic aspects are faint

śabalı prajānām śacışthā vratam (ApS śavışthā vrajam) anugeşam svāhā PB ApS vrajam hardly makes sense and is clearly secondary

tato yajñas tāyate višvadūnīm KS MS tato yajño jāyate visvadūnih TB ApS yajñas tāyate is standard, cf eg RV 7 10 2, 9 102 7, 10 90 15 It is interesting that Knauer reports all mss but one of MS as reading tyāyate, a middle stage leading to the lect fac jāyate

devā no yajāam tuthā (TB ApS tjudhā) nayantu VS TB ApS yajāam tuthā is supported by RV 1 170 5, 8 44 8, but in RV 2 3 7 the two points of view blend in tju yalşatah yajantāv ttuthā. They are in fact nearly synonymous

sam bāhubhyām dhamatı (etc., §853) sum patatraıh (KS yazatraıh) RV AV VS TS MS KS TA MahānU ŠvetU

c and d

§158. Four cases, all lexical, three with secondary c for d, in the first ucyate is due to assimilation of sense to the preceding vacas somāya vaca udyatam (SV ucyate) RV SV SV girā-girā ca dal sase (KS cal sase) RV SV VS MS KS PB Ap\$ sadā (MS šacyā) pa syanti sūrayah RV SV AV VS TS MS KS SB NrpU and other Up One ms of KS has sadyā 1

ajarşmādyāsanāma ca (AV °sanāmādya) RV AV ca and adya

j and d

- §159. Here occurs the purely phonetic variant of dy and jy in the roots dyut, jyut (Wackernagel, I §140a). It is flanked by a pair of hyper-Sanskritic readings in which $jy\bar{a}m$ and jman are displaced by $dy\bar{a}m$, and by another case or two in which similar tendencies have had influence.
- sahasrıyo dyolalām (TS TB dīpyalām, MS °rīyo jyolalām) aprayuchan VS TS MS KS SB TB
- ava jyām wa dhanvanah SV Vait Kaus ApMB: ava dyām wa dhanvinah HG See Edgerton, Studies in Honor of Hermann Collitz 29
- upa mann upa vetase VS TS MS KS. SB: upa dyām upa vetasam AV. Vait Kauś The absurd AV reading involves, like the preceding, a sort of hyper-Sanskritism, see Whitney's note.
- pavamānah so adya nah RV VS · pav° svarjanah (suvar°) MS KS TB Ap\$ HG BDh In a secondary leet fae, dy becomes j
- ımam (MS ımam ca, VS TS SŚ ya ımam) yajñam svadhayā (KS AŚ °yā ca, MS sudhayā) dadante (AŚ yajante, SŚ bhajante) VS. TS MS KS AŚ SŚ.
- drwyāya dhartre josire (MS dhātre desire) VS TS MS KS SB Note the palatal diphthong after d, which is however doubtless secondary
- 'ccairvāji prianāsāi (HG 'sāham, ApMB 'vādi prianāji) RVKh HG ApMB If ApMB is correct (v l 'vāji is recorded) it is a hyper-Sanskritic absurdity, no form of root vad can be concerned here prati sma (AV sma) raksaso daha (AV jahi) RV AV
- notes on HG 2 3 7. Both forms seem uninterpretable Oldenberg on HG, 'visiting those who wake (?)', apparently understanding "jāgītān
- erum tundānā (TS perum tuñjānā) patyeva jāyā AV TS Roots tuj and tud are practically synonyms See Whitney on AV 6 22 3, Keith on TS 3 1 11 8, and ef Oldenberg, Noten on RV. 1 45 4 The AV comm reads tuñjānā
- mā na āyuh param avaram mānadonam MS: mā nah param adharam (MS tadhanam) mā rajo 'namh (MS namh) TA MS. See §836

j and dh

§160. Only lexical variants

mātā yad vīram dadhanad dhaniṣṭhā (MS jajanaj janɪṣṭham) RV. VS MS KS TB Cognate verb and noun are both altered in MS to suit a more familiar aspect of the mother function, tho the superlative janis(ha is not otherwise recorded 'when the mother has borne a most prolific son'. Cf the following similar variant oşadhībhyah pašubhyo me dhanāyo (TS pašave no janāya) TS KS ApІMŠ.

athāsya madhyam ejatu VS LS athāsyai (TS MS TB °syā) madhyam edhatām (Vait °tu, AS LS ejatu, SS ejatī) VS TS MS SB TB AS SS Vait adhāsyā madhyam edhatām KSA

y and d

§161. This seems a natural place to append two variants between y and d, in the first of which y seems to be secondary, while the second is dubious (yaso seems to make better sense) The phenomenon may have phonetic meaning, continuing the relations between j and d on the one hand, and between j and y (below, §§192f) on the other

sūyavasınī manave (RV TA manuşe, KS mānuşe) dašasyā (TA° sye, TS MS KS vašasve) RV VS TS MS KS SB TA

diśo (TB yaśo) yajñasya dalşınāh (TB °nām) TB AS Note that d is followed by i

6. PALATALS AND LABIALS

§162. Only a few cases, hardly showing phonetic tendencies We do not include here cases like *kakup* (TS *kakuc*) *chandah*, where the TS reading represents *t* in sandhi, since they belong under dentals and labials, §178.

tasyās te sahasrapoşam puşyantyās caramena pasunā krīnāmi TS paramena pasunā krīyase (MS krīyasva) VS MS KS ŠB Corruption in TS, see Keith Yet carama is not far from parama in meaning

vīty arşa canışlhayā (SV panışlaye) RV. SV See §86 vāyosāvıtra (MS vāyusavıtıbhyām) āgomugbhyām caruh (MS payah) TS MS KSA

7. LINGUALS AND DENTALS

§163 In the main, the Sanskrit linguals are derived from dentals, influenced by neighboring r, r (l, l) or s, whether actually found or historically assumable (Wackernagel I §§145–7) There are also cases of analogical transfer of lingualization (ibid §148a, cf especially §133, note), and also of linguals due to dissimilation (ibid §156a). In some cases, however, it seems that linguals are due to Prakritic influence Namely dentals are often replaced in Prakrit by linguals, without the

influence of any adjacent sound (Pischel, Gram d. Pht Sprachen §§218-25), some dialects show the reverse tendency Especially n becomes n in almost all Prakrit dialects (Pischel §224). The same spontaneous interchanges between dentals and linguals occur in Sanskrit and Vedic under the influence of popular speech, giving rise to Vedic variants with both sounds Classification of the individual sounds is unnecessary since the entire series is subject to the same tendencies. We include also the nasals n and n, except when n is conditioned by the normal rules for lingualization of n (on which see §§945-54)

§164. We shall begin with cases in which there is no reasonable doubt of the lexical equivalence of the forms with dental and lingual, and in which we hold that the lingualization is spontaneous, that is, dialectic, in the same class with spontaneous lingualization in Prakrit Here first we have three cases of ava(a = avata), the latter each time in RV We may remark that the derivation of this word from an adverb avar (Bartholomae, IF 3 179, approved by Wackernagel I §146a), leaves avata unexplained and seems to us unlikely.

avatasya (SV. avatasya) visarjane RV. SV.

ışkrtāhāvam avatam RV nışkrtāhāvam avatam TS ApŚ gāva upāvatāvatam (SV. upa vadāvate) RV SV. VS.

§165. Next, some demonic names in the Grhya Sūtras, in which no influence of liquid or lingual sibilant, and no dissimilation, are at all imaginable, it is simply a case of lingual for dental spontaneously: iekas ca sasaramaianlas ca HG tekas ca sasaramatandas ca ApMB manthākako (HG mandākako) ha vah pitā HG ApMB

In the following doubtful word, the lingual of MS KapS may be due to the preceding r.

aıdamıdā yavyudhah KS. aılabıdā (MS °mıdā, KapS īlamıdā) āyuryudhah (TS. yavyudhah; MS vo yudhah) VS TS MS. See §241. Cf also ahar (MS. vahad, v 1 vahad, p p vahat) dıvābhır (MS divyābhır) ūtībhıh VS MS SB TA SS LS See §§272, 272a

Next an isolated variant concerning the root or roots pan, pan, which we think can best be explained as spontaneous (dialectic) lingualization, cf. Pischal, Ved St 1 199ff For attempts to explain pan as going back to an IE root containing a liquid, see Wackernagel I §172b, note, d, note

sā me satyāsīr devān gamyāj jusļāj jusļatarā panyāt panyatarā (KS. panyāt panyatarā) MS KS ApŠ Cf Durga on N 6 8 (Roth's Erlauterungen 76 foot).

§166. These are the only clear cases of 'spontaneous' lingualization.

The curious form padbhis which varies twice with padbhis has been explained in this way, this would be more likely if the lingualization were not restricted entirely to the instr plural Some obscure lingualizing influence may be suspected, but nothing so far proposed is very convincing Cf Bloomfield, AJP 11 350ff, Johns Hopkins Circulars, 1906, 15ff, Oldenberg, ZDMG 63 300ff, Pischel, Ved St 1 228ff uro vā padbhir (Kauś padbhir) āhate (Kauś SMB °ta, but Jorgensen

°te) TS SS KS MS Kaus SMB

padbhis (ApS padbhis) caturbhir akramīt AV ApS One ms at AV 3 7 3 also padbhis, but Ppp pad°

§167. In the case of one word the 'correct' form requires a lingual (final of root ιah), and the dental is due to dissimilation from a preceding lingual, see Wackernagel I §156a, who quotes this form, noting that TS has ditya- $v\bar{a}l$ and turya- $v\bar{a}l$ in the same passage where pastha- $v\bar{a}t$ occurs This proves that dissimilation is responsible for t-

pasthavād (TS °vād) vayah VS TS MS KS SB ApS

paṣṭhauāt (TS °vāc) ca me paṣṭhauhī ca me (MS omits me, twice) VS TS MS KS

§168. Next come a few cases in which it appears that the lingual is or may be due to the original presence of an r-sound or s, in the first variant the dental occurs in a different verb-form where the conditions causing lingualization were lacking, in the others it may be due to dissimilation, since the preceding syllables contain r

grhā mā bibhīta mā vepadhvam (LS ApS HG vepadhvam) VS LS ApS SG HG vepadhtam is an is-aorist, vepadhvam present

purovāta (KS °to) junva rāvaļ (KS rāvat) svāhā MS KS purovāto tarsañ junar āvīt svāhā TS ApS And similarly other formulas, beginning tapati ete; all in TS 2 4 7 2, MS 2 4 7, KS 11 9, all containing the saerificial exclamations rāvaţ ete in the same forms A natural assumption would be that the lingual t in MS is due to an originally preceding vocalie t, as in TS (which divides badly, jinvar-āvīt for jinva-rāvīt), the dental t of KS might be due to dissimilation to the initial r But ef §632 The words are mere interjections and any form would pass

otherida (VS °dra, KS °da) velokita VS TS KS vyakrda velokita MS Obseure epithets of Rudra, cf TB att-kirifa The original presence of an r-sound, before or after d, seems indicated by VS and MS The dental of TS may again be due to the r of the preceding syllable, thru dissimilation

§169. Finally we come to lexical variants, tapering off into mere

corruptions First, the ritualistic root id and its derivatives are confused several times with more or less similar but independent forms. Twice the SV substitutes the more banal indh, 'kindle' (Agni is the object both times) for id 'revere':

agnim īdīta (SV undhīta) martyah RV. SV

yam sīm (SV sam) id anya īdate (SV. indhate) RV SV.

The same id figures along with the similar vid (and adjective vidu) in exchange with other similar forms of different etymologies.

- tigmam anīkam viditam sahasvat AV tigmam āyudham viditam (KS "dham īdītam) sahasvat TS MS KS In AV. viditam 'found', is evidently a poor reading for vīditam, certainly KS īditam is equally secondary.
- dhişane vīdū (VS VSK vīdvī, KS vīte, MS MS īdite) satī (MS KS MS omit) vīdayethām (MS. MŚ īdethām) VS VSK TS MS KS ŚB ApŚ MŚ vīdū or vīdvī 'firm'; vīte 'pleasant', īdite 'revered'. KS is the only one that has an adjective not related to the verb, which we take as proof of its secondariness KapŚ has īdite īdauethām §170. The rest are sporadie
- part no heti rudrasya vzjyāh (VSK "yāt) RV VSK v pari no hedo tarunasya vzjyāh RV heti and hedas are quasi-synonyms. See the list of very similar formulas, RVRep. 573
- dwo vābhişhām anu yo ticasļe MS. detānām tishām (ApS †nishām) anu yo vilashe VSK TB KS ApS See §156
- yajñam (KS yajñiyā) yajñam prati delayadbhyah (KS † ŚŚ.† °yadbhyah)
 VSK TS KS ŚŚ KŚ MŚ The stem deva-yaj (in sandhi °yad)
 vanes with the denominative participle delayal, virtually a synonym, but probably secondary
- sarasadyā (AV "yām) adhi manāv (KS mānā, v. 1 manā, AV. manāv, SMB Cone vanāva, Jörgensen manāv) acarkrsuh (KS SMB Jörgensen, acakrsuh, SMB Cone carkrdhi, KS v. 1 acark") AV. KS TB ApŠ MŠ SMB PG The original reading is probably that of most texts (loc of manu, 'on behalf of Manu'); but the AV (loc of manu) is capable of interpretation ('over a luckstone')
- aşādhāya sahamānāya vedhase (TB mīdhuze) RV. TB, N.
- ghriam duhānā višvatah prapītāh (TB ApMB prapīnāh, AVPpp pravīnāh) RV AV VS. TB ApMB. See §198
- pītā bhāsvaty aņūpamā TA: pītābhā syāt tanūpamā MahūnU. See §838 nāvas caranti svasica iyānāh VS TS SB nāvo viyanti susico na vūņīh MS KS
- mā no agnım (p.p agnıh) nirştır mā na āşlān (p p. āşļhām) MS: mā no rudro nirştir mā no astā TA. See §87

In \$\hat{S}\$ 17 12 1 sarvā vinudya samtrdyah (cf critical note, top of p. 276) is suspicious as regards its linguals

8 DENTALS AND LABIALS

 $\S 171$. Interchanges of dentals and labials is rarely if ever purely phonetic. It is chiefly lexical, concerning in large part words which approach one another in meaning, but are etymologically unrelated. It is, however, noteworthy that a very large proportion of these variants concern the voiced aspirates. Possibly a specially close phonetic relation may exist between dh and bh, we may recall that both exchange with h ($\S \S 115 ff$, 122)

dh and bh

§172. We shall begin with these, and first of all with the considerable list of variants between the prepositions abhi and adhi. Both of these vary with other prepositions, but far oftener with each other, chiefly on account of their similarity in sound no doubt, tho in some aspects they are not far apart in meaning too

bhadrād abhı (AV Kaus adhi) sreyah prehi AV TS AB KB AS SS ApS MS Kaus.

svapnah svapnādhikarane RVKh.: svapna svapnābhikaranena AV brahmādhiguptah (PG brahmābhi⁸) svārā kṣarāni (PG surakṣitah syām) svāhā AG PG brahmābhigūrtam svarākṣānah MG See Stenzler's Translation of AG 2 4 14 (p 73, n 2), and the critical note on MG 2 8 6

tayor devā adhı samvasantah ApŚ tasyām dzvā adhı samvasantah TS TB yasyām (v 1 asyām) devā abhı samvı santah MŚ

visvāvasur abhi tan no grņātu RV. TA · vīrebhir adhi tan no grnāno etc MS

samānamūrdhnīr abhı (PG adhi) lokam ekam TS MS KS PG tā ekamūrdhnīr abhı lokam ekam AV

trtīye †dhāmāny abhy (VS dhāmann adhy) arayanta VS TA Mahān U ıdam (PG ımam) tam adhıtışlını (PG MG. abhi°) ŠŠ AG MG PG rtasya nābhāv adhı (AV abhı) sam punāmı (AV punāti) RV AV

na vai švetasyādhyācāre (AG švetaš cābhyāgāre, HG švetasyābhyācārena, MG švetasvābhyācāre) AG PG HG ApMB MG.

mā rudrīyāso abhī gur vrdhānah (MS abhī gulbadhānah) MS TA mā no rudrāso adhīgur vadhe nu (mss nuh) MS

adhı skanda vīrayasva AV. abhı kranda vīlayasva SG rsīnām putro adhırāja eşah (AS avırāja eşah, AV abhısastıpă u, VS ŚB abhiśastipāvā, TB abhiśastipā ayam) AV. VS TS MS KS ŚB TB AŚ SMB N

vamo rājābhītisthatī (KS MS rājādhi") KS. TA ApS MS.

§173. As the roots skabh and stabh were seen to interchange (§137), so the roots sudh and subh, whose conjugations are parallel, interchange freely, without preference on the part of individual texts except that AV. seems to prefer subh (five times); Whitney's Index Verborum confirms this tendency:

tena mā saha šundhata (AV šumbhantu) RV. AV. See VV I p. 239. tāni brahmā tu (AV ApMB brahmota) šundhati (AV. šumbhati; ApMB šansatī) RV AV. ApMB

sumbhantām lokāh putrsadanāh AV · sundhantām etc. VS. MS KS SB. MS · sundhatām lokah putrsadanah TS. ApS.

sumbham mukham mā na āyuh pra moṣīh AV.: sunddhi (sundhi) siro māsyāyuh pra moṣīh AG PG ApMB. MG.

āpah sundhantu (AV. visve sumbhantu) mainasah AV. VS KS SB TB antah subhrāvatā (SV. sundhyāvatā) pathā RV. SV.

§174. An interesting extension of the preceding correspondence appears in one case where $s\bar{u}d$, instead of $\hat{s}udh$, varies with $\hat{s}ubh$; this seems to be rooted in the rather standard relations of $\hat{s}ubh$ and $\hat{s}udh$, the latter being replaced by $s\bar{u}d$.

asūšubhanta (TS. TB asūsudanta) yajniyā rtena TS MS. KS TB.

§175. In the remaining variants between dh and bh lexical similarity, to the point of synonymy, continues to enter in largely. Thus in two cases of the participles dhita and bhrta, which must be appraised in the light of the relations of hita and bhrta, §118:

sa tvā rāstrāya subhrtam bibhartu (Ppp. pipartu) AV.: sa no rāstresu sudhitām dadhātu TB

garbha iva (SV. KU, Poley's ed, ivet) subhīto garbhinībhih (RV. sudhito garbhinīşu) RV, SV KU.

§176. Some of the remaining examples show such a degree of synonymy that we might expect a larger number of variants:

dhartāras (ApMB bhar°) te (MG. te subhage) mekhale mā riṣāma SMB ApMB MG

bhakşīmahi (TS. MS. KS Vait. dhukşīmahī) prajām işam RV. SV. TS MS KS. PB Vait.

anādhṛṣṭā apasyo vasānāh VS MS KS SB.: anībhṛṣṭā apasyuro vasānaḥ TS. Both mean 'undefeated'.

sam bāhubhyām dhamati (AV. bharati, TS. TA. namati, KS. namate, MS "bhyām adhamat) sam patatraih (KS. yajatraih) RV. AV. VS TS. MS KS TA. MahanU. ŠvetU.

nıkīrya (MŚ KŚ nıgīrya) tubhyam madhye (MŚ madhvah, Vast. tubhyam abhya āsam, KŚ sarvā ādhīh) KŚ. Vast ApŚ MŚ See §47

avilsobhāya (KS °lsodhāya) paridhīn dadhāmi KS. TB ApS. 'For non-disturbance' 'for non-hunger'. KS makes inferior sense

andha sthāndho vo bhakṣīya VS ŠB KŚ.: ambhah (TS ŚŚ ambha) sthāmbho vo bha° TS MS KS ŚŚ ApŚ. MŚ MG andhah '(soma-) juice': ambhah 'waters'

bhansaso (ApMB dhvansaso) vi vrhāmi te RV AV ApMB Here ApMB is meaningless

Aspirate and non-aspirate dentals and labials

§177. There are a few sporadic cases of bh and d, t, and dh and p vi senābhir dayamāno (SV bha°) vi rādhasā RV SV bhayamāno is absurd, since the word is an epithet of Indra Benfey renders 'furchtbar', which it cannot mean

bhūrnım (MŚ. v 1 tūrnım) devāsa tha subriyam dadhuh RV. KS ApŚ MŚ

dhanamjayam dharunam dhārayışnu RVKh bhūmidinham acyulam pārayışnu AV bhūmidinho 'eyulas cyāvayışnuh AV Quasi-synonyms 'establishing', 'saving'

§178. Ultimately, the not superficially, here belong the variants of *kakup* (representing stem *kakubh*) and *kakuc*, *kakut*, *kakud*, *kakun*, all by regular sandhi for *kakud*. Of these two stems, which are perfect equivalents the of independent origin, TS and TB use *kakubh* only before vocahe endings (cf. Weber, *IndSt*. 13, 109, Keith, *HOS*. 18, p. xxxviii)

kakup (and, trikakup) chandah VS MS KS SB kakuc (and, trikakuc) chandah TS

kakup (TB kakuc) chanda ihendriyam VS MS KS TB

apām napād āšuheman ya ūrmih kakudmān (MS ūrmih pratūrtih kakubhvān , KS ūrmih pratūrtih kakudmān) TS MS KS. devīr āpo yo va ūrmih pratūrtih kakunmān . VS VSK SB brhaty uşpihā kakup (TS kakut) VS TS MS KSA

d and b

§179. A single variant between dulā and bulā, both obscure; applied to fire-bricks

ambā ca bulā ca MS. MŚ · ambā dulā TS , cf ambāyar svāhā dulāyar svāhā TB 3.1 4 1

Another lexical variant:

abaddham mano .TS KS BDh · adabdham mana (MS. cakşur) .. MS SG.

t and p

- §180. These two sounds interchange in quite a number of cases, usually in words which are near-synonyms, and seldom showing phonetic tendencies
- turo rajānsi asprtah (SV astrtah) RV SV Both mean 'unconquerable'
 The RV version occurs also with accusative asprtam, 8 82 9b
- ye cit pūrva rtasāpah (AV °sātāh) RV AV Cf RV 1 179 2a, ye cid dhi pūrva rtasāpa āsan, which confirms the RV reading, if confirmation were necessary to condemn the unintelligent version of AV ('won by rta', instead of the standard 'tending, loving the rta')
- matsarāsah prasupah (SV ctah) sākam īrate RV SV Epithets of Soma The SV rationalizes desperately a word it does not understand (comm prakarşena sutāh [1], abhişutāh) Benfey, 'zeugend' = pra-su(l), but the comm is right to the extent of connecting SV's word with su 'press' The RV reading is obscure, cf Oldenberg, Nolen on 9 69 6 (suggesting a derivative of sup = svap)
- vahnih samlarano (TA sampărano) bhava VS TA Practically synonyms, both 'reseuing'
- devair nyuptā (KS nuttā, AV uktā) vyasarpo mahitvā (AV *tvam) AV KS ApŠ MŠ Sec §139
- yat kşurena marcayalā (MG vartayatā) supešasā (AV MG sulejasā) AV AG PG ApMB HG MG Nearly synonyms See §156 upa (MS utā) no mulrāvarunāv uhāvatam (MS °nā uhāgatam) MS TB
- mitro (VS vipro) babhūva saprathāh RV VS TS MS TA
- sacetasāv (VSK °sā, delete 'MS.' in Cone) arepasau VS VSK ŚB·sacetasau saretasau TB samokasau sacetasā arepasau MS. samokasāv (KS °sā) arepasau TS KS Knuś The TB. has a leet fae. to match samokasau which immediately precedes sacetasau (comm. ekakarmapravartakau bhūtvā)
- yo gopā apı (TB Apš gopāyatı) tam huve RV AV TB Apš The denominative verb makes the same sense as the noun with copula 'understood'
- suśevam somapitsaru (TS sumatitsaru) VS TS MS KS ŚB VāDh suśīmam somasatsaru AV—Ppp (Roth) suweśam (intending suśevam) somapitsalam For suśīmam, Whitney 'well-lying', but

It is a mere corruption Whitney and Keith regard the TS reading as the correct one; in that case the reading "pusaru would contain dissimilation. But it is improbable that the isolated TS, has the original reading. With Mahīdhara, somapi may be taken as 'soma-drinker', and somasu as 'soma-winner' (of pasu-sā, priya-sā, both RV.); both would refer to the yajamāna, and the cpd would mean 'having a handle (ready) for the yajamāna' (or perhaps AV. 'having a soma-winning handle').

dhipsyam vā samcakara janebhyah MS aditsan vā samjagara janebhyah TA 'Intending to deccive'. 'not intending to give' Others, §45 āsannişūn hitsvaso mayobhūn RV. AV. TS KSA MS N: āsann esām apsuvāho mayobhūn SV The latter is wholly secondary,

see §820

rnān no narnam ertsamānah AV nen na rnān rnava it samānah TA nem na rnān rnavān īpsamānah MS In AV desid. of ā + rdh; but comm ecchamānah, which suggests that TA intends icchao (phonetic confusion of is and ch) MS has a synonym, likewise with phonetic confusion of ps and ch

tato na (na tato, na tadā) vicikitsati (vijugupsate) VS VSK SB. BrhU KU IšāU See §45. Here the variation between ts and ps is connected with the approach of both of them to the Prakritic ch; see §182

n and m

§181. There are finally some cases of interchange between the dental and labial nasals. Sometimes this concerns the indicative and subjunctive personal endings mi and mi; these concern verbal inflection and may be found recorded in VV I §\$104c, 118, 119, 124; to §119 should be added the following, omitted there:

pratilāmīti (AŠ °nīti, TS KSA TB pra sulāmīti) te pitā VS TS. MS KSA ŠB TB AŠ. ŠŠ. The verbs concerned are obscure, and evidently taken from popular (vulgar) language

The rest are scattering

agdhād eko 'hutād ekah samasanād ekah TS: adhvād eko 'ddhād eko...
sanāsanād ekah MS. TS, 'eater of what is gathered' (Keith).
Knauer takes the MS form as sana + a-sana + ad. Both
uncertain Assimilation or dissimilation may be concerned

mademendram (MS maden°) yajamānāh svarkāh VS MS KS. ŚB. TB Von Schroeder emends KS to maden°, without justification; the opt madema is probably the original form The other, with instr.

- sg madena, is however construable, the pada being then made dependent on the verb of the preceding sentence. Assimilation or dissimilation in MS?
- kad va rtam kad anrtam (SV amrtam) RV SV See Benfey's note in his translation of SV, which is obviously secondary
- jīvam (ApMB jīvām) rudanti ri mayante (AV nayanty) adhvare (AV. °ram) RV AV. ApMB Clearly a secondary effort in AV. to make an obscure passage 'sensible'
- abhīmam (TS °mām, MS MS v 1 °mān) mahınā (VS MS v.1 °mā) dwam (MS dwah) VS TS MS TA ApS MS In the original the subject is Mitra, who encompasses 'this heaven by his greatness', in the secondary VS mahimā (acc to Mahīdhara, Agni's 'greatness') is made the subject
- jāmim (KS †camī) mā hinsīr amuyā (MS anu yā) sayānā KS TB MS · mā jāmim mosīr amuyā sayānām AV The MS is clearly secondary.
- akṣānām vagnum (MS tragmum, AV ganam, read gatnum) etc., AV. MS TB TA. See §832
- puteva putram jarase nayemam (MS ma emam) MS KS ApMB. HG. See §835
- nen na mān . TA · nem na mān .. MS See §180 Particles id and īm
- śūro nṛṣātā śavasaś (SV MS śra°) cakānah (SV. ca †kāme) RV. SV. TS MS

CHAPTER V. INTERCHANGES CONCERNING PALATALS

§182. Here we group a rather miscellaneous assortment of interchanges concerning palatal mutes, and the palatal semi-vowel and sibilant, which do not seem to fit well elsewhere. The regular correspondences between palatal mutes and those of other series (§§126-34, 154-61) contain some similar phenomena; and for the palatal sibilant and semi-vowel exchanging with other sibilants and semi-vowels, see the appropriate sections below. Notably the variations between c and t (§156), and still more those between d and d (§159) and d and d (§161), contain matters similar to the shift between d and d (§163a), and d and d (§180, end) belong with the exchange of all these sounds with d, as in the next following sections

1 ch varying with hs, ts, ps

§183. These changes are distinctly Prakritic; of above, §26, and note the references mentioned in the last paragraph. The shift occurs in both directions; when ky etc are secondarily substituted for ch, this is to be regarded as hyper-Sanskritism Confusion often occurs in the mss, so that it is sometimes not certain what a particular text really read in a given passage. As examples of pure blunders in mss we may mention etatsamdah for etac chandah MS. 3, p 22, n 3; āvrchata for ārrisata, ibid 1, p. 18, n 7; itsata for ichata Kaus 73. 15, patsah for pacchah Kaus 82. 29 See further BR, s vv haputsala, ucchādana The pada paritadam paritsatam, AV. Naks, is read parichavam in many AV. mss; see Lanman's note ap. Whitney; and the Berlin ed reads uchantūnnā marulo ghriena in 3 12 4, with all of R-Wh.'s mss and most of SPP.'s, the SPP. reads (correctly) ukşantūdnā with three mss and comm. (Ppp. Barret JAOS 32 366, has ulsantūnā, emended by Barret to oudna). Finally-altho the list might easily be extended further-for the pada tena yo 'smat samrchātai, TA 2 4. 1c, the mss at MS. 4. 14. 17c read twice (247. 1 and 3) corruptly sample atom, which von Schroeder emends to the TA reading -Mention may also be made of Bloomfield's generally accepted etymology of RV Lşu. as for *psu (:paśu), IF 25. 185ff., which implies the same phonetic law

\$184. Most of the genuine variants, which are less numerous than one

might expect from the great confusion shown in the mss, concern ks and ch

vācaspale vāco vīrvena sambhrlalamenāvaksase (TA "vaksvasc. SS "vachase) MS TA SS Tho avachase, 'procure', is a possible alternative for the other reading, derived from a-var obtain by sacrifice', it is doubtless a mere phonetic corruption. See VV I p 29

somī ghosena yachatu (SV raksatu) RV SV The preposition ā, found in the preceding pada, goes with the verbs; a-yam and a-iah are here synonyms, 'bring hither' SV is of course secondary, with a

sort of hyper-Sanskritic change in phonology

lām pūsānu yachatu (AV 'pūsābhi raksatu) RV AV anu-yam 'guide': abhi-raks 'protect'. Quasi-synonyms, but since the object is the furrow in plowing. AV is obviously slipshod and secondary, again with hyper-Sanskritie phonetics The RV, original is much more neat and pointed

achalābhih (KSA acharābhih, MS atsarābhih in pp, matsarābhih in sp. VS rksalābhih) kapinjalān VS MS TS KSA. In AV. 10 9 23 occurs the form rchara, with v I risara which is supported by Ppp The word is a name for a part of the horse's body, its original form is quite unknown Note that is as well as ks and ch occurs Either ts or hs, or both, must be hyper-Sanskritic See Edgerton. Studies in Honor of Hermann Collils 29f

§185. For is and ch. besides the variant last quoted, we find:

namah kṛchrebhyah kṛchrapatibhyaśca vo namah MS KS.: namo gṛtsebhyo artsapatibhuas ca vo namah VS TS See §45

In AV 1934 2a the mss read mostly jāgrtsyas tripancāšīh (v 1. yā gre; Berlin ed alsakrtyās, certainly wrongly). For this Ppp reads (with slight corruption, Barret, JAOS 44. 262) yāh krcchrās For the true Saunakiya reading see §192

§186. For ps and ch we have noted only this.

ıchanto 'parıdākṛtān ApMB īpsantah parıjākṛtān HG. The two words are of course perfect synonyms. One is reminded of the false identification of the two stems icha- and ipsa- by Goldschmidt, Gött Nachr 1874, 525, note

2 sy exchanging with \$-c or s(h) plus sibilant

§187. In an interesting little group of variants we find a genitive singular noun form in -sya varying with another form, generally the nominative case of the same noun, ending in a sibilant or h, the last

syllable of the genitive ending being represented by the first syllable of a different word (several times the conjunction ca, at other times a longer word beginning in a sibilant) All these cases, of course, involve different word divisions, and so belong to our later chapter on False Divisions Either reading may be at times the older

§188. We quote first the cases containing the conjunction ca, varying with -sya

stomo yajñaś ca (TB yajñasya) rādhyo havişmatā (TB °tah) RV TB The TB awkwardly detaches stomo from the rest of the pāda, and makes rādhyo agree with Viṣnu, with genitives dubiously depending on it, comm, yajñena tvam ārādhanīyah—Here the nominative is the original form, in the next two it is secondary to the genitive

na vai śvetasyādhyācāre (AG śvetaś cābhyāgāre, HG śvetasyābhyācārena, MG śvetasyābhyācāre) AG PG ApMB HG MG In AG the epithet śveta is attracted to the noun ahir in the next pāda. Tho the majority reading is undoubtedly original, AG makes good sense, a snake-king is appealed to, to drive out snakes

ubhāv indrā (SB indro) udithah sūryas ca VS SB aya(h)sthūnam (TS nāv) uditā (TS MS KS "tau) sūryasya RV TS MS KS The Cone unjustly stigmatizes indro of SB as an error, it is a nom. sing, replacing the elliptic dual indrā (= Indra and Sūrya) of VS to match the complementary nom sing sūryas which follows, of Edgerton, KZ 43 110ff

yad uttaradrāv uparas ca khādatah AV yad apsaradrūr uparasya (ApŚ apsararūparasya) khādati KS ApŚ

§189. In the rest the genutive -sya varies with a nominative in h followed by another, usually a longer word beginning in a sibilant, again the movement may be in either direction

dyumattamā supratīlasya sūnoh (AV supratīlah sasūnuh) AV VS TS MS KS SB The AV secondarily alters the construction, making the epithets nominative to agree with the following, instead of genitive to agree with the preceding Agni is meant both times See Whitney on AV 5 27 1

dhiyā martah sasamate (SV martasya samatah) RV SV The SV has an unintelligent and far-reaching revision of the whole half-stanza, see VV I p 164

yaso bhagas ca mā vidat (MG rişat, mss mostly rişak) PG MG yaso bhagasya vindatu ArS Conc suggests bhagas ca for ArS No doubt PG is original (let glory and fortune find me') But ArS makes yaso object, and since bhagas cannot be accusative, changes it to a dependent genitive let him find glory of fortune'

viprasya dhārayā kavih RV: viprah sa dhārayā sutah SV. In SV the stem vipra is attracted into agreement with the epithet sutah, for RV kavih, which is a synonym of vipra and which SV contains in the preceding pāda

somah sutasya madhvah RV: somah sutah sa madhumān SV. Like the prec; the genitives are (so naturally!), made to agree with

somah

yunaımı tısro viprcah süryasya te (MŚ vivrtah süryah save, or savah) TS ApS MŚ. yuktās tısro vimrjah süryasya PB —MŚ. is clearly corrupt

mānasya patni saranā syonā AV.: mā nah sapatnah saranah syonā HG The latter is hopelessly corrupt; Oldenberg follows AV in translating

3. Interchanges of ks, ks, and khy

§190. The closely analogous phenomenon of interchange between kh and s, ks, is treated by Wackernagel I §118 Our variants, however, are concerned with the combination khy in variation with ks or ks For the most part the forms involved are derived from the root $khy\bar{a}$ 'see', which regularly in MS, and once in KS., is spelled $ks\bar{a}$; cf von Schroeder, Introduction to MS, p XLIII In fact the mss vary greatly; but von Schroeder has generalized the spelling in his edition This writing is also known to the grammarians

anukhyātre (KS °kšātre) namah KS. GB Vait K\$ The k\$ of KS. (both mss) is the more remarkable since it is immediately preceded by two parallel forms written -khyā-.

vy akhyan (MS akśan) mahişo dwam (AV.* TS mahişah s(u)vah) RV. AV (bis) SV ArS VS TS MS KS SB The mss of MS vary, p p akhyat AVPpp agrees with RV

indra rbhukşā marutah parı khyan (MS kšan) RV VS. TS MS KSA N. All mss of MS here kşyān, p p khyan

anv agnır uşasām agram alhyat (MS MS aksat) AV. VS TS MS. KS SB TB ApS MS. All mss of MS. akşat or akşyat; pp akhyat. But most mss of MS aksat

vikhyāya (MS vikšāya) cal şuşā tvam VS TS MS. KS SB.

svar abhuvyakhyam (MS MŠ °kšam) jyotir vaišvānaram MS KS MŠ : svar (KhG sur) abhuvyakhyam KS ApS. GG KhG

nṛcakṣasam tvā deva soma sucakṣā ava khyeṣam (MS kśeṣam) TS MS duścakṣās te māvakśat (KS text with one ms °kṣat, v l °khyat) MS. KS . tam te duścakṣā māva khyat TS† (so read) Whatever be the

writing of KS, the meaning can only be that of ava-khyā

§191. In the following the reverse condition is found, the readings with khy are secondary to ks.

yas te agne sumatum marto alsat (AV alhyat, v 1 alsat) RV AV If akhyat is the true reading, it makes quite good sense ('has seen', for the original 'has attained', a more recondite and difficult form)

vrśvākşam (MahānU °khyam) vrśvasambhuvam TA MahānU. No doubt vrśvākşam 'having eyes all over', is the original, but vrśvākhyam is felt as a synonym, 'all-seeing'

and TA comms derive from root kee with intransitive meaning('), 'of him perishing like fuel (in the fire)', and similarly Caland on ApS Better from pra-keā (keai) 'burning up' In any case the SS (all mss) form shows phonetic decay; it makes no independent sense

4 j and y exchanging

§192. The interchanges of these sounds are common enough to prove conclusively the genuine phonetic instability between them in the Vedic language, as in Prakrit Cf Wackernagel I §§188b, 140b, and above, our §§156, 159, 161 The change goes in either direction, and often appears in corruptions of the mss, e.g. in AV 3-11 6 several mss read javam for yuvam, and the commevidently had this reading before him. Some of our variants may perhaps fairly be called mere corruptions, and indeed some are eliminated in more recent editions of their respective texts. But when is a corruption a true variant? Note the first case

uto (SS and GB Gaastra, uta) padyābhir yanışthah (AB ja°) AV AB GB SS The Berlin ed of AV also reads janışthah, against all mss There is no doubt that this is the 'correct' form, the word can only mean 'swiftest' But only AB reads so in the mss, while not only AV and its Brāhmana, GB, but the independent SS, have the 'corrupt' reading' Under these circumstances it seems more conservative to keep the reading of the mss, regarding it as a case of dialectic phonology Similarly in the next.

jajñā (yajñā) netasann (read, ned asann, GB Gaastra netar asann) apurogavāsah (avicetanāsah), yajñād eta sann apuro^o, see §62 Again there is no doubt that yajñā is the 'correct' reading, but j for y occurs persistently in the tradition of various texts

tato ha jajñe (MŚ tato 'ham yajñe) bhuvanasya gopāh (MŚ goptā) TB ApŚ MŚ te ha jajñe bhu° gopāh PB Here the reverse change has occurred. MŚ, is clearly secondary śalam yo nah śarado azīlān (SMB Cone azīzāt, eomm. azīzanat; PG jīzān) TS SMB PG But Jorgensen reads for SMB. azīzāt; eomm azīzād azzāt, aza gatilscpanayoh, gamayati ity arthah. Three mss of the text read azzāt See VV I p 92f

saujāmim (SG saujāmim), se tarpajāmi, AG SG Here saujāmim (so v 1 of SG) is doubtless original. It is a n pr

yajñasya hi stha ţivijā (TB. Ap\$ ţiviyau) RV SV KS PB A\$ \$\$ Ap\$ yajñasya ţivij-1s established from RV 1 1 1 on

tisro yahvasya (MS MŚ jihvasya, v 1 yah°) samidhah parijimanah RV MS ApŚ MŚ jihvasya probably corrupt, and certainly secondary

īśāno m syā (=suyā, TS srjā) drim AV TS MS KS The two forms are synonyms, TS is secondary

yāgrisyas tripañcāšīh AV 19 34 2a, mss (v l. yā gr°); R-Wh akşakriyās, a bad emendation abandoned by Whitney, see his note Read either yā grisyas, or better yāh (or yāś ca) kriyās Cf §185

añjanti suprayasam pañca janāh RV MS, 'the five tribes anoint him (Agni), possesséd of good regalement' yuñjanti suprajasam etc, AVPpp 2 74 1 (Barret, JAOS 30 244), 'the five tribes employ him of good offspring' (secondary but not bad Vedie sense)

§193. Somewhat remoter are the following

hrdo astv antaram laj jujosat (TA. tad yuyota) RV. KS TA—TA secondary

samvalsarasya dhāyasā (AV VS tejasā) AV VS TS KSA HG

ramayata (KS °tā) marutah syenam āyınam (MS °tah pretam vājınam) TS KS ApS MS

āšum tvājau (ApS ālhum tvā ye) dadhre devayantah KS ApS MS Corrupt in ApS, Caland translates the KS reading Explained in §296

ya rte (TA ApŚ ApMB yad rte, PB tyakşate) cıd abhısrışah RV AV SV PB † 9 10 1a, TA KŚ ApŚ MŚ Kauś GG jarı cetīd (mss cetīd, pp cya iti, it) abhısışah MS (corrupt)

5 Palatal stops and \$(\$)

§194. There are next a number of cases of palatal stops varying with the palatal sibilant, or once with the lingual sibilant (which varies frequently, as we shall see, with the palatal sibilant, so that this variant may represent the same tendency) But in all cases the lexical element is so marked as to make uncertain the degree to which real sound change enters. The single case of $\mathfrak g$ is

abhy arsala (AV. Vait Kaus arcala) sustulim gavuam ainm RV. AV. VS KS Vait ApS Kaus For the favorite formula abhu-ars with sustutim see RVRep. 523ff The AV variant is a lect fac (root stu suggests the synonym arc)

6195. The rest concern &:

pratyañ janan sameulosantakale N. in Durga (Roth, Erläuterungen 12, n. 4); prolyañ janās listhali sarvalomukhah (SvetU. and SurasU.* tisthatı samcukocanlakale) VS. SvetU. SırasU. Dhatup has a root kus 'embrace, enfold', with which Durga's form seems connected

avasmavam vicrtā (KS viśrtā, v 1 °drtā) bandham etam VS TS. MS KS SB.: avasmayan vi crta bandhapasan AV. The original vicrta means loosen thou'. KS. seems felt as 2 plur. from m-sr 'destroy', but there is no explanation of the plural.

vrštasva devī mrcayasya (SS. mrša°) janmanah AB AS. SS mrcayasya 18 rendered 'perishable'; perhaps better with causative force, 'injutious'. SS's mrso may well be a corruption, but the word is obscure in either form

prthicuah sampreah (MS MS. cas. VS SB samsprsas) pahi VS TS MS. SB. TB ApS MS Also: divah samspréas (MS sampreas)

pāhi VS. MS. SB. The two words are synonyms

śvitra (MS citro) raksitā AV. MS. TS ApMB. Also śvitra (MS citra) āduyānām VS MS Again the two words are synonyms Some AV. mss. have citro in the first variant; Ppp. ms sattro. Barret JAOS 32, 370 em svitro.

vat ksurena marcavatā (MG variavatā) sutejasā (AG PG HG ApMB supeśasā) AV. AG. PG. HG. ApMB MG.

agre (TB. agne, Poona ed agre) vaiñasya cetalah (RV śocalah) RV KS. TB.

- ürdhı acilah (MS. KS. "śritah) śrayadhvam (VS. text †śna", doubtless misprint the repeated in comm, which glosses sevadhvam; SB correctly \$rao) VS TS. MS. KS SB TA. Assimilation to \$rayadhcam in MS. KS
- mṛśase (SV. mṛjyase) parase matī RV. SV. The change from (parı-) mṛś 'thou dost embrace', to mṛjyase 'thou art purified', is suggested by the following pavase, or by recollection of mrjyase soma sataye RV. 9. 56 3.

chlitipu chlitişate SS: astitipu slitişate AV (mss; R-Wh. em asislikşum śiśliksale). Unknown words.

tanūpāš (TB Conc tanūpāc, Poona ed. text and comm †lanūnapāc) ca sarasvatī VS KS TB. The TB (which obviously reads tanunapāc) has repeated this word from the preceding pāda, where it occurs as a name of Agni The other reading is clearly original

6 Miscellaneous

- §196. Finally, a couple of miscellaneous variants, in two of which j and h vary, in the other h; and h
- mahnā jinoşi (MS hinoşi) mahini RV TS MS KS ApMB N. Synon-ymous rime-words
- āyurdā (āyuşmān) deva (agne) jarasam (havışo, havışā) vṛnānah (etc.), see §854
- dwyah kośah samukşitah MS. dawyah kośah (AV devakośah) samubjitah AV. TS KS The MS. reading is a riming corruption

CHAPTER VI LABIAL MUTES AND V AND M

§197. The variants in this chapter are in large part genuinely phonetic. Especially the section on b and v is related to the almost complete confusion between these sounds in the later dialects, and the interchanges of v and m also are rooted deeply in phonetic relations between these sounds. But morphological relations, as for instance the parallel noun suffixes in v and m, are also concerned, and merely graphic corruptions likewise have no doubt played an important part, especially as between v, b, and p

p (once, ph) and v

- §198. Here we have undertaken to separate the cases in which p is the more original, they are listed in the following
- yas tānı (TA MahānU tad) veda sa pıtuh (AV sa pıtuş, most mss pıtuh, TA savıtuh) pıtāsat AV VS TA MahānU yas tā vıyānāt sa pıtuş (TA savıtuh) pıtāsat RV AV TA N 'He shall be Savıtar's father' is an absurd but persistent mouthing over of 'he shall be the father's father', cf Bergaigne 2 104, 108
- abhisaster avasparat (SV avasvarat) RV SV 'Fight away' 'sound away', in either case 'protect' (SV. comm pālayatu) But ava-spar, and not ava-svar, is elsewhere used in this sense; see e.g. RV 10 39 6, 8 66 14
- rtasya goptrī tapasah paraspī (SMB °vī, MG tarutrī) SMB ApMB MG paraspī 'protectress (of tapas)' parasvī (also in some mss of ApMB) may be a case of dissimilation from initial p (commutation utkrstadhanarūpā)
- spārhā (TB svāruhā) yasya śrzyo drśe RV KS TB And
- spārho (TB svāruho) deva nigutvatā RV SV VS TB The TB reading is of eourse secondary, and unmetrical Comm, wobblingly, once susthu ratham ārūdhah, once svasmad eva prarūdhāh
- hıranyaparna sakune PG hıranyavarnah sakunah MU hıranyapal.şah sakunıh HG Practically synonyms Contrast darbhaih sirnila etc under \$200
- jāmım rivā māva paisı lokāt AV jāmım itvā mā vivitsi lokān TA The AV original 'may I, going to my kin, not fall from heaven' Poona ed of TA reads jāmi mitvā mā vivitsi lokāt (v l lokān)

Its comm regards the second person as addressed to the $yajam\bar{a}na$ (gloss, lapsyasi) But neither reading of TA. really makes sense, the they may contain a mechanical assimilation of p to preceding v

- nākro makarah kulīpayas (TS kulīkayas, MS pulīkayas, KSA pulīrayas) te 'kūpārasya (KSA † kūvarasya) VS TS MS KSA Von Sehroeder suggests kūvārasya; certainly rightly. kūvāra and kūpāra are quoted lexically as equivalents for akūpāra 'ocean'.
- nāpa vrījāte na gamāto antam AV nāvaprjyāte na gamāte antam TB. ava-prj is the original, it seems to be a technical term for bringing to an end the warp in weaving Note apa ara also (§201)
- yatrāspṛkṣat (HG yatrā vṛkṣas) tanuvam (AV tanvo, HG tanuvat) yatra vāsah (AV yac ca vāsasah) AV. ApMB HG 'Wherever (defilement) has touched my body or my garment' HG's corruption seems primarily due to the preceding line, yadī vṛkṣāgrād abhyapatat phalam
- yamasya dülas ce väg vidhävati MS . yamasya dülah svapäd vidhävasi TA. See §145
- yunajmı tısro vıpıcah süryasya te (MŠ tısro vıvıtah süryah savah, or save) TS ApŠ MS See §57
- ajāšvah pašupā vājapastyah (TB °vastyah) RV. MS TB Comm. on TB, vastyam grham (=pastyam, see RVRep. 58) This, and the lexical statements that vastya means 'house', may be based on corruptions of pastya, but thoughts of the root vas 'dwell' doubtless helped
- yat paśur (Kauś yad vaśā) māyum akṛta (Kauś akrata) TS ŚŚ. KŚ. ApŚ MŚ SMB GG Kauś A synonym is substituted in Kauś sarpadevajanebhyah (AŚ sarva°) svāhā AŚ. AG Tho the context is different, AŚ looks suspiciously like a lect fac
- śatāpāṣṭhādya (read, °ṣṭhā gha, with both Poona edd) viṣā pari no vrnaktu TB TA śarā vāṣṭād dhaviṣā vārnah MS See §86
- ghṛlam duhānā viśvatah prapītāh (TB ApMB prapīnāh, AVPpp. pravīnāh) RV. AV VS TB ApMB Barret, JAOS 35 88, would keep pravīnāh, but since this is a late word, it is probably only a corruption
- §199. The one ease of ph v concerns a senseless substitution of savam for sapham, some sort of implement:
- işām khrgalyam śavam MS işām khagalyam śapham ApS. The corrupt in śavam, MS seems to be correct in khrgalyam (cf khrgala, RV), for which ApS has a Prakritic άπ. λεγ.

- §200. The v reading seems to be original in the following.
- vysim (SV * pr°) dwah parisrava RV SV (bis) prsim can mean nothing but 'rain', as Benfey translates, perhaps the root prus (which also appears as prs. §680) may have infected the word
- mahyam dattvā vrajata (TAA prajātum) brahmalokam AV. TAA. The TAA. reading, at best a poor infinitive from pra-jan, is an untranslatable corruption Comm takes it for prajātam by Vedie license' yathāpah pravatā yanti TA TU Kaus yathā yanti prapadah SMB

See §60.

- theha vah svatavasah (TA svatapasah) RV MS. KS TA AS. Sigmificant of the growth in importance of tapas, which here crowds out svatavas, a standard epithet of the Maruts
- tve kratum apı vyñzantı viśve (AV apı pyñcantı dhūrı) RV AV, SV VS AA ApS. MS. See §57
- dwyam suparnam vāyasam (AV. payasam, KS. VS TS * SB vayasā, MS TS * vayasam) brhantam RV AV VS TS (bis) MS. SB AS Suparn There is no point in ealling the eagle 'milky'; but Ppp. agrees on payasam (twice) Once the AV. comm. has the hardlhood to say that payasam is for va° by Vedic license
- payasvan māmakam vacah (AV * payah) RV AV. (bis) KS. In AV. assimilation to preceding payasvan, obviously secondarily But TS TB MS have a further alteration: payasvad vīrudhām payah
- amba nispara (TS. ApS nisvara, KS KapS nisvara, MS nismara, p p nih, smara) VS TS MS KS SB ApS The majority (in which we count MS with m) points to v rather than p, but the word is obscure in all forms
- swarnapakṣāya (MahānU suparna°) dhīmahī TA'. MahānU 'Golden-winged' is doubtless original, see under next.
- darbhath simila haritath suparnath (KS †suvarnath) KS MS. hotrsadanam haritam hiranyayam AV hotrsadanā haritāh suvarnāh TB ApS suvarna- is certainly original, as AV. shows, of preceding, and, for the reverse change, hiranyaparna sakune etc., §198
- parivadam pariksavam (mss. mostly parichavam) AV Naks · parivadam pariksapam ApMB The variant word must mean 'sneezing', see Lanman ap Whitney The ApMB can hardly be anything but a corruption, one ms has °vam
- tvam rājūsi pradivah (VS VSK pralipat) sulūnām RV VS VSK TS MS KS N See §64
- tam ajarebhir vṛsabhis tava (ApŚ tapa) svaih RV KS ApŚ. Followed by tapā tapis sha tapasā tapasvān RV. KS, tapa tapasva tapasā tapis sha

- ApS, which has clearly changed tava under the influence of this pada Caland understands tapa as a voc., 'O Brennender.'
- sa bhūmim visvato (ArS sarvato) vrtvā (VS. sarvata sprtvā) RV AV. ArS VS TA Comm. on VS vyāpya 'pervading', which is not far from vrtvā 'encompassing'.
- anupauhvad (ApMB. anu po 'hvad) anupahvayet (ApMB anuhvayah)
 HG ApMB In ApMB po intends vo (pronoun), HG is corrupt
 and obscure See §732 There is no real variant here, both forms
 having p
- āñjanena sarpiṣā sam visantu (AV. spṛšantām, Ppp. [acc. to Roth] visanta, TA mṛšantām) RV. AV TA.
- jakswānsah papwānsas ca visve VS etc; the text of VS. is misprinted as papipānsas, corrected, p XXII]
- §201. In a class by themselves and of notable bulk are the variants between the prepositions apa and ava So close are they in meaning that it is sometimes hard to decide the relative originality, except in so far as it is indicated by general usage, by the preponderance of one form among the variants, or by the historic relations of the texts in general: nāpa vrājāte (nāvaprjyāte) . see §198
- ava (AV apa) tasya balam tıra RV. AV. Note that RV has only ava-tı, never apa-tı
- apa (TA. Apچ ava) bādhatām durītānī viśvā MS TA ApŚ. Both familiar
- dvışantam me 'vabādhasva (Poona ed 'dhāsai, but v. l. and comm. 'sva) TA: dvışantam apa bādhasva SMB If the Poona ed text is right, this should be added to VV I §152
- dhātā samudro apa (AG 'va) hantu pāpam AG PG.
- yat tatraıno apa tat suvāmı AV · yad atraıno ava tat suvāmı TA
- ıdam aham amuşyāmuşyāyanasya pāpmānam ava (ApMB. apa) gūhāmı HG ApMB
- yad avāmrkşac (ApŚ apā°) chakunıh KS ApŚ. MŚ
- yenāpāmṛšatam (SMB v 1.°mṛṣatam) surām SS. SMB.: yenāvamṛšatām surām PG
- apa (AV ava) śveta padā jahi AV AG ŚG PG ApMB HG : apah śvetepad āgahi MG
- ābhur anyo 'pa (ApMB 'va) padyatām ApŚ HG ApMB · mātur anyo 'va padyata ŚG.
- sarvān ava yazāmahe KS † TB TA ApŚ · sarvān apa yazāması Kauś. ava-yaz is more archaic
- ındur ındum avāgāt (KS avāgan, MŚ upāgāt, v 1 apāgāt) KS. PB TB. SS KS ApS MS

ava dīlsām asrksata (ApMB. adāsiha) svāhā AV ApMB 1yam apa (v l ava) dīlsām ayasta SMB

apa kşudham nudatām arātım TB ava sedim tṛṣnām kṣudham jahi Kauś

§202. To these obviously belong two interchanges of $av\bar{a}n\bar{c}$ and $ap\bar{a}n\bar{c}$, both of which are contrasted with $pr\bar{a}n\bar{c}$, which makes it certain that $ap\bar{a}n\bar{c}$ is intended, and indeed this should probably be assumed as the true reading in TB in the first case

apāpāco (TB °vāco) abhibhūte nudasva RV AV AB GB TB But Poona ed of TB text and comm. apāpāco. clearly correctly

āyus ca prāyus ca prān cāpān (ApS cāvān) ca MS ApS

p and m

§203. The few variants under this head are dubious or obscure, except for several cases of exchange between the roots tap and tam A certain phonetic fluidity (or perhaps graphic confusion?) seems suggested by all of them

§204. The roots tap and tam are quasi-synonyms since early times. They interchange three times, in two passages, so that tap occurs exclusively in RV. texts, tam in Tait texts.

tapasas (TB tamasas) tan mahinājāyataikam RV. TB

mā tamo (AŠ tapo) mā yajāas tamat (AŠ tapat), followed by mā yajamānas tamat (AŠ yajāapatis tapat) TB ApŠ AŠ

\$205. The rest are sporadic

kşumāsi VS kṣupāsi VSK An arrow is addressed obscurely Comm on VS 'shaker', thinking of the Dhātup root kṣmā(i), perhaps confused with kṣubh- Is VSK influenced partly by kṣip?

amba nışpara (nısmara, etc.), see §200

yuktās tisro vimījah yunajmi tisro vipīcah (vivītah) , see §57 namo 'gnaye prihivihsite (ChU MU prihivī') lokaspīte (MU 'smīte,

ChU °kşıte) TS KSA ApS ChU MU And sımılarly namo väyave 'ntarıkşakşıte , nama ädıtyäya (namah süryäya, nama ädıtyebhyat) , each time with MU alone reading lokasmite All in the same passage There is no doubt that lokaspite is original, Deussen renders MU 'Weltgewahrer', seemingly having °spite in mind

āñjanena sarpışā sam vıšantu (AV spṛšantām, Ppp [Roth] vıšanta,

TA mṛśantām) RV AV TA
apāma edhi mā mṛthā na indra SMB amā ma edhi mā mṛthā na (AŚ
†ma) indra AŚ ŚG See §78

viśvā spraho (AV mraho) abhimātīr jayema RV AV TA

b and v

§206. This wide-spread interchange, the partly graphie, is largely phonetic, and very common in later times. But it occurs also extensively in early times, applying both to original b and original v. see Wackernagel I \$161. The mss are unstable and inconsistent in their writing of the two sounds. There are indeed words like the prepositions vi and ava, or the roots vid and vad, or the noun vira, which are presumably never, or at most very rarely, written with b. On the other hand there is scarcely any original b which is not ocasionally written v (pivāmi, for instance, for pibāmi) This elusive theme (cf. Grassmann, KZ 12 123) is, perhaps, rather illustrated than cleared up by the Vedic variants. The divergent readings of the printed texts are not to be regarded as 'school' differences, but as illustrations of the total of an unstable and largely untrustworthy tradition

\$207. Nearly all cases are purely phonetic variations, in so far as they are not, possibly, graphic There are only a few which involve real lexical change These are

carmevāvādhus (TB °bādhus) tamo apsv aniah RV MS KS TB ApŠ The original avadhus = ava + adhus 'they have put away'. TB understands it as an anomalous root-agrist from badh 'they have Poona ed of TB has indeed avadhus in its text, but the comm even there has abādhus, glossing vināśitavantah

devīm aham nırrtım bādhamānah (TS vandamānah) TS KS ApŚ 'Subduing' or 'praising' the Goddess Destruction TS doubtless secondary, since its own sutra agrees with KS, but it is natural enough, since the preceding passage ends with 'Homage to Destruction'

yatra-yatra vibhrto (KS bibhrato) jātavedāh AV KS: yatra-yatra jātavedah sambabhūtha (TB sambabhūva, but Poona ed text and comm °tha) TB ApS The form is dubious The text tradition of AV. (19 3 1) supports bi-, not vi-, mss almost all biblito or biblirate. the the comm reads vi-, and so both editions All three mss of KS br- (vv ll bibhrto and bibhyato) In spite of all this, it seems hardly possible to construc anything but w-bhrt6 (note that the accent must be also changed in both texts) Cf next.

atandrāso yuvatayo †vībhrtram (TB Conc vibhartram, Poona ed text and comm bibho) RV TB Cf preceding, here we have adjective epithets of Agm (TB comm posakam, understanding a reduplicated form of bhr)

sakhāyau saptapadāv abhūva (ApMB °padā babhūva) ApMB HG. The

absurd form of most ApMB mss is retained for reasons explained by Winternitz, Introd, xvi.

usrā (MŠ usrāv) etam dhūrvāhau (KS dhūrbādhā). . VSK KS MŠ Others, §122

yāv (MS KS yā) ātmanvad bibhrto (KS†°tho, AV visatho) yau ca rakṣatah (AV KS °thah) AV. TS MS KS

[tujo yujo vanam (SS. text, balam) sahah AA SS: tuje janā (ArS jane) vanam svah AV ArS This difficult passage only seemingly concerns our theme, since balam is Hillebrandt's emendation in SS]

\$208. All the remaining cases concern the same word which appears now with b, now with v, the meaning being precisely the same. There are no school customs governing the sounds as a whole, tho there are some as regards individual words. The variation is about equally common with original b and original v, and in not a few cases it is impossible to be sure which was original. Among indications of greater originality three criteria may be considered, aside from the number and relative antiquity of the texts concerned. First, general prevalence of one spelling in the language as a whole. Second, such prevalence in the older texts. Third, the evidence of etymology. When all are combined, the case becomes quite clear. But especially b is for the most part doubtful historically and etymologically (cf. Wackernagel I §\$158b, 162), so that the variant words whose etymology is certain nearly all contain v

Original v

§209. We begin with forms in which v is certainly or probably original There are no less than nine variants (not all textually certain) containing forms of the root vddh or badh, of which the former seems older (badh not in RV) and remains commoner thru the language. The occasional b-forms met with from AV on are probably in part due to the suggestion of the root $b\bar{a}dh$ (and perhaps of badh). In several variants, VS texts (particularly VSK) seem to favor badh, but contrary instances occur:

dvisato badho (MŚ vadho) 'si VS KŚ MŚ

mā tvā samudra ud vadhīn (VSK badhīn) mā suparnah VS. TS. MS KS

tvayāyam vṛtram vadhyāt (VSK ba°, VS SB badhet) VS VSK TS MS KS SB

mā me dīkṣām mā tapo nır vadhıṣṭa (KŚ ba°) TS KŚ MŚ abadhışma rakṣo 'badhışmāmum asau halah (VSK rakṣo 'muṣya tvā badhāyāmum abadhıṣma) VS VSK ŚB. KŚ · avadhıṣma rakṣah TS MS KS TB ApŚ MŚ

vīrān mā no rudra bhāmīto (SMB ŠvetU °mīno, Jörgensen °mīto for SMB) vadhīh (TAA SMB. badhīh; but Poona ed of TAA and Jörgensen's of SMB. both va°) RV. TS MS KS TAA. ŠvetU. SMB: mā no vīrān rudra bhāmīno vadhīh VS

avartyaı badhâyopamanthıtüram (TB avartyaı †vadhã°) VS TB (so Poona ed)

nālārīd (TB °rīr) asya samṛlım vadhānām (TB ba°, but Poona ed. va°) RV TB

ayanam mā vivadhīr (TAA viba°, but Poona ed text and comm viva°) vikramasra TA TAA.

Cf. also the following, in which MS is surely corrupt (see §260) Apparently MS MS understand forms of vadh, badh, while TA has a form of vrdh:

mā rudrīyāso abhi gur vṛdhānah (MS abhi gulbadhānah) MS. TA: mā no rudrāso adhi gur vadhe nu (mss nuh) MS

§210. Another group of seven variants contains the name of the demon Vala, also written Bala from AV. on (under the influence of bala 'strength'?). Aside from the fact that Vala is the exclusive form in RV., the word is probably connected with root vr:

indro valam (MS balam) rakşılaram dughanam RV. AV. MS.

tvam valasya (AS balasya) gomatah RV †1 11 5, SV AS

bibheda valam (AV AS balam but many AV. mss valam) bhrgur na sasāhe (AV sasahe) AV SV AS SS

ud valasyābhinat (but all mss °nas, which read) tvacam ApŠ ud balasyābhinas (read balasyābhinas) tvacam MŠ The form abhinas is for abhinat, 2d person imperf, with s for t by analogy with 2d persons in s This curious and interesting form might be recorded in VV I §262; but there is no real variant, the true reading of both texts being abhinas

yo gā udājad apa (MS apī) hi valam (MS balam) vah RV MS indro yad abhinad valam (GB balam, but Gaastra valam with most of his mss) RV. AV SV AB GB

sa bibheda balam (VS and Poona ed of TB valam) magham (MS madyam) VS MS KS TB.

§211. There is no doubt that the words for fat, $p\bar{v}vas$ etc, have original v, as shown by the cognate languages as well as by the preponderance of v in Sanskrit Nevertheless there are a few b forms, some of them of doubtful textual authenticity.

pīvo vīkka udārathih RV KS · pībasphākam udārathim AV. In AV Shankar Pandit prints pībaspākam (comm pīvaspākam, explained

as 'fat-cooking'), and declares this to be the unanimous reading of his authorities, which is at variance with Whitney's mss Ppp has $pivass\bar{a}kam$ (Barret, JAOS 30 191, em $p\bar{w}asp\bar{a}kam$) $ud\bar{a}hrtam$ Cf Whitney on AV 4 7 3, 3 17 3, and Index Verborum of AV under $p\bar{b}b^{\circ}$ and $p\bar{v}v^{\circ}$.

prapharvyam ca pīvarīm VS TS MS KS ŠB VāDh pībarīm ca prapharvyam AV (comm pīv°, Ppp according to Roth reads like VS etc except prapharvyām)

neva mānse na pībasi AV nawa mānsena pīvari PG—SPP with some mss and comm reads pīvasi in AV, so also Ppp (Barret, JAOS 26 205) PG, tho with correct v, is corrupt otherwise (as if voc sing fem of pīvan)

§212. In the root vrh or brh 'tear', the original consonant is uncertain It has no known etymology, and both b and v are traditionally recorded in RV Wackernagel I §161 regards v as original, on not very substantial grounds. He also points out that confusion between this and the other root brh 'be great' etc., has helped the variation in spelling (cf. §215) Later, brh seems to be commoner in the sense of 'tear'. The two variants recorded amount practically to only one, as they are modulations of the same formula in the same passage. In them vrh is the real reading of all texts, Weber erroneously prints brh- in TS against nearly all his mas

ādītyās tvā pra brhantu (most mss vīh°) TS višvebhyas tvā devebhyah pra vīhāmi KS ādītyebhyas tvā pra vīhāmi MS Add to VV I \$312

vasavas tvā pra vṛhantu (TS ed bṛh°, most mss vṛh°) gāyatrena chandasā TS ApŚ

§213 There are five examples, mostly dubious, of vandhura (vandhur) bandhura, RV always spells the word with v Connexion with root bandh is therefore unlikely Bloomfield, RVRep 236, analyzes the word as van + dhura (dhur) 'board at the head of the wagon pole' trivandhuro (TB triban', Poona ed trivan', comm triban') manasa yatu yuktah RV TB (in Conc by error, TS) MS

ā yāhy arvātī upa vandhuresthāh (GB AA ban°, but Gaastra and Keith in both van°) RV AB KB GB AA SS

pra nûnam pûrnavandhura (VS SB LS °ban°) RV VS TS MS KS. SB. LS

ratham hıranyavandhuram (TA sahasraban°, but Poona ed text and comm °van°, with v 1 °ban°) RV TA

trwandhurena (KS triban°) trwytā rathena RV. KS

- §214. In the following isolated eases v is also probably original:

 •ahistheblir (MS ba°) viharan yāsi (TB pāhi, but eomm and Poona ed

 text, yāsi) tantum RV MS KS TB AŠ ApŠ The word can only

 mean 'swiftest', root vah
- stad brahmann upavalhāması (AŚ apa°, LS upabalıhāmahe) tvā VS AŚ SŚ LŚ The root is valh, apparently always except here in LŚ It is perhaps a form of 17h, §212
- capyam (TB Poona ed cappam) na pāyur bhisag asya vālah (KS vārah, TB bālah, Poona ed vālah) VS MS KS TB The word means 'sieve' and is regularly vāla, or in the older language vāra The converse of this in the variant kūrkuro bālabandhanah (vāla°), where properly bāla 'ehild', §215

Original b

- §215. In the following the b form is certainly or probably original The VS texts seem to show a tendency towards v, in spite of their seeming (?) preference for b in forms of vadh (§209) First, three cases in which etymology proves b the older
- savityprasūtā byhaspataye (PB LS*† v_Ih^o) stuta GB PB Vait LS. Twice in LS, once printed v_I^o and once b_I^o , but comm both times v_I^o which must be correct (since quoted from PB which has v_I^o).—On the other root v_Ih , 'tear', see §212
- kūrkuro bālabandhanah (ApMB vāla°) PG ApMB. Both must intend bāla, 'child', probably connected with Russian balorat' 'spoil' (treat as a child)
- ya ābabhūva (PB āva°) bhuvanāni višvā (PB višvāh¹, comm višvāni) VS JB PB SS. Vait Tho PB comm repeats the incredible āvababhūva, it is doubtless corrupt
- \$216. In the following b forms are older or more usual, tho the etymologies of the words are unknown
- yad dhastābhyām cakṛma (MS TB TA cakara) kilbişāni (TA. kilv°, but Poona ed kilb°) AV MS TB. TA
- višvasmād devakilbisāt AV MS sarvasmād devakilbisāt (VS °hilv°, LS eva kilb°) RV VS MS LS ApS
- kṛte yonau (KS kṛto yonır) vapateha bīzam (VS SB vīzam) RV. AV. VS TS MS KS SB
- basio (VS vasio) vayah VS TS MS KS ŚB ApŚ dhamantı bākuram (JB vā°) dritm RV JB,

Original b or v uncertain

§217. In the rest there seems to be no decisive evidence as to the originality of b or v The VS texts again seem to favor v First, three cases of padbīša or "vīša 'fetter' It is always spelled with b in RV, which is not favorable to its connexion with Latin vincio (Wackernagel I §161); of Edgerton, Studies in Honor of Hermann Collitz 30, and on the false form "vinša, JAOS 51 170

atho (LS ApS nır mā) yamasya padbīšāt (VS °vīšāt, LS 7 şadı ınšāt) RV AV VS LS ApS

samdānam arvantam padbīšam (VS MS °rīšam) RV VS TS MS KSA yac ca padbīšam (VS MS °rīšam) arvatah RV VS TS MS KSA Here the sole ms of KS has °rīšam

§218. Two variants contaîn the word bāna or vāna 'arrow', both Rigvedic In later Sanskrit the v form is commoner yatra bānāh (VS vānāh) sampatanti RV. SV. VS TS AG višalyo vānavān (TS bā°, MS bāṇavan, KS bānavān, NilarU vānavān) uta VS TS MS KS NīlarU

§219. The rest are sporadic, and all concern words of obscure origin māgadhah punšcalī kitavah klībo ... (VSK punšcalī klīvah klīva ...) te prājāpatyāh VS VSK klība appears to be commoner

dıybhyo vadabe (KSA vadave) TS KSA badabā and vā° are also found drvāsī VS. drbāsī KS · drubāsī VSK An arrow is addressed, said to mean 'piercing' (root d̄r)

ksatrasyolbam (VS TB °vam, but TB Poons ed °bam) ası VS TS MS KS SB. TB ApS MS Both common, RV knows only b (once). vısvarüpä sabalir (KS savaly) agnıletuh TS KS PG b ıs commoner

marudihyo grhamedhibhyo (MS °dhebhyo) başkıhan (MS vaş°, ApŚ bāskān) VS MS ApŚ Rare and obscure

subīraņa (HG suvīrmah) srja-srja (ApMB adds sunala), and,

śunām agram subīranah (HG suvīrmah) HG ApMB Anomalous name of a dog-demon The ApMB mss are discordant

aulaba (HG. °va) ut tam upā hvayatha (HG °ta) HG ApMB In same context as the preceding

bh and v

§220. These variants, few in number, are never purely phonetic but always involve tolerable lexical shifts. From out of the facile interchanges of all prepositions come a small group involving abhi and vi. in most, probably all, of which the abhi forms are prior wisvāny anyo bhuvanābhicasse (MS °nā vicasse) RV MS TB. visvānyo

bhuvanā vicaste AV. Cf abhi yo višvā bhuvanāni caste RV, and abhi višvāni bhuvanāni caste RV

devānām visihām (ApS † nisihām) anu yo vi tasthe VSK TB. KS ApS .

dwo vābhisthām anu yo vi caste MS

mandrābhibhūtih (MS mandrā vibhūtih) ketur TS. TB ApS. MS asrāmulho rudhirenābhyaklah (TA. °āvyaklah) MS TA. abhyaklah 'smeared', is clearly original TA. comm understands a-vyaklah (not ā-), explaining īdrgjātir ili niścetum aśakyah

§221. The participles abhriam and avriam exchange in two padas of the same stanza, the original form of which contained both; secondary texts variously assimilate each to the other, see Whitney on AV. 6 125 2.

vanaspatibhyah pary ābhṛtam (MS āvṛtam) sahah RV. AV. VS TS. MS KSA

apām ojmānam parī gobhīr āvrlam (AV. ābhrlam), same texts SPP with some mss and comm āvrlam for AV.

§222. The rest are sporadic.

yamīr yamasya bibhryād (AY vwrhād) ajāmi RV AV. vwrhād is unintelligible; it has intruded from the two preceding stanzas where it makes good sense See Whitney's note

ye no dvişanty anu tān rabhasva AV · yo nr dveşti tanūm rabhasva MŚ.: yo no dveşty anu tam ravasva ApŚ See AJP 27 413; Caland on ApŚ 7. 17. 2

adrihathāh sarkarābhis trwistapi (MS tribhrstibhih) KS. ApS. MS
The original means 'Thou hast made thyself firm over heaven with
pebbles'. The MS assimilates the last word in meaning to
sarkarābhis, 'thou hast made thyself firm with three-pointed
pebbles'.

bhansaso (ApMB dhvansaso) vi vṛhāmı te RV. AV. ApMB. Cf. §176; dhva° has a sort of assonance to bha°.

v and m, phonetic changes

§223. This theme is important both for text-variation, and for the history of Indian dialects. Much is here added to Bloomfield's paper JAOS 13 xcvii ff., and it may be remarked that grammatical treatises since that time (1886) hardly credit the phenomenon with the degree of importance that attaches to it. See Wackernagel I §177 note

§224. The cases which seem most clearly phonetic, in the sense that they defy independent lexical interpretation, are presented first. They are, to be sure, often mere corruptions, but even these contribute their

- mite of evidence to the proof of instability between these sounds First, with original v
- uc chvañcasva (TA chmañ) prthivi mā ni bādhathāh (TA vi bādhithāh) RV. AV TA And
- ucchvañenmānā (TA ucchmañ°) pṛthwī su tɪṣṭhatu (TA hī tɪṣthasī) RV AV TA (To be added to VV I §§116 and 332) See Wackernagel I §177
- susīmam somasaisaru AV. susevam somapitsaru (TS sumatitsaru) VS TS MS KS SB VāDh Attempts are made to explain susīmam as su-sīman, or from root šī with susfix ma, but while some such influence may have contributed, probably the variant is essentially phonetic
- yyog Jivema sarvavīrā vayam tama MG (all mss.) agne sakhye mā riṣāmā vayam tava RV AV SV MS SMB HG ApMB mā riṣāmā vayam tava Vait GB AVPpp (Barret, JAOS 26 278) The formula vayam tava 'we belong to thee' seems to have been mispronounced in MG, was the latter vaguely felt as vocative of an impossible *vayamtama (as if superlative to vayas!)?
- ā tvam (GB ātmam, Gaastra ā tvam with v 1 ātmam; LŚ ā svam) indrāya pyāyasva VS TS MS KS AB GB ŚB AŚ ŚŚ Vait LŚ (Probably ā tvam is to be read in LŚ, its edition is very untrustworthy) The converse corruption in Kauś 65 15, where four of seven mss read devā tvā for devātmā
- anamīvāsa idayā (MS anamīmāsā īdayā, but p p °vāsah, idayā) madantah RV MS TB ApŠ anamīmāsa, if correct, might perhaps be a case of assimilation, but it may be only a misprint which escaped the editor's attention The pratīka occurs as anamīvāsah later in MS 4 12 6 (197 8)
- ni dūrašravase vaha (SS mahah, all mss; ed em vahah) AV SS
- §225. On the other hand the *m* forms are original in the following, the *v* forms being often mere corruptions; of JB pratītam devebhyo justam ha vyavasthāt, where havyam asthāt is pretty certainly intended ā galdā dhamanīnām MŠ N ā galgā dhavanīnām ApS dhamanī 'vein'
- is correct, indeed the whole pada is corrupt in ApS, see §144

 Possibly thought of dhav(dhu) = dhav 'run' may have flitted thru
 the mind of the ApS redactor.
- agne yāhi dūtyam mā rişanyah (TB*dūtyam vārişenyah) RV MS TB Ap\$ Comm on TB vārişenyo mā rīrişah (=mārişanyah)
- punar dātām (TA dattāv) asum adyeha bhadram RV AV TA 'Let them (the two dogs of Yama) today give back happy life' The

preceding pāda is $t\bar{a}v$ asmabhyam dršaye sūryāya; perhaps TA's datiāv is contaminated by the preceding $t\bar{a}v$. The comm, at any rate, feels it as 3 dual impv. act. = $dati\bar{a}m$ (datiau prayachatām) There is no accent on $dati\bar{a}v$

a mā mṛta (MG vṛtat, onc ms mṛtam) AG ApMB MG cf. tam mā mṛtahah \$G mṛta is required 'may he not die'

sarasvatyā adhi manāv (KS mānā, SMB Conc vanāva, Jörgensen manāv) acarkrşuḥ (acakrşuh, carkrdhi, see §170) KS TB ApS sarasvatyām adhi manāv acarkrşuh AV The mss of SMB which read vanāva have simply a phonetic corruption

rhaspatış ivā (TS KS ApŚ °tıs ivā) sumne ramnātu (TS ApŚ ranvatu) VS TS MS KS ŚB ApŚ MŚ And

deva tvastar vasu rama (TS. ranva, MS rane) VS TS MS KS SB Here the verb stem ranva of the Tait school is based on the adjective ranva, but surely promoted by the affinity between the sounds m and v. Comm. on TS 1. 3 7 1, ranva ramanīyam kuru Sec VV I p 121

v and m, lexical variants

§226. Next we come to cases in which the lexical element is more prominent than the phonetic. That is to say, taken case by case, these interchanges might be regarded as involving synonymic padas or formulas, in the sense in which they are dealt with in RVRep 553ff Yet, because a large number of such cases persist in showing variation between m and v, there is surely a phonetic basis for even these as a whole

§227. Thus the roots man and van, and derivatives interchange a number of times, beginning with the RV. itself.

sīdantu manuşo yathā RV sīdanto vanuşo yathā RV SV LS In RVRep 60ff the first form is taken to be original. The mental operation at the bottom of the change reappears in the next variant (there discussed), in which, as in nearly all the cases in this paragraph, m is again prior:

manuşvad (TB vanuşvad) deva dhīmahı pracelasam RV. TB

etat tvātra (LS etat tān) pratimanvāno (AS °vanvāno) asmi (AS† LS asmin) VS. AS SS Vait LS 'Thinking in reply' 'offering, presenting in return'

purutrā te manutām (AV vanvatām) vişthitam jagat RV AV VS TS MS KSA. N. 'Take note of' 'acquire', jagat is subject in RV. etc, object in AV See VVI p 266.

- yat kşurena marcayatā (MG vartayatā) suterasā (AG PG ApMB HG supešasā) AV AG PG ApMB HG MG 'Injuring' 'moving' In AVPpp we find varcayatā, a sort of vox media, perhaps with thought of varcas, but really of course corrupt
- yuktās tisri vimījah . yunajmi tisro vipīcah (vivītah) , see §57
- §235 In some of the preceding, other changes than this one are made in the words. In the remainder these changes are rather more drastic, so that the phonetic resemblance between the two words becomes much fainter, the variation in these is presumably almost purely lexical, with only the slightest phonetic tinge.
- ā raśmīn (RV raśmin) deva yamase (TB yuvase) svaśvān (RV TB svaśvah) RV VS SB TB Tho TB is secondary, it makes about as good sense as the others, comm raśmīn pragrahān āyuvase ādāya miśrīkuru
- drapsas caskanda pṛthivīm anu dyām (RV prathamān anu dyūn) RV AV VS TS MS KS SB TA Interesting case of the spiead of dyu in the sense of 'heaven', producing its opposite pṛthivī in all later texts against RV
- kauberakā viśvavāsah HG miśravāsasah kauberakāh ApMB (probably original)
- avımuktacakra (v 1 °rā) āsīran PG vvvittavakrā āsīnāh HG ApMB sa me mukham pra mārkşyate (ApMB vekşyatı) PG ApMB 'He will deanse (enter) my mouth' Probably PG is original
- āñjanena sarpışā sam vısanlu (AV spṛsanlām, TA mṛsanlām) RV AV TA—Ppp (Roth) vısanla
- adharo mad asau vadāt svāhā ApMB adharo vad asau vadā svāhā HG † adho vadādharo vada HG ApMB eertainly original, the first form of HG unquestionably intends the same, and vad is a corruption or phonetic variant for mad
- vṛ!rasyāsi (KS mitra") kanīnikā (VS SB "nakah) VS MS KS SB MS MG vṛ!rasya kanīnikāsi (VSK "nakāsi) VSK TS ApS Secondary ehauge in KS

anu tvā harmo vrsā (Ap\$ mrgah) AV Ap\$

aşādhāyu sahamānāya vedhase (TB mīdhuşe) RV TB N

mitro (VS vipro) babhūva saprathāh RV VS TS MS TA

pra hansāsas trpalam manyum (SV °lā vagnum) acha RV SV

kalpantām te (TA * me) dišah sarvāh (TA * šagmāh) VS ŠB TA (both) §236 Deserving separate rubileation are a few cases which involve differences in word-division, or in division of parts of compound words. Here the partially phonetic character of the change seems particularly clear, even if the secondary reading yields good sense

- utem anamnanuth TS MS AB AS Ap\$ M\$: uteva namnamuth KB SB \$\$ K\$
- athem ava sya (AV athemam asyā) vara ā pṛthưyāh AV TS. AŚ ŚŚ MŚ The original is ara sya 'set free', AV secondarily brings in the familiar notion of 1yam pṛthưỹ (in genitive form)
- tuvi-svanasam (TS JB tuvis-manasam) suyajam ghrtasriyam RV TS JB. SB. MS The RV supports its reading by numerous instances of tuvi-svan (-1, -as), whereas tuvis- does not occur in compounds
- visvavidam (AV. vido) vācam ansvam-invām (AV. avišva-vinnām) RV. AV. The AV change is due to preceding visva-vido, see Edgerton, Studies in Honor of Maurice Bloomfield 128
- manmā dīdhyūnū utā nah sakhūyū MS anvādīdhyūthūm tha nah sakhūyū TB See the context, quoted VV I p 163; note that the preceding pāda ends in m
- dame-dame sustutir (AV KS °tyā, TS °tīr, MS °tī) vāvidhānā (AV °nau, AS SS vām iyānā) AV TS. MS KS AS. SS The sūtra texts mouth over the passage into a sort of nonsensical sense 'good praise (is) going to you two in every house'
- bharatam uddharem anuşıñca (MS uddharema vanuşanti) TB. ApŚ MŚ.

 The TB comm says that īm (in uddhara-īm) is for imam chāndaso 'yam mavarnalopah The corrupt MS reading then seems to have a phonetic substitution of v for m
- vatso vīrājo vīsabho matīnām AV · pītā vīrājām īsabho rayīnām TB See §359.

v and m in inflectional endings

- \$237. Variations in nominal and verbal inflection elicit interchange between acc sing and nom-acc dual, between nom-acc dual and gen plur; between 1st person dual and plural, and so on Similar cases occur among corruptions of the mss, thus in Kauś 60 19 two mss read manthantām for manthantāv, and in Kauś 71 1 all mss anso rājā vibhajatīmām agnī, where the ed emends imām to imāv
- rtena (MG rie 'va) sthūnām (ApMB HG. sthūnāv, MG sthūnā) adhr roha vanša (MG vanšah) AV AG. ApMB HG. MG. Knuš Roth quotes Ppp as sthūnā dhr
- aya(h)sthūnam (TS °nāv) udutā (MS TS KS °tau) sūryasya RV TS MS KS For the VS SB form see §188
- putrah pılarāv (AV °ram) avrnīta pūṣā RV. AV The original dual refers to the Asvins, AV has a stupid simplification
- yena striyam (PG śriyam, SS striyāv) akrnutam (PG °tām, SS akurutam) SS PG SMB GG The SS is secondary and poor

apsarasāv anu dattām rnam yat (TB TA rnām) AV TB TA · apsarasām anudattānṛnām MS (p p anu, dattām, rnām) MS is hopeless, see VV I p 282

idam vatsyāvah (AG vatsyāmo bhoh) AG HG See VV I p 249, others on the same page and on pp 263, 276

adhrşlam dhrşnvojasam (SV dhrşnum ojasā) RV AV SV 'Having terrible strength' 'terrible in strength'

v and m in noun-suffixes

§238. On this subject of Bender, Suffixes mant and vant, Baltimore, The variation between mant and vant is there shown to depend on the next preceding vowel, without regard to intervening consonants If that vowel was an a-vowel, the v form is regular, otherwise the mform In prehistoric times perhaps the m form occurred only after u-vowels, of Sturtevant, AJP 50 360ff, TAPA 60 33ff The difference between this and Bender's formula would concern practically only preceding 2-vowels, and Bender's work shows that after them v is much commoner than after u-vowels, which looks towards Sturtevant's In any case the original conditions are, of course, much confused in the historic texts, and much more so in the later than in the earliest texts Our variants, however, show one or two cases in which an irregular form in an older text is replaced by a regular one later The same conditions appear to apply to other m and v suffixes that are found with mant and vant Variants occur in the readings of individual mss, thus at AV 19 42 3 sutrāmne for sutrāvne, and at Kauś 89 1 four out of seven mss manuabhih for manmabhih We shall return to this subject in our volume on Noun Formation

§239. We begin with variations of mant and vant (or, once, vin, once, varī)

udyan nalşatram arcıvat (TB °mat) RV SV TB Note that RV also knows arcımat

tapur yayastu carur agnwān (AV KS °mān) wa RV AV KS N agnwān is read by AVPpp; agnimant not in RV This may perhaps be used in support of Sturtevant's theory

pūṣā jāātimān ŚG · pūṣā jātivin (read jāāti°) Kauś
tṛtīyasyu savanasya ṛbhumato (ApŚ °syarbhu°) bṛhaspativato (KŚ
°mato) . KŚ ApŚ MŚ The majority show vat after i

ındram ädityavantam väjavantam brhaspatimantam (AS °vantam) visiadevyävantam ävaha KB AS SS Here only AS has vant,

- and it is doubtless secondary, since the Brāhmana text has mant; vant may be due to the influence of the surrounding forms in vant. But eff next
- tāsv adhvaryo (SS °yav) . vājavate brhaspatīvate (SS °mate) vīšvadevyāvate AB AS. SS Here again we might suggest the surrounding vant forms as source of brhaspatī-vate, but this time the older Brāhmaṇa text reads -vate Note that AS belongs to the school of AB., and SS. to that of KB (cf. prec), the two schools seem to have affected different forms
- puṣpavatīh (TS V1Dh. puṣpā°) prasūvarīh (AV KS °sūmatīh, TS °sūvatīh) RV. AV. VS TS MS KS V1Dh The original form has suffixal varī, fem of van; according to any theory it must be judged as unhistoric It is replaced in later texts by the more regular matī, or in TS by the still irregular vatī, which looks like a blend of the other two
- apām napād.. kakudmān (MS kakubhvān) ..TS MS. KS · devīr āpo . kakunmān . VS VSK SB. See §178
- hıranyavad annavad dhehi (Ap\$ [read] annamad dhehi) mahyam KS Ap\$ See AJP 27 415
- tveşam cakşur dadhire codayanvatı (RV °mati) RV TB ApS Psychologically, tho not formally, this variant belongs here, codayanmatı in RV is a compound with the noun mati. 'they made (thee, Agni) a bright eye that inspires devotion'. Later texts conceive the word as containing a suffix, allowing it the v form required after an a-vowel TB comm., accordingly, vidhāyakavākyayuhte (karmanī).
 - §240. The rest concern man and van or related suffixal forms.
- nṛṣadvā (SV. °mā) sīdad apām upasthe (SV apām vivarte) RV SV. sadman (also RV.) is in the mind of SV
- ksıpreşave devāya svadhāvne (TB. °mne) RV TB N. The otherwise unquoted form of TB. plays upon dhāman (sva-dhāman svadhāvan).
- ādstyānām patvānv (PB °mānv) shī (KSA.† ehi) VS TS MS KSA. PB ŠB TB. MŠ ApMB. Both forms are Rigvedie; ef next
- āyoh patmane svāhā KS. āyos patvane svāhā ApŠ Cf. pree
- kavīn prehāmi vidmane (AV vidvano) na vidvān RV AV Assimilation to vidvān in AV
- mitajñavo varimann (TB °vann, but Poona ed mitajmavo varimann) ā pṛthivyāh RV MS. TB varivan is not recorded, unless here

- varşmā (VS varşımā) ca me drāghımā (TS drāghuyā, KS drāghvā, MS drāghmā, KapS drāghīmā) ca me VS TS MS KS The curious TS form seems to contain in its u a relic of suffixal van
- [āpataye tvā paripataye grhnāmī] tanūnaptre (KS adds šakmane) šākvarāya šakvana (KS šakmann) ojisthāya VS KS ŠB tanūnaptre šakmane šākvarāya šakmanā ojisthāya MS tanū° šākvarāya šakmann ojisthāya VSK In KS the stem šakman is first used as an adjective 'strong', then as a noun 'strength'
- abhikhyā bhāsā brhatā śuśukvanih RV drśe (MS drśā) ca bhāsā brhatā suśukvanih (KS °vabhih, MS suśikmanā) VS TS MS KS ŚB The MS form owes its i to dissimilation or thought of the word śikvan 'able' (RV), the change to m may be due to the feeling that m should occur after a non-a vowel
- avavyayann asılam deva vasma (TB ApŚ vasvah) RV MS KS TB ApŚ Comm on TB explains vasvah as acc sing of an agent noun, vāsayılāram āchādakam The form is very difficult, but one may think of vasvah as voc of a stem vasvan 'wealthy', agreeing with deva, in which case the accent in TB must be deleted
- prathamāya januşe bhuvaneşthāh (ŚŚ bhūma neşthāh, AŚ ed bhūmaneşthāh) AV AŚ ŚŚ Ppp has bhūm° The ŚŚ reading makes good sense 'thou shalt lead the world' AV b has bhuvane-şthāh

m and b

- §241. The few variations of m and b are related to those of m and v thru the medium of the unstable conditions that govern the relation of b and v. A large number of interchanges between mahat and brhat are not included here, as being too simply and obviously lexical, see, provisionally, the Conc. under these words
- parā dehi śāmulyam (ApMB śābalyam) RV. AV ApMB The bridal garment, defiled after the wedding night, is named here alone śāmulyam, which at least suggests śamala 'stain' Apparently ApMB is influenced by śabala 'spotted' See §607.
- asambādham badhyato (many AV mss ma°) mānavānām (Ppp °veşu) AV. Kauś asambādhā yā madhyato mānavebhyah MS Sense and text tradition require madhyato The form ba° is probably due to assimilation to the preceding -bādham (so Whitney), it is in any case a corruption This is immediately followed by
- yasyā udvatah pravatah samam bahu (MS mahat) AV MS Synonyms, cf brhat mahat, referred to above But the occurrence of b for m twice in one stanza suggests phonetic moments.

andamṛdā yavyudhah KS anlabṛdā (MS °mṛdā, KapS īlamṛdā) āyuryudhah (TS yavyudhah, MS vo yudhah) VS TS MS The belongings of the word in question are entirely obscure; Mahīdhara on VS desperately, 'bringers of food' (bhṛtah')

anuşlub (°tum) mıtrasya, see §412

m and bh

- §242. The equally small group of m and bh variants is in general purely lexical.
- indra ukthebhir mandişihah (SS. bhand°) SV. SS Cf next; the roots are quasi-synonyms
- dwas (dwah) pṛṣṭham (PB pṛṣṭhe) bhandamānah (PB mand°) sumanmabhih RV PB TA ApŚ Cf prec
- tāsām īšāno bhagavah (MS maghavan) VS TS MS KS. Practically synonyms
- sarvam tam (AV sarvān m, MS KS TA sarvāns tān) maşmaşā (TS SB masmasā, MS †mṛsmṛsā, v. 1 mṛsmṛšā, VS bhasmasā) kuru (AV -karam) AV VS TS MS KS SB TA The onomatopoetic word found in various forms in the others is made into bhasmasā, as if 'to ashes', in VS
- savılā bhriyām (KS ms † manyām) TS KS , von Schroeder emends to bhriyām
- acışyāma (p p. amı, for abhı, syāma) vrjane vıśva ūtī MS · abhı şyāma vrjane sarvavīrāh RV KS Corruption if not misprint yuktās tisro vimrjah (vibhrjah) , and others, see \$57

CHAPTER VII INTERCHANGES OF Y, R, L, V, AND H

§243. Most of the sections included in this chapter are small and of little phonetic importance. That on y and v, however, is extensive, and while largely dealing with matters of noun formation (suffixes) or with lexical interchanges, contains also some curious and interesting phonetic shifts. And the large group of variations between r and l is almost purely phonetic in character, as is also the smaller group concerning l and d which we add at the end of the chapter

y and r

- §244. Under this head occur chiefly variations between lexically different words, more or less close in meaning, and as usual often under suspicion of corruption
- dvişas taradhyā (ApŚ °yai) rnayā na $\bar{\imath}$ yase (SV $\bar{\imath}$ rase) RV SV. KS AB ApŚ . dvişas tad adhy arnaveneyase AV. Roots $\bar{\imath}$ r and $\bar{\imath}$ (intensive), both 'go'
- sändikera (PG saundikeya) ulükhalah PG HG. sanderathas sandikera ulükhalah ApMB. Fanciful names of demons
- väyosävıtra (MS väyusavıtrbhyäm) ägomugbhyäm caruh (MS payah)
 TS MS KSA
- samvatsarāya paryūynīm (TB paryārmīm) VS TB. Fanciful epithets of doubtful meaning
- ny aświnā hrisu kāmā (ApMB kāmān) ayansata (AV aransata) RV AV ApMB nz-yam 'settle', and nz-ram 'rest'.
- prānasya vidvān samare na dhīrah TS MS: yayñasya vidvān samaye na dhīrah AV Both samara and samaya mean something like 'juncture'.
- apo (RV AŚ āpo) adyānv acārişam RV VS MS KS ŚB. AŚ LŚ MŚ ApMB MG. apo anv acārişam (JB †acārşam) TS TB JB ApŚ apo divijā acāvisam AV anu-car 'follow after' cāy 'fcar, revere'
- vasūni cārur (SMB cārye, ApMB cāryo, HG cāyyo) vi bhajāsi (SMB bhrjāsi, HG bhajā sa) jīvan AV SMB ApMB HG Stonner on SMB. understands ca ārye, 'O lady' Is HG. Prakritic for ca āryo? (cf Pali ayyo) One ms. of ApMB also cāyyo All very doubtful
- yasyedam ā rajo yujah AV ArS · yasyedam ā rajah AA. · yasyedam oja

ārujah SS Obscure in all SS's ārujah looks as if blended of ā rajo and yujah, whereas AA seems to have lost (haplographically) two syllables, $\bar{a}ra(jo-yu)$ jah Or SS, may be regarded as showing a sort of metathesis of r; ojah vaguely $= \bar{a}(y)u$ jah

gohya †upagohyo marūko (PG mayūkho) manohāh PG. SMB See §81. sadā yācann aham girā (SV 1yā) RV SV. N. See §134

rudra yat te krayî (krivî, kravî, girî-) .. see §47

tām pūṣānu yachatu (AV. pūṣābhī rakṣatu) RV. AV. See §184 antah śubhrāvatā (SV. śundhyāvatā) pathā RV. SV. See §173.

vijye †vivye vilşipet (p p vi-lşepe) MS rijre vilşipe vidhame MS. (Read vilşipe in MS) According to Knauer (note on MS) these words are vocatives of cow-names No etymology for *vijyā or *vijrā suggests itself which would seem appropriate to a cow.

vanışihor hrdayad (AV * udarad) adhı RV. AV. (both) ApMB

agor arir (SV nāgo rayır) ā ciketa RV SV. Wholly different words and constructions

yena bhūyas carāty (MG caraty) ayam (AG ca rātryām, PG. bhūris carā dwam) AG PG. ApMB MG bhūyas and bhūris are different suffixal formations from the same root

sukram te (TA * vām) anyad yajatam (TA.* raj°) te (TA.* tām) anyat RV SV TS MS KS AB. KB. TA. (both) AS. Svidh. N. The Poona ed of TA reads yajatam for raj°, but with v 1 raj°, which the comm also reads, he has a labored and worthless explanation.

y and l

§245. Under this head we find only partly synonymous variants concerning the roots yup on the one hand, and lubh or lup on the other. The two instances of yup lubh have been quoted in §113, which see The other is

mṛtyoh padam (MG. padāni) yopayanto (AV. °ta, MG lopayante) yad (AV. omits) eta (RV cita, TA. aima) RV. AV TA. MG

y and v

§246. Both y and v appear very frequently in suffixal and inflectional elements, among these must be included eases in which the y and v represent the vowels i and u under conditions required by morphology. There are, besides these, not a few variants of the kind which we call purely lexical, that is concerning radically different words. Not infrequently either the y or v form of a given variant is suffixal or inflectional while the other is radical. Indeed the rather numerous

variations in this section are unusually hard to classify. They present an aspect of great heterogeneity, suggesting in the large that the phonetic relations between the sounds y and v must have played some part in the matter, even tho in individual instances the precise extent of that influence is extremely hard to determine. It was probably most marked in the cases where a suffix containing y, such as yin, exchanges with one in v, such as vin (see the next paragraph). In the aggregate, these numerous variants form an important bulwark for the theory of interchange between the two sounds in Sanskrit and Prakrit, as recognized by Wackernagel I §188c, Pischel, Gram d Pht Sprachen §254

§247. We begin with cases which seem most clearly to contain noun suffixes in both y and v forms Prominent among them is a group of forms in suffixal yin and vin, found, as far as the variants are concerned. collectively only in YV texts, and that too so that the v forms occur only in Taittiriva texts, the u forms in those of other YV schools must associate this fact first with an apparent tendency of Tait texts to prefer v in other suffixal forms (§248), and further with the preference of the same school for the vowel u in place of i (§622) The relation between un and un seems to be this The un forms contain really suffixal in, added to stems in \bar{a} (all the variants noted concern such The u bridges euphonically the gap between \bar{a} and i (cf §§338ff), precisely as e.g. in agrist passives from roots ending in \bar{a} (adhāvi etc.) The vin of Tait texts is best explained as a blend of eant or van with this in, e.g. svadhā-vin, product of svadhā-vant (RV) and svadhā-van with svadhā-y-in It is therefore likely that these vin forms are secondary to those in yin See Whitney, Grammar §§258a, 1230e. Brugmann, Zur Geschichte der hiatischen Vokalverbindungen, BKSGW 65 (1913), part 3, pp 211ff, Wackernagel I §188c (where, however, it is represented that the v and v forms exchange at random) Besides the forms noted in the following list, note yayin, sthayin, rsabha-dhāwin, in addition to Whitney's list §1230e

nama ışumadbhyo dhanvāyibhyas (TS °vibhyas) ca vo namah VS TS MS KS

namah srlāyibhyo (TS °vibhyo, MS srgāyi°) jighānsadbhyah VS TS MS KS

namo rudrāyālalāyine (TS °vine) VS TS MS KS

pıtāmahebhyah svadhāyibhyah (TB ApS °vibhyah) svadhā namah VS KS SB TB. ApS Also with pitrbhyah and prapitāmahebhyah

ūrjasiatīh siadhāyinīh (TS "vinīh) TS KS.

§248. Besides these we find a considerable number of miscellaneous

cases in which y and v are in some sense suffixal, it is hard to classify them more precisely, and the degree of phonetic influence at work is likewise hard to determine. But it is to be noted that in not a few of them, also, Tait texts seem to prefer the v forms, altho instances of the contrary are not lacking

aramgamāya jagmaye (TB Ap\$ jagmave) RV SV TB Ap, Note stem jagmu, otherwise unknown, in Tait texts, for regular jagmi

duvasyave (TA. duvasvate) tvā vātāya svāhā MS. TA Stems duvasyu and duvasvant, but MS has v 1 duvasvate

- ojasvinī nāmās TS ApMB· ojasvā nāmāsi MS Again Tait texts with v
- atharya pitum me pāhi VS SS atharva pitum me gopāya (AS †pāhi) TB AS ApS atharva looks like a phonetic variant, suggested by atharvan, for atharya (cf. RV athari, atharyu), epithet of Fire. Note v in Tait texts (to be sure also in AS)
- tapyatvaı srāhā TS tapatyaı svāhā KSA TA Stems tapyatu (RV) and tapatī Poona ed of TA tapyatvaı, v 1 tapatyaı
- ye te agne medayo (KS °vo) ya indarah TS KS. Here TS has the regular i-stem medi, while KS substitutes an otherwise unknown medu
- punse putrāya vettavai (ŚB [so, for Conc ŚG] BrhU vittaye, MG kartavai, KS† and v 1 of MG kartave) KS ŚB TB BrhU. ApŚ ApMB
- tvam no devatātaye (AV deva dātave) RV AV N See §61
- śrudhi śruta śraddhivam (AV śraddheyam) te vadāmi RV AV The anomalous RV form 1s, as it were; explained in AV
- viśvacarṣanih sahurih sahāvān (AV. sahīyān) RV. AV. MS Again AV eliminates a rare hieratie form
- svā tanūr baladeyāya mehī (AV baladāvā na ehī) RV AV 'Coine to me unto strength-giving' (RV pp mā, ā, ihī) 'come to us, giving strength'.
- namo hradayyāya (KS hradavyāya) ca nweşyyāya (KS mweşyāya) ca TS KS: namo nīveşyāya (p p nī°) ca hrdyāya ca MS namo hrdayyāya ca nweşyāya ca VS Anomalous forms seemingly from hrd and hrdaya (but cf §658), or from hrada (Keith, 'of the lake') Stem hradavya quoted Pān 6 1 83, Vārtt 2, Pat
- idā manuşvad (AV mss manuşyad) iha cetayantī RV AV VS MS KS TB N The mss reading of AV is supported by APr 4 65 (coimm manuşyavat) and adopted by Whitney The APr comm looks in the right direction, it is a blend of manuşvat and manuşya-

- namah sūtāyāhantyai (TS °hantyāya, MS KS °hantvāya) VS TS MS.
 KS. a-hanti, 'not smiting' a-hantya = a-hantva 'not to be smitten'
 arāyo †asmān abhiduchunāyate TB. AS ApS arāvā yo no abhi duchunāyate RV TAA Vait MS The stem a-rāy-a (rai) is bahuvrīhi,
 - nāyate RV TAA Vait MŚ The stem a-rāy-a (rai) is bahuvrīhi, a-rā-van karmadhāraya. Caland would read arāvā yo 'smān in ApŚ, it seems indeed that the syllable yo is inherited from the RV. form of the pāda
- vasuranvo (MahānU onyo) vibhūr ast TA MahānU ranya is from root ran, as to ranva we must remember the quasi-root ranv (see last variant in §225). Both comms have fatuous explanations, that on MahānU divides vasur anyo (=stutyah!)
- etera tvam atra šīrṣanvān (MŚ tvam šīrṣanyām, Conc, but Van Gelder's ed, 6 1 2, šīrṣanyān) edhi KS ApŚ MŚ The KS ApŚ reading alone makes sense 'by this be thou headed' = 'let this be thy head' The MŚ form, if Van Gelder is correct, can only be a phonetic variant for 'vān,
- unnetar un non (read no) nayonnetar vasvo abhy un nayā nah AŚ unnetar vasīyo na un nayābhi (KS vasyo 'bhy un nayā nah) MS KS ApŚ The AŚ form may be felt as acc pl of Vasu (n pr), but is really only a phonetic variant or corruption for vasyo (vasīyo) 'lead us unto welfare'
- §249. In a little group of three cases, AV. substitutes the more popular variyah for varivah, of which the v is certainly connected with the u of uru
- asmabhyam ındra varıvah (AV. variyah) sugam kṛdhi RV AV asmabhyam mahı varıvah sugam kah RV
- sakhā sakhibhyo varīvah (AV * varīyah) kṛnotu RV AV (both) TS KS GB Here Ppp has varīvah; one ms of GB varīyah, which, it seems, ought to be read in GB in accord with AV, unless GB quoted from Ppp
- tvastā no atra varīvah (AV varīyah) krnotu AV TS
- \$250. In another small group the y is definitely part of a case-ending, while the v remains suffixel or is a stem final
- yābhir indro vāvīdhe vīryāya (AV vīryāvān) RV AV N 'Increased unto heroism' 'increased, (so as to be) full of heroism'
- gārhapatyah (ŚŚ. °tyāt) prajāyā (VSK prajāvān) vasuvitiamah VS VSK ŚB AŚ ŚŚ Objective gen varying with possessive adjective prajananam vai pratisthā loke sādhu prajāyās (MahānU sādhuprajāvāns)

tantum tanvānah TA MahānU But most mss of MahānU agree with TA, the ed follows one ms and the comm

namah samgare (TS † samgāya) ca pasupalaye ca VS TS MS KS.

Wackernagel, II. 1 p 315, plausibly takes samgāna for samganāna. sa ghā (TB sadvā, read sa ghā with Poona ed) no devah savitā sahāvā

(TB savāya) RV MS SB TB AS SS

§251. In alternating verbal endings the same change between u and voccurs repeatedly It is especially common in 3d person indicativeimperative variations, see VV I §§116, 104. We quote a single example here:

pra stomā yanty (SV yantv) agnaye RV SV.

Another stray variant concerning verbal inflection has been noted.

brahmattad upāsvaitat (MahānU "syaitat) tapah TA MahānU reading of TA is uncertain, see VV I pp 45, 125

[madhye poşasya (AG °sva) trmpatām (MG puşyatām, AG tisthantīm) AG SG MG For no asya read sya with Stenzler's Translation] And in different present stem-formations of verbs

manve (ArS manye) vām dyāvāprthivī (ArS adds subhojasau) AV. ArS Vait See VV I p 125

§252. We now come to the more strictly lexical variants, in which at least one of the two sounds v and v is not in any sense suffixal or inflectional (usually both are not) They are fairly numerous, but so miscellaneous that it is hardly profitable to try to group most of them. There are several interchanges of the pronoun forms tyam (tyat) and tvam.

tam u tvam (SV tava tyan) māyayāvadhīh RV SV

tvam (KS tyam) hy agne agninā RV TS MS KS AB KB JB SB AS SS Kaus

ımam ü (MS u, pp ü[m]) şu tvam asmākam (TA ApS tyam asmabhyam) RV SV MS TA Ap\$ M\$

§253. Another little group concerns real or specious derivatives of the root i 'go' in variation with av They tend to confirm the use of av as a verb of motion, see Neisser, ZWbch d RV 123ff

āpo agre visvam āvan AV - āpo ha yad bīhatīr (TS MS KS yan mahatīr) visvam (TA garbham) āyan RV VS VSK TS MS KS TA 'Went (rushed') into the all', AV is of course secondary but perhaps intends substantially the same as the rest, rather than the banal 'helped all'

atı setum durāvyam (SV durāyyam) RV. SV The derivation of the RV form is uncertain, see Oldenberg, Noten on 9 41 2 The SV form, at least, is clearly meant to be taken from root i (hard to cross')

- ayebhyah (TB ave^o) kıtavam VS TB aya 'dıce-throws' is of course original; note that av-occurs in a Tait text (see §247), is it a mere phonetic variant for ay-? (comm 'to helpers') Tho aya may not be derived from root 2, the variant belongs to this group
- §254. Another group of cases is united by the circumstance that differences of word division produce different words in one form of the variant. In the instances first mentioned the v (or, once, the y) is suffixal, the other sound belonging to a separate word (particle or light monosyllable):
- rşīnām putro abhısastıpā u (VS. SB °pāvā, TB °pā ayam) AV VS SB TB
- $tan\bar{u}p\bar{a}v\bar{a}nas$ (AV $tan\bar{u}p\bar{a}$ ye nas) tanvas $tapoj\bar{a}h$ (AV $tan\bar{u}j\bar{a}h$) AV AB AS $tan\bar{u}p\bar{a}van=tan\bar{u}p\bar{a}$
- svarvaz (AV svar yaz) zyotır abhayanı svastı RV AV KB TB
- satyam (SV ApŚ sa tram) vrsan vrsed ası RV SV ApŚ The RV original is less commonplace than the later substitute, which opens countless Vedic pādas
- utānyo asmad yajate vi cāvah (TB vicāyah) RV MS TB N The original has vi-ca-āvah, vicāyah (comm viseşena pūjāyuktah) is āπ.λεγ, corrupt, and untranslatable See Kaegi, Festgruss Roth 159. 165
- yena bhūyaś carāty (MG. caraty) ayam (AG ca rātryām, PG. bhūriś carā dwam) AG. PG. ApMB MG The PG reading is clearly secondary
- nāvas caranti svasica iyānāh VS TS ŠB nāvo vi yanti susico na vānīh PIS KS The passage is mystical and obscure, tho the individual words are simple enough, VS etc may have a lect fac
- pītā bhāsvaty anūpamā TA pītābhā syāt tanūpamā MahānU See §838
- praty eva (SS pra tveva) grbhāyata AV AB GB JB SS
- §255. The rest we shall not attempt to classify; note that in some of them one or the other form still contains suffixal y or v (tho not both)
- ghrtam ghrtayone (MS ghrtavane) piba AV VS VSK TS MS KS SB AS SS 'Home of ghee' 'rich in ghee', ghrtavani is a secondary blend of the common epithets ghrta-vant and ghrta-yoni (both RV)
- anuvāsi (VS anuyā, MS anuvāya, GB † Vait † ahnānsi, em Vait ed to anuvāsi) rātriyai (VS rātryā, MS KS † Vait † rātryai) toā (VS MS omit) rātrim (VS MS KS † rātrīm) jinva VS TS MS KS Vait (pratīka in GB) The two folios are quite uncertain and may be phonetic variants The lexicons take them as containing the

roots $v\bar{a}$ and $y\bar{a}$ But note that MS. presupposes a stem anuva, with short a

trātāram indram akrnor avadhyam (VSK ayudhyam) VS VSK TS MS KS SB Synonyms; note the u, preserving a trace of original v Something like the reverse process in Pāli avudha = Skt. āyudha

āvitsi (MS āyukşi) sarvā oşadhīh RV VS TS MS KS Roots ā-vid· ā-vii Other interchanges of vi· yu in §805.

nādya satrum nanu (SB † na nu) purā vivilse (SB yuyulse) RV. SB. Metathesis of vowel and semi-vowel (vi yu)

rāyah syāma rathyo vayasvatah (TB. vivasvatah) RV MS TB The startling change in TB is probably suggested by su-yamasya in the prec pāda Vivasvant goes well with Yama!

samgayī (MS SB. °gavī, TB °gaye) jīradānū (SB jīvadānī) MS SB. TB AS SS gaya 'chattels' go 'cow'

somī ghoşena yachatu (SV vakşatu) RV SV Substantially synonyms spardhante dhiyah (TS KSA divah) sūrye na (SV sūre na, TS KSA † sūryena) višah RV SV TS KSA See §109

sarasvatyai yasobhagınyaı (KS vesabha°) svāhā VS KS

brhann ası brhadravā (TS KS °dgrāvā, MS °drāyāh, MŚ °drāyah) VS TS MS KS ŚB MŚ The Maitr texts obviously secondary malmalābhavantīm tvā (N °tītyē, corrupt) sādayāmi TS MS KS TA N rudra yat te krayī (krivi, kravi, giri-) see §47

dhuñkṣāgneyī (VSK vv 11 dhuñkṣyā° and dhuñkṣvā°) VS VSK MS. agnaye dhūñkṣnā (KSA° ṣā) TS KSA Wholly obscure words

nıkīrya (MŚ nıgīrya) tubhyam abhya āsam (ApŚ tubhyam madhye, MŚ tubhyam madhvah) Vait ApŚ MŚ nıgīrya sarvā ādhīh KŚ A desperate passage, see §47

duşvapnahan duruşşaha TA Bıbl Ind, duşşvapnahan duruşşaha TA Poona ed, text and comm duhsvapnahan duruşvahā MahānU. Comm on TA duruşşaha duhham utkarşenābhibhava, comm on MahānU duruşvahā tvam, duştam uşvam (¹) dāham hantı. The word seems to be durasyuha (²hā) 'kıllıng him who plans evil (durasyu)'

aśvān anaśśato (KS † ApŚ anaśyato, MŚ Van Gelder anaśvato, without v l) dānam KS TA ApŚ MŚ Poona ed of TA reads anahśato, v l anaśyato, the comm. ayahśaphān, with v l anaśato Obscure revotī ramadhvam (MS * *tīr amedhvam) VS TS MS (both) KS. The

revoti ramadhvam (MS * °tir amedhyam) VS TS MS (both) KS The variant of MS is corrupt, see AJP 27 403 But the reading of the ed is an emendation, mss °ramadhyam

ayuktāso abrahmatā vidasāma (RV yad asan) RV VS SB vi-dasāma, taken by Mahīdhara as from vi + das 'fail'

y and h

§256. A very few cases of miscellaneous character, consisting of easy lexical substitutions or corruptions Cf Weber, ISt 4 224 dyutāno vājibhir yatah (SV hitah) RV SV

sam sravantu diso mahīh (HG mayı) ApMB HG

endram vagnunā vahata PB vagnunendram hvayata TB ApŚ Note the metathesis of h from the beginning of the original hvayata to the middle in vahata PB comm glosses āhvayata

yamīr yamasya bibhryād (AV vivihād) ajāmi RV AV See §222 tam aham punar ādade KŚ PG imam tam punar ādade 'yam (read

'ham) HG (plainly corrupt)

hinvāno hetrbhir yatah (SV hitah) RV SV

snuṣā sapainā (TB comm and Poona ed text °nāh) śvaśuro 'yam astu (AŚ 'ham asmı) TB AŚ

r and l

§267. Nearly all the numerous variants under this heading are purely phonetic, the same word is spelled with r or l. The number in which lexical or other real difference is even conceivable is quite negligible. While the variants can hardly be said to establish any new principle, they furnish a large amount of new evidence for facts which have, on the whole, been fairly well recognized.

§258 There is a tendency towards l noticeable in younger and less The RV, especially in its oldest stratum, has a marked hieratic texts fondness for r In the RV itself are found doublets such as the roots pru plu, mruc mluc, car cal, prus plus, the words puru pulu, aram alaham |despite Wust, in Ehrengabe W Geiger 185ff, which does not convince me-F E], sahamūra sahamūla, and the intensive stems jargur jalgul Such instability continues after the Mantra period thru the history of the two sounds in Sanskrit and the medieval dialects. until in Māgadhī Prakrit, and sporadically elsewhere, l stands for any and every r The reverse is also found, the only sporadically in the Prakrit dialects recorded Pischel §259, and of Wackernagel I p 215f, Edgerton, Studies in Honor of Hermann Collitz 30f This confusion is reflected in the earliest language and thruout the Vedic period, not only in the variations of parallel texts, but in the ms readings of one and the same text

§259. The variants confirm and extend by further examples the scope A few other stray instances which have come to of these known facts our notice and are not included in Wackernagel. MS 3.7 9 has asvavāra and āśvavūra against aśvavāla and āśo in the corresponding passages of KS 24.8 and KapS 38 1 (see Von Schroeder, MS, p xv) PG 1 15 4 has grapsa 'tuft of grass' for AG 1. 14. 4 glapsa '(GG. 2 7 4 grathna). The variant plenaha for prenkha 'swing' occurs in ApDh. 1 11. 31 16. Later on, similarly, derivatives of the roots jvar and jval figure on the same page of the Kathūsaritsāgara (5 118, 122) In Aufrecht's edition of AB., p. 428, it has been pointed out that this text has a number of cases of r for more usual l (urūka, bahura, etc). Such a thing is not surprising in a Rigyedic Brāhmana; and certainly AB's bahura goes RV one better, for that form is unknown in RV., where bahula is common. In fact, the AB passage in question, 2 20 14 (also in AS 5 1 15), containing bahuramadhyam, imitates RV. 10 42 8, which contains bahulāntāsa(h).—The statement was made by Von Schroeder. ZDMG 33 196, that MS has a general preference for lover r But this is not repeated, so far as we can see, in his edition of the text; we gather that it was tacitly withdrawn. In fact, the variants do not show any such preference for l in MS. While Maitr texts sometimes show l for r of other texts, one of these cases is a lexical variant (§260), and in most of the others the l form is more usual thruout the language generally Per eontra, note MS aśvavāra above in this section, and kharvāś (to be sure with v 1 khalo), the only recorded occurrence of this word with r (§265)

§260. The very small group of lexical variants is now given first, one of them, even (the last), may possibly be purely phonetic—if not that, it is certainly corrupt

te no 'gnayah paprayah pārayantu (MŚ MG. pāla') TS TB PB ApMB MŚ PG MG The two words are practically synonyms, tho unrelated, both mean in effect 'preserve'. Note the adjacent paprayah, related to pārayantu

adhı slanda (Ppp kranda) vīrayasva AV · abhı kranda vīlayasva SG.

'Play the hero'. 'be strong' (vīl' for vīd') See §272.

dhik tvā jāram parasya janasya nirmārimi. MŠ. dhik tvā jālmi . LŠ The words are quite different in meaning and construction. mā rudriyāso abhi gur irdhānah (MS. abhi gulbadhānah) MS TA: mā no rudrāso adhigur vadhe nu (mss nuh) MŠ. See §209 gul-

badhānah is not divided in pp, it can only be a corruption (or phonetic variant) for gur (etc.) = guh, 3 pl agrist

- §261. The rest are all purely phonetic in character We begin with a group in which r is regular in RV, but l is regular in later or less hieratic texts. The r forms are either Rigvedic, and in later texts copied from RV, or conscious archaisms imitating Rigvedic diction, like bahura in AB (§259)
- aśrīrā (AV ApMB aślīlā) tanūr bhavati RV AV ApMB The r form is not recorded outside of RV, which is the more remarkable because of its obvious connexion with the common word śrī For this the suffix ra is responsible, first by dissimilation of one of the liquids, then by reassimilation of the remaining r to l
- aśrīram (TB† aślīlam, both edd) cu kṛnuthā (TB† thāt, comm and Poona ed. text thā) supratīkam RV AV TB
- samūdham (VSK samūlham) asya pānsure (SV °le) RV AV SV VS VSK TS MS KS ŠB N The l form is regular after RV, the r form in RV only in this passage, directly repeated in all later texts
- mā tad bhūmyām ā śrişan (VSK v 1 ślişan) mā trneşu RV VS VSK TS MS KSA Cf aśleşā (āśreşā) below, §265
- andhāhīn (TS °he, KSA. °heh, em , ms °he) sthūragudayā (TS KSA °gudā, VS sthūlagudayā, and so MS pp) VS TS MS KSA. The RV knows only sthūra, but sthūla is regular later (cf however sthanra)
- anu no mārstu (VS TS ŠB TA anu mārstu) tanvo yad viristam (VS TS KS † ŚB TA ŚŚ vilistam) AV VS TS MS KS ŠB TA ŚŚ ris is Rigvedic, rare later
- capyam (TB Poona ed cappam) na pāyur bhisag asya vālah (KS vārah, TB bālah, Poona ed vālah) VS MS KS TB The r form is almost limited to RV, cf however aśvavāra in MS, §259
- devānšo yasmai tvede tat satyam upariprutā (ApŠ apariplutā) bhaūgena (ApŠ bhaūgycna) VS SB ApŠ The root is commonly pru in RV, only very rarely so later
- aślonā' (comm aśronā) añgair ahrutāh svarge AV aślonāñgair ahrtā (read ahrutāh or 'tā with Poona ed) svarge ȚA śrona chiefly RV
- §262. Next, a group concerning words in which both r and l are common in most periods of the language, but RV as a rule has r almost or quite exclusively. Here are included two variants in which AV goes RV one better in its hieratic r, but both RV passages are from the largely popular Book 10. Both cases, adjacent to each other, concern the root rabh labh, which in RV always has r except in a few passages of the tenth book, of which these are two. Both forms are common later

utālabdham (AV. utārabdhān, Ppp utāl') spṛnuhi jātavedah; followed by: ālebhānād ṛṣṭibhir yātudhānāt (AV. utārcbhānān ṛṣº yūtudhānān) RV. AV.

The AV. is secondary and corrupt in its construction, see Whitney's note

The other variants in this section do not involve RV. Two concern sukla and sukra, both fairly common later, but the former not in RV Another concerns rohita lohita, of which again RV. has only the r form. The case of ksudra ksulla, where the l form is clearly Prakritic (with assimilated consonant group), also concerns words both of which are well known in the language as a whole

śukrāya svāhā VS MS SB · śuklāya svāhā VS MS.

pešo na šukram (KS TB šuklam) asutam (MS samh. mss aš°) vasāte VS MS KS TB

varunāya rājāe trayo rohitalalāmāh (TS† misprinted rohito-la°, KSA. lohita°) TS KSA

atho ye kşullakā wa AV. hatah krimīnām kşudrakah SMB. atho sthūrā atho kşudrāh TA (perhaps consciously hieratic as regards both adjectives).

§263. Next, words in which r forms (all prehistoric) are more common in all periods, the l forms being largely problematic or textually uncertain (Wackernagel I §192b) — In this group might perhaps have been placed $gulbadh\bar{a}nah$ of MS, see §260

asya kurmo (RVKh kulmo, AVPpp ms krnvo) harvo medinam tvā RVKh TS TB AVPpp (Barret, JAOS 37. 263f.): asmākam abhūr harvasva medī AV iha krnmo harvo medinam tvā KS. Scheftelowitz p 112 reads for RVKh iha kurmo hab vedinam tvā But his kurmo is an emendation of a ms reading kutso, which is probably a graphic corruption for kulmo

upapravada (RVKh upapla°) mandūki RVKh AV N Again Scheftelowitz reads upapra° in RVKh, this time with his ms. The form intended is upa-pra-vada, cf. ā-vada in next pāda. The reading with pla, if it is anything more than a ms. corruption, is mechanically assimilated to plavasva in the second half stanza.

antarılşam puritatā (TS puri°, MS puli°, KSA puli°) VS VSK TS MS KSA The r forms are commoner

salatam tu śirābhis tu MahānU samtatam śirābhis (Poona ed śilo, but v l and comm śiro, gloss nadībhih) tu TA No l form of this word is otherwise recorded

§264. Words in which *l* is regular, *r* rare Here, first, eight passages containing sarira or salila 'ocean' That MS invariably has salila

cannot be considered significant (cf §259, end), since this is the regular form in all periods, even RV; neither RV nor AV knows sarira, which is practically restricted to YV texts and, along with many other r forms, may be regarded as a conscious hieraticism.

aśvam jajñānam sarırasya (MS salılasya) madhye VS TS MS KS ŚB prapīnam (MŚ v 1 °tam) agne sarırasya (MŚ salılasya) madhye VS KS MŚ · prapuātam etc TS ApŚ

vībhrājamānah sarırasya (MS sahlasya) madhye (TA °yāt) VS TS MS KS SB TA

nyacyamānam salīlasya (VS KS ŠB sarīrasya, TS TA bhīwanasya) madhye AV. VS TS MS KS ŠB TA

3arram chandah VS KS SB sahlam cho TS MS

sarırāya svāhā VS · salılāya tvā TS MS KS Ap\$ M\$ salılāya svāhā \$B

arirāya (MS TA salilāya) tvā vātāya svāhā VS MS SB TA

varıre tvā sadane sādayāmı VS KS SB sahle etc MS sahle sadane sīda TA

§265. The rest are miscellaneous

kṛṣṇagrīva āgneyo rarāte (MS lalāṭe) purastāt VS MS The l form is commoner.

aśleśā (TS āśreṣā) nalṣatram TS MS KS In MS pp aślo; KS may intend either a- or ā- The word regularly has l Cf. mā tad bhūmyām etc., §261

adhorāma (HG. text atho°) ulumbalah (HG †ulumbarah) ApMB HG
The word (usually udum°, probably related to udumbara, ud°
'fig-tree') appears in RV AV etc, always with l in the last syllable,
except here in HG, which may show dissimilation to preceding l
Cf §273.

mudgāś ca me khalvāś (MS kharvāś, v 1 khal^o) ca me TS MS KS A kind of grain, the r form not found elsewhere Note that it occurs in MS (cf. §259)

achalābhih (KSA °rābhih, MS [m]alsarābhih, VS 7kşalābhih) kapiñjalān VS TS MS. KSA See §184

r and v

§266. These interchanges, with the yet more scanty groups concerning r and v and h, are sporadic and of slight phonetic importance. We record them on the chance that there may be a quasi-phonetic glide from one to the other in words that are lexically similar, which are regularly involved. In fact, so far as they do not concern corruptions

(as is often the case), they mean substitution of one word for another similar in sound. Thus the very hieratic word $j\bar{\imath}ra-d\bar{\imath}nu$ is twice replaced by $j\bar{\imath}va-d\bar{\imath}nu$ at a time when the former is no longer understood udādāya pṛthivīm $j\bar{\imath}vadānum$ (TS TB ApS onuh; VS SB $j\bar{\imath}vadānum$)

VS. TS MS. KS SB TB ApS

śamgayī (TB °ye, MS ŚB °gavī) jīradānū (ŚB jīva°) MS ŚB TB.
AŚ ŚŚ

§267. The rest are individual eases of more or less close synonymy, tapering off into doubtful or corrupt readings:

avakrakşınam vəşabham yathājuram (SV yathā juvam) RV. AV. SV. 'Ageless': 'swift'

 \bar{u} ryasval \bar{v} roşadh \bar{v} r \bar{u} rısanl \bar{u} m (KSA v16°) RV TS KSA † 'Graze on': 'enter', the latter an evident leet fac

puru reto dadhire suryasvitah (AV °sritah) RV. AV KS The AV is secondary and not very intelligent, 'sun-shining' and not 'sun-resorting' is original Yet KapS (see note on KS) has °sritah, evidently intending °sritah

rudra yat te krayī (krivi, kravi, giri-). sec §47

pāti priyam ripo (and rupo) agram padam veh RV. (bis). pāty agnir vipo agram padam veh ArS

duredrsam grhapating atharyum (SV athavyum) RV. SV KS. ApS MS. N The SV form is desperate Benfey suggests atharv-yum with simplification of the group of three consonants (cf. §§419ff). In some way the v of atharvan seems to be concerned.

aśvinā gharmam pālam hārdvānam (TA hārddvānam, read hārdi^o with Poona ed; LŚ pālam aharvyānam, MS pibalam hārdrānum) VS. MS ŚB TA ŚŚ LŚ The MS corruptly mouths over an obscure form Note that the v of the original, by a kind of metathesis, reappears as the vowel u

hitvī (SV hitvā) širo jihvayā vāvadac (SV rārapac) carat RV. SV.

tatra rayışıhām anu sambharaıtam (MS °retām, AS corruptly °bhavatām) TB AS ApS MS

rathe akşeşv tşabhasya (KS TB °şu vt°) vāje AV KS TB ratheşv akşeşu vtşabharājāh V1Dh See §359

mıśravāsasah kauberakāh ApMB kauberakā viśvavāsah HG.

āyurdā (āyuşmān) deva (agne) jarasam (havışā, °şo) vṛnānah (etc), see §854

asmān (MS KS asmān) u devā avalā haveşu (MS KS bhareşv ā) RV SV VS TS MS KS asmān devāso †'valā havesu AV

varunāya rīšādase (KSA vīdase) TS KSA So the ms of KSA: but von Schroeder emends to rīšādase.

- §268. In several cases assimilation or dissimilation is concerned ugram ojiştham tavasam (SV tarasam) tarasınınam RV AV SV Assimilation to tarasınınam in SV
- vātajavair (HG vātājirair) balavadbhir manojavaih MS HG Either assimilation in MS, or avoidance by dissimilation in HG or the banal sequence vātajavair manojavaih Since the latter process seems almost too clever for a sūtra text, probably MS is secondary
- dhanamjayam dharunam dhārayişnu RVKh bhūmidrnham acyutam pārayişnu AV bhūmidrnho 'cyutaś cyāvayişnuh AV The last, unquestionably secondary, changes to cyāv° after acyutah, 'unshaken (but) shaking (others)', an enticing mode of expression in the Veda (e g ajuryam jarayantam, RV 2 16 1).

r or v and h

- §269. These cases are yet fewer and slighter in phonetic significance; cf §266
- aredatā (KS * ahed°, so ed , but ms īdatā, read probably ared° with v Schr on KS 32 3, n 3) manasā devān gacha (ApŚ gamyāt, TS manasā tac chakeyam) TS MS KS ApŚ ahedatā (ŚŚ ahel°) manasedam juṣasva AŚ ŚŚ The root red in Naigh 2 12 is followed immediately by hed in a list of ten words for 'be angry'
- sahamānā sahasvatī (PG sarasvatī) PG ApMB HG sarasvatī is a blunder
- tam tvā bhrātarah suvrdhā (ApMB °dho, HG suhrdo) vardhamānam AV ApMB HG See §109
- tã (tāv) ehr (eha, rha, MG eva) , see §§578, 888
- sa ghā (TB sadyā, Poons ed sa ghā) no devah savītā sahāvā (TB savāya) RV MS SB TB AS SS

Land d.

§270. It is a familiar fact (Wackernagel I §222) that every d and dh between vowels is changed in the Sākala and Bāṣkala recensions of the RV to l and lh This variation is ignored in the Conc , because it is carried out with mechanical completeness. Clearly related to it is the change between vowels of the same sounds to dental l and lh in later Vedic texts, Wackernagel I §194. This alteration is carried thru, with as absolute completness as in RV, in two texts, VSK and SS, and also in the twentieth book of AV. These cases are recorded in the Conc, but we deem it a waste of space to list here the variants which concern VSK and SS alone. Elsewhere the same change occurs sporadically.

It is clear that ms. tradition in this regard is untrustworthy, and that editors have exercized their discretion to some extent. Thus N, seems to intend to write l thruout. In the following list all the variants with l in AV, occur in Book 20 and mainly in those parts of it which are copied from RV. So far as we have observed, these are the only variations from the text of RV, in those parts of AV, 20.

§271. The list follows:

ıdāsmān anu ıaslām ghriena ApS MS · idaitāsmān (RVKh. ilaita vām) anu ıaslām traiena RVKh. AV. Vait But Scheftelowitz reads idaita... ghriena for RVKh.

aıdamıda yaryudhah KS: ailabıda (MS °mıda, KapS īlarırda) ayuryudhah (TS yaryudhah MS. 10 yudhah) VS TS. MS. See §241 ādıtyā rudrā 1asa1as itelate (AB teel°, for tied°, GB. Gaestra fienile, with all mss) AV AB GB. JB SS.

astrām tādam pratīnāhā (ApŠ T tālam pratīnāham) MS ApŠ.

yad devā derahedanam (VSK TA * °helanam, but TA. Poona ed both times °hel°, with v.1 °hed°) AV. VS. VSK MS. KS. SB. TB. TA. (bis) Vait ApS MS Kauś. BDh GDh.

nahy anyam badākaram (AA. balā°) RV AA. AS. But Keith reads AA. balā° (as is read in RV)

aśrathnun dṛdhārradanta vīdutā RV.: arradanta vīlutā (fragment) N. undraś ca mrdayātı (AV. ŚG. mṛl²) nah RV. AV. ŚG.

īde (SS VHDh īle) dyāvāprthuī pūrtacittaye RV. AB. KB. AS. SS. KS. MS. VHDh.

īdenyo (AV. SS. Vait īlenyo) namasyah RV. AV. SV. SB. TB. AS. Vait krīdanlau (N. krīl^o) putrair naptrbhih RV. AV. N.

yad vīdāv (AV 17lāv) indra yat sthire RV. AV. SV. Svidh.

vīdu (AV. Vait vīlu) cid ārujatnubhılı RV. AV. SV. Vait.

vīhi śūra (TB sūra) purodāśam (AV. °lāśam) RV. AV. KS. TB. N.

vauşai (SBK SS. vauşal) AB. GB SB. SBK. SS. Vait MS. ApS.

vy ānad (AV. ānal) indrah pṛtanāḥ svojāh RV. AV.

d and τ

§272. The same change occurs sporadically also between d and r. Twice this concerns the word $id\bar{a}$, $il\bar{a}$, or $ir\bar{a}$; the other cases are lexical or corrupt. Cf also ahar $dw\bar{a}bhir$ $\bar{u}tibhih$, §360; here MS. has (for ahar) vahad (cf next §), but one ms uahad and pp. vahat.

ırāvatī (KS idā°) dhenumatī hi bhūtam RV. VS. TS. MS. KS SB. TA. AS ApS. MS

ida (ŚŚ ila, MS MŚ iḍā, ApŚ.* ira, in the same passage with *iḍa) ehi VS TS MS. KS. ŚB. TA. ŚŚ. LŚ. ApŚ. (both) MŚ

arnhasva vīdayasva (MS vīr°) su TS MS adhiskanda vīrayasva AV , abhi kranda vīlayasva ŚG See §260

vīruc chapathayopanī AV. vīdu chapathayambhanīh ApS The latter is a clear corruption of the AV. reading, which Caland adopts

varenyakratūr (AV °tur, ApS īdenya°) aham RVKh AV. ApS · vīrenyah kratur ındrah sušastıh RV. See §§383, 554

d and r

§272a. On this subject see Hanns Oertel's helpful review of VV I, in GGA 1931 236ff, especially 239f, and his article in Ehrengabe für Wilhelm Geiger 136f. He refers to Patañjali (Introd to Mahābhāṣya, on Vārtt 9, p 11, 11, Kielhorn), who mentions the mispronunciations yariānas, tarvānas, for yadvānas, tadvānas; and to Wackernagel I p 212. Oertel would see in such variations as nātārīd (TB °rīr) asya samṛtim iadhānām (TB ba°) RV TB, where a difficult 2d person sing is substituted for a 3d person (cf VV I p 237), traces of this phonetic tendency. (Cf. ChU. 4. 1 2 pradhākṣīr for °ṣīd, Oertel, ll cc) It seems indeed possible that this has something to do with such variations, altho it should be remembered that there are many other equally curious variations in person of verbs which cannot be thus explained (VV I passīm, especially p. 195f.). Other cases mentioned by Oertel (see also his note in ZII 8 289f.) are:

nayi rāyo mayi rakşah MS. 4 9 13 134 5, for which the Conc suggests dakşah for rakşah. mayi dakşakratū TS †2 5 2 4, ApŚ AG HG. mayi dakşo mayi kratuh VS MS ŚB TB. TA ŚŚ

na me tad upadambhişar dhṛṣir brahmā yad dadau MS (originally "dambhiṣad ṛṣir", Caland, ZDMG 72 10 infra) na ma idam upadambhiṣag (once erroneously udambhiṣag) r̄ṣir brahmā yad dade ApS (bis) Here the ApS form seems to stand for upadambhiṣad, with final g for d (=k for t), see our §142

yadā rāghaļī raradah Vart.: yadā rākhātya» ıadatah ApŚ yad adyārādhyam vadantah MŚ See §70

To these materials collected by Oertel may be added the following ahar (MS tahad) dwābhīr (MS dwyābhīr) ūtībhīh VS MS. ŠB TA ŠŠ LŠ One ms and pp of MS vahad (vahat), see §360, and the preceding §272 The MS is-secondary, and may be considered hyper-Sanskritic

dadhır (SV. dadhad) yo dhayı sa te (SV. sute) vayansı RV SV.

balım ichanto vıtudasya (AG vı tu tasya, v l vıdurasya) preşyāh (MahānU AG presthāh) TAA MahānU: AG See 865

dvışas taradhyā (ApŚ. °yaı) rnayā na īyase (SV īrase) RV. SV. KS AB ApŚ dvışas tad adhy arnaveneyase AV

l and d and n

§273. By way of appendix may be mentioned a few stray cases in which l varies with lingual n and with dental d; these evidently show tendencies related to the preceding (A couple of variations between l and dental n might perhaps also be recorded here, but because of the ease of graphic confusion between these letters we have quoted them in §878, q.v.) In two contiguous passages $hariknik\bar{a}$, fem of the coloradjective harita, is changed in SS to $hariklik\bar{a}$, perhaps by partial assimilation to the preceding r, but the characters are graphically much alike.

tāsām ekā harīknikā (ŠŠ °klikā) AV ŠŠ harīknike (ŠŠ °klike) kim īchasī AV ŠŠ

There remain a couple of partly phonetic variants between d and l: urūnasāv (TA. uru°) asutrpā (AV TA °pāv) udumbalau (TA ulum°) RV AV. TA AS See Lanman apud Whitney AV. The TA. comm, fatuously, prabhūtabalayuktau (as if uru-bala!). See adhorāma etc, §265.

ni nivariana variayendra nardabuda (KS nandabala) TS KS ApMB. Both ἄπ. λεγ; obscure epithets of Indra KS looks suspiciously like a case of popular etymology (as if 'rejoicing strength'), and is therefore probably secondary.

CHAPTER VIII THE SIBILANTS

§274. The general confusion of the sibilants, doubtless due to popular quasi-Prakritic influences (since they all become fused in the Prakrit dialects), goes back to a very early date. From the Veda down to modern times instability in this regard is habitual rather than exceptional in certain roots and words. The sibilants of such words as koşa koşa (cf §289, end), śrambh srambh, are really never determined, and even so clear a root as sru 'flow' threatens surprisingly to become śru, as we shall see (§275). See Bloomfield and Spieker, JAOS 13 exvii ff, Bloomfield, Kauśika Sūtra, p. lx, Winternitz, Introduction to ApMB, xvi, and Wackernagel I §197e. The following variants are in large measure purely phonetic, due to this traditional instability. But real lexical changes also occur often. Our treatment tries to consider both elements

a bna à

§275. We begin with purely phonetic interchanges, and first those in which stakes the place of regular or etymological s. In a number of cases the root sru, 'flow', of known etymology, appears as sru, the Pet Lex goes so far as to postulate a collateral root sru in that sense sam yor abhi sravaniu (MŠ sra°) nah RV AV SV VS KS TB TA

ApŚ MŚ HG So Conc from Knauer's report of mss, but Van Gelder's ed reads sra° for MŚ without v l

vi srutayo (AS visru°, SS viśru°) yathā pathah SV. AS SS One ms of SS visru°

dadhı mantham parısrutam (SS manthām parısrutam, one ms °śrutam)

AV SS

ā tvā parısrutah (MG °srtah, mss °srtam, AG °srtah) kumbhah (ApMB † °āh) AG PG ApMB MĞ emām (ŚG enam) parısrutah kumbhah (ŚG kumbhyā) AV ŚG—AVPpp ā tvā parısrtah, for which Barret JAOS 32 366 °srtah The readings of AG MG, tho certainly secondary, make sense

pratyañ (VS TS ŚB* TB °yañk, MS †* and KS v 1 °yak) somo atudrutah (AV text att hrutah, VS †* MS atusrutah, KS v 1 °śrutah) AV VS (bis) VSK TS MS KS ŚB (bis) TB ApŚ The true reading of AV is °drutah; see Whitney's note

- §276. The small words sam 'weal', and sam 'together', interchange reciprocally, see §§278 and 280 for eases in which sam is original or both are justified.
- śam ūdho romaśam hathah ApMB: sam ūdho romaśam hatah RV. Comm on ApMB takes śam as 'Vedic' for sam; see Winternitz, p

§277. The rest are sporadic.

- endrāya tvā sṛmo 'dadāt (SG śramo dadat) MS ŚG MŚ SMB Sṛma is a name of an Asura; in the adjoining Brāhmana of MS it is explained by a myth which says that the earth, full of eattle, belonged to Sṛma, and that Indra got the cattle from him. There is no reason to question this myth; cf Sṛpa, Sṛmara, and Sṛmala, names of Asuras (Harivanśa, see Pet. Lex) ŚG. has a secondary or corrupt reading ('dem Indra gebe dich die Eṛmūdung', Oldenberg). The theme of the passage is branding cattle
- āstām jālma (KS jalma) udaram šranšayitvā (KS srans°) AV KS. Both edd of AV. read thus, some mss śrans° and some srans, none the 'correct' srans°
- sam te hıranyam sam u santı (ApMB sam u santı) apah AV. Kaus ApMB Metathesis of s and s in ApMB, see Winternitz, p xvi
- somas caturalşarasyāsrīvīr (MS °śrīvīr) nalşatrānı MS. KS A rare word, which however seems always to be written asrīvī except here in MS
- peŝo na ŝukram (KS TB ŝuklam) asitam (MS all samhitī mss aŝitam, ed. em asitam with pp) vasāte VS. MS. KS TB.
- ā šīrṣnah śamopyāt AV., eomm. and Ppp samopyāt, which is probably right and is assumed by Whitney. Cf however Bloomfield, SBE 42 255 (keśam opyāt?)
- śvāvrt tat HG Kırste suggests sv-āvrt; the context gives no help in interpretation
- madhu vańsiṣīya AV Read vańs° cf JAOS 13 evvm, and Whitney on AV. 9 1 14.
- §278. In the following s takes the place of regular or etymological s:
- sam te hıranyam sam u santv (ApMB. sam u santv) āpah AV. Kaus ApMB See §277, and for other sam: sam, §\$276, 280
- [agnim ca viŝvaŝambhuvam RV † AV† KS TB†. Ap\$.†. No variant; correct Conc]
- śimāh (VS simāh) krnvantu (VS * šamyantu) šimyantah (VS. šamyantīh) VS TS KSA† The word can only be a form from šim = šam,

occurring in the same pāda, is the s of VS due to dissimilation? Mahīdhara = sīmāh, glossed rekhāh or maryādāh

parnasado (SS °sado) jaritah (AV Vait. °dah, om jar°) AV AS SS Vait Original certainly sad-, 'the fall of a leaf' SS possibly understands 'settling down of a leaf' (root sad)

visve devā nāturdhyanti sarve (KS sūrāh, ApS sūrāh) AV KS ApS The latter can only intend sūrāh Other cases of these two words, capable of lexical explanation, §284

yam eva vidyāh śucim (VāDh sucim) apramattam ViDh VāDh N śukeşu me (AV sukeşu te) harimānam RV AV TB ApŠ 3 of SPP's mss, comm, and Ppp (Barret, JAOS 26 228) read śukeşu

mrgasya srtam (HG. śrtam) akṣnayā ApMB HG (vv ll srutam and śrutam in ApMB) Kirste says 'probably srtam'. More likely śrutam is intended in both texts. It is a question of ill-omened sounds (śakunai ruditam ca yat is the preceding pāda of HG) 'Whatever (cry) of an animal is heard (that is) amiss' For śru sru cf §§275, 283

pred u harwah śrutasya (SV sutasya) RV SV TS The word refers to Indra, SV is perhaps thinking of Soma Benfey abandons it and translates the RV

namah śaspiñjarāya (TS sasp°) tviṣīmate VS TS MS †KS See next ye vaneṣu śaspiñjarāh KS ye vṛkṣeṣu śaspinjarāh (TS sasp°) VS TS MS MG See prec Except m TS the word is always written śaṣp°, and it is doubtless connected with śaṣpa (with haplology, Wackernagel I p 279). Perhaps TS gets its s by confusion with sasya 'grain', which is itself sometimes written śasya, cf Wackernagel I c, Keith on TS

yā na ūrū ušatī višrayāte (AV °lı, ApMB HG visrayātai) RV AV ApMB HG Comm on ApMB, šakārasya sakārah, cf Winternitz p xvi

krīdī (VŠK °lī) ca śākī cojjeṣī (ApŚ sākī ţcorjṣṣī, v l °j̄ṣṣī, ca) VS VSK. ApŚ Name or epithet of one of the Maruts Doubtless 'mighty', root śak, so Mahīdhara, and sākī seems incapable of other interretation

jīmūtān hṛdayaupašābhyām (VS °šena, VSK v 1 °sena) VS VSK TS MS KSA

na jyotīnsi cakāsati Suparn yyotişam na prakāšate RVKh

trşiam pışıtam asyate AV 5 19 5b Whitney accepts Zimmer's emendation asyate

yad asravan paśava udyamānam AV 7 66 1 Read or understand asravan with SPP, comm, and Whitney

sarau parnam wādadhat AV 5 25 1 Read or understand sarau with Whitney.

§279. In a couple of phonetic variants the words are so obscure that it is impossible to say which is original

rkso jatūh susilīkā (MS susulūkā) ta utarajanānām VS MS. The pp of MS reads susilīketi susi-līkā, suggesting that VS has the true reading But susulūkā occurs once in RV. Both meaning and original form are obscure, folk-etymology may have been at work; Sāyana thinks of sisu and ulūka, in RV. it is associated with ulūka.

grāmyamankīradāsakau ApŠ grāmyam mangīradāsakau MŠ vyūghram mangīradāsa gauh Vait Obscure proper names, see §49

§280. In some of the preceding there are perhaps possibilities of lexical variation, tho they seem to us too faint to be important. While the line is not hard and fast between the two groups, it seems to us that the following cases are lexically defensible in both forms. Thus the words sam and sam each make sense in these passages, of §\$276, 278-sam abdhyah TS MS ApS MS sam adbhyah (supplying sundhasva from the preceding) KS

mandūkyā su sam †gamah (TA gamaya) RV TA. mandūky apsu sam bhuvah AV The latter reconstructs the passage secondarily.

yal la āsthuam sam u tat te astu TB yal te viruslam sam u tal ta etat Vait 'That shall be all right for thee'. 'that which was torn shall be (put) together for thee'

§281. When other changes accompany the alteration of the sibilant, the lexical element becomes clearer Thus in three cases of the roots sam-vas and sam-vas, which are practically synonyms, we are evidently dealing with a primarily lexical substitution, affected by phonetic moments.

teşv aham sumanāh sam višāmi (AŚ višāti, for °ni; MG vasāma) AŚ. ApŚ HG ApMB MG See Knauer's note on MG amāvāsye samvasanto (MŚ °višanto) mahitvā AV TS MŚ

tasyām devā adhısamvasantah TS TB tasyām devarh samvasanto mahıtvā AV tayor devā adhısamvasantah ApS yasyām (v 1 asyām) devā abhı samvısantah MS

§282. The root ās 'sit' varies thrice with augmented forms of as 'attain'; they are practically synonyms in these passages. The ās forms all occur in RV., the as forms in SV, which is contaminated from such expressions as barhir āśāte RV 8 31 6 and 1 144 6: sahasrasthūna āsāte (SV ās°) RV SV.

samīcīnāsa āsale (SV. āšala) RV. SV yairāmylāsa āsale (SV. āšala) RV. SV.

§283. The particle su varies with the reduplicating syllable $\dot{s}u$; in the first variant also the roots sru and $\dot{s}ru$, cf. §§275, 278.

nṛcalṣāh soma uta suśrug (comm. and Poona ed text śuśrug) astu TB sucakṣāh soma uta sasrud astu MŚ See §145 sasrud is an em for mss sasrad, saśrud, suśud; Conc suggests suśrud, but sasrut occurs in RV., and 'flowing' fits Soma as well as 'hearing'. Perhaps susrut should be read in MŚ

drše ca (MS dršā ca, RV. abhīkhyā) bhāsā bṛhatā suśukvanih (RV. śuś°, KS. suśukvabhih, MS suśikmanā) RV VS. TS MS KS SB See §240.

§284. The words sūra and sūra interchange twice; cf. višve devā etc, §278:

śūro (TB sūro) na mutrāvarunā gavistusu RV. TB The Maruts yoke their chariots in battle like a warrior' or 'as the sun (yokes his chariot)'.

vīhi śūra (TB sūra) purodāśam (AV. °lāśam) RV AV KS TB. N. The original is addressed to Indra, the 'hero', TB transfers it to an address to the sun

§285. The word sarva varies a number of times with various words in δ , some of them rather remote in form:

sarvalah sarvasarvebhyah (FA sarva saro; some mss add sarvasarvebhyah, MahānU sarva sarvebhyah) MS TA MahānU Se namah 'homage to every Sarva', or 'homage, O Sarva (or, O All [comm on MahānU sarvātmaha]), to all (the Rudras)'. MS has v 1 sarvatah for sa vatah Interesting for the thoro-going confusion of the two sounds; despite lexical possibilities, the case is fundamentally phonetic.

sarvān agnīnr (AV. śivān agnīn) apsuṣado huve vah (MS huve, AV. havāmahe) AV. TS. MS AP.

Lalpantām te (TA. *me) dišah sarvāh (TA *śagmāh) VS SB TA (both) vište derā nātividhyanti sarve (KS. śūrāh, ApŚ sūrāh) AV KS ApŚ See §278

§286. The root sūd varies with sudh and subh, cf §174. and note AV radantam suddham uddharet AV. 20 136 16d, where suddham is based on mss readings sudam and sunam (Index Verborum)

asūşudānta (MS KS aśūśubhanta) yajūiyā riena TS MS KS TB āpo asmān (MS mā) mātarah sundhayantu (TS ApŚ śundhantu, AV MS KS sūdayantu) RV. AV. VS TS MS KS SB AŚ ApŚ §287. The rest are sporadic, and rather remoter in the formal resemblance between the words in question:

yena striyam (PG śriyam) alguntam (PG °tām, SS striyāv alurutam)

SS SMB PG GG sirī is certainly original

sumbhānas (KS stam^o) tanvam (TB tanuvam, SV †tanvām) svām RV. SV MS KS TB

svām tanvam (TS TB tanuvam) varuno 'suşot (TS TB asisret) TS MS KS TB 'Enlivened' 'entered into'

śunam ma ışlam ... svam ma (ma ıdam) ışlam , sec §353

tās tvā višantu manasā sīvena (TB mahasā svena) AV TB

yad anena havışāšāste tad asyāt (AS asyām) MS. SB TB AS SS 'May he obtain that': 'that (18) in this (offering, se hotrāyām)', or, 'that here in this (offering) shall prosper' (the following words are tad rdhyāt). Earlier in the same section occurs asyām rdhed dhotrāyām

\$ahma yat te goh KS MS · sagme te goh VS \$B KS. samyat te goh TS See §47

tasthau nākasya sānavı (SV sarmani) RV. SV

apāvrnod duro asmavrajānām (MS asmadrathānām) RV MS TA

śvātrāh pītā (V1Dh snātāh prītā) bhavata yūyam āpah VS SB KS V1Dh

sadā (MS šacyā) pašyanti sūrayah RV AV SV VS. TS MS KS ŠB NrpU GopālU VasuU SkandaU

tad asya priyam abhi pātho asyām (TB asthām) RV MS. AB. TB AŚ Poona ed text and comm asyām for TB, see VV I p 86.

aryo nasanta (SV nah santu) santsanta (SV † °tu) no dhiyah RV SV See Oldenberg, Proleg 72

āšum jayantam anu (KS yā samjayantam adhi) yāsu vardhase RV. VS TS. MS KS ŠB Even the original version is obscure

ā sutrāvne sumatım āvṛnānah AV Perhaps orıgınally āśutrāvne, see §355

s and s

§288. Here the total number of variants is much smaller. Moreover many involve lexical changes, while most of the rest concern rare
and doubtful words, the true original form of which is uncertain. The
genuine phonetic variants are few, and none too certain in some instances. In the following is seems to replace proper is phonetically
named devā āpnuvan pūrvam ariat (VS ariat) VS VSK IsāU. The
word clearly means 'going' (root ri), VS comm ria gatau. Cf
however anariarātim (alarirātim)... §292

abhyaşıkşı rājābhūm (MS v l °bhūt, ApŚ °bhūvam) MS ApŚ abhrśikşa rājābhuvam (v l °bhūvam) MŚ (quoted from unedited mss, probably only a textual error)

§289. We find a for proper s, aside from a few corruptions, only in the name of an Asura, Sanda or Sanda The weight of evidence seems to favor the spelling with s.

śandāya (VSK şa°) tvā VS VSK TS MS ŚB ApŚ

nırastah sandah (VSK MS † *4 6 3 şa°) VS VSK MS (bıs) SB TB KS ApS MS

apanuttau (KS °tā) sandāmarkau (MS * şa°) TS MS (bis) KS TB ApŚ MŚ See von Schroeder's note on MS 4 6 3 82 16, which indicates that he then believed MS to intend şanda thruout But need it have been consistent? The mss are unanimous for ş in some places, nearly unanimous for s in others Those of MŚ vary Corruptions

yenāpāmṛsalam (SMB v 1 °ṣalam) surām \$\$ SMB yenāvamṛšalām surām PG

varuneti sapāmahe (MS † °hai, LS †sayāmahe) VS TS MS KS SB TB AS SS LS The LS has probably a mere misprint

[kavaşyo koşadhāvanīh (MS text kośa°, all mss koṣa°, TB† 'koṣa°)
MS KS TB Read 'koṣa° in all There would be no variant but
for the em in MS, which is unjustified, althouthe word meant is
that more commonly written kośa]

§290. The following variants seem also to be purely phonetic, in so far as not mere corruptions, the obscurity of the words makes it impossible to decide which is original

ındrānyaı kīrsā (KSA °şā) TS KSA

rkso zatūh susilīkā (MS šušulūkā) VS MS See §279

kūśmāñ (VSK † v 1, MS kūş°) chakapındaıh (MS śa°) VS VSK MS kūśmāñ chakabhıh TS KSA

kūṣmāndāh, ku°, and kūṣ°, kuṣ°, also °māndyah and °māndānı, various Dharma texts, see Conc Names of certain expiatory verses

ākaršye karšyo yathā ApS gīh košvosyaur yadā gırah Vait madhv ity ākarsaih kušair yathā KS The meaning of the whole passage is obscure

§291. Coming to lexical variations, we find three cases of visva varying with visu (visvak), the meanings are fairly close

višvam satyam krnuhi vislam astu RV visvak satyam krnuhi ciliam esām AV Sec Bloomfield, The Atharvaveda 50, Whitney on AV 3 1 4, Oldenberg, Noten on 3 30 6 [But no emendation of AV

- is necessary. Render: 'Make accomplished on all sides the purpose of these (our party)' Ppp (Barret, JAOS 32. 351f) has wistam vistam kritish salyam eşām, closer to RV. Same general sense in all F. E.
- adhi kşamı vışurüpam (ArS kşamü vıśva°) yad asli (ArS asya, MS† āsla) RV AV ArS MS TB (Add to VV I §229 for the verbs)
- purudasmo vişurüpa (KS °dasmavad visvarüpam, TS. ApS. urudrapso visvarüpa) induh VS TS KS SB ApS
 - §292. The rest are isolated and unclassifiable:
- narŝarātim (SV alarṣirātim) vasudām upa stuhi RV. AV. SV. N The RV. form is derivable from root rs 'nijure'; cf Neisser, ZWbch. d RV, s v. The SV form seems on the face of it to contain the root r, it may be corrupt Benfey, 'rasche Spende habend'.
- nābhimṛśe (MS KS nābhidhṛṣe) tanvā (TS tanuvā) jarbhurānah (TS MS KS. jarhṛṣānah) RV. VS TS MS KS SB 'Not to be touched (attacked)'
- asya hotuh pradišy (AV. prašisy) rtasya vāci RV. AV. VS MS KS TB N Synonyms: 'at the command'.
- prānān samkrośaih MS . samkrośān prānaih (VS. °krośaih prānān) VS TS samghoṣān (ms °goṣān) prānaih KSA Synonymous roots kruś and ghuş
- yayor vām devau devesv anisitam (TS anis) ojah TS MS KS. 'Undestroyed', from a- and pple of ni-syati, 'incessant', a-nisita
- sam tvā šišanti (Vait šiš°) Vait LS KŠ Garbe takes šišanti from šiš 'leave'; it is more likely from šās (šiš) 'ordain'. Caland apparently rejects it as corrupt, for he translates šišanti ('sharpen')
- vanaspatīnr aşadhī rāya eşe (*rāye asyāh) RV (both) Roots 15 and as, practically synonyms The two versions in adjacent hymns, see RVRep 258 Add to VV I §121, 324
- aspārsam enam satasāradāya RV AV In AV most mss, SPP, and even Ppp (Barret, JAOS 26, 257), read aspārsam, in spite of Whitney, who keeps the RV form in his Translation (root spr, aor.), we think that the AV tradition intended aspārsam, as a form of sprs. 'I have touched imm with (life of) a hundred years' Of course the form is highly anomalous
- dīrghām anu prasitim (KS samṛtim) āyuşe dhām (KS tvā) VS TS MS ŠB TB dīrghām anu prasṛtim samspṛšethām MS Cf §78
- tre ışah (KS viśve, MS tva eşah) samdadhur bhūrwarpasah (TS† bhūrvetasah) RV. SV VS TS MS KS SB
- pratnāso agna rtam āšuşānāh (AV āsašānāh) RV AV. VS TS 'Blowing upon': 'sharpening' (both practically 'furthering, tending')

- abhıştır (HG °tīr, ApMB abhıŝrīr) yā ca no grhe (RVKh ca me dhruvā) RVKh ApMB HG
- \bar{a} darşate savas \bar{a} sapta d \bar{a} n \bar{u} n RV AV N \bar{a} darsatı savas \bar{a} bh \bar{u} ryoy \bar{u} h AV The whole thought is made over in AV
- atrā te bhadrā raśanā apasyam (KS bhadrā vṛṣanā agṛbhnām) RV VS TS KS
- aśūśubhanta (TS TB asūṣudanta) yajñıyā rtena TS MS KS TB See §286

s and s

§293. Here there are only a very few variants, and their phonetic interest is slight. Usually the change is due to a change in the preceding vowel from an a to an 'alterant' i, u, or to different word-division which brought s into another word where it follows an alterant vowel. The list is not complete

davyā mimānā manasā (VS manuṣah) purutrā VS MS KS TB made suśipram (SV madeṣu śipram) andhasah RV SV Cf PAOS 13, p exviii

āpṛno si sampṛnah (Ap\$ āpṛnoṣi sampṛna) S\$ Ap\$ The latter is corrupt

vasışthahanuh VS oşışthahanam TS TA

sugantuh karma karanah karaşyan JB sugam tvah karmah karanah karah karasyuh LS

tenemām upa sıñcatam RV AV TA N tena mām abhışıñcatam ŚŚ asūrte (MS KS °tā) sūrte rajası nışaite (MS °tā, KS na sattā) RV VS MS KS N See §828

kratvā varistham vara āmurim uta RV AV $\,$ kratve vare sthemany āmurīm uta SV $\,$

rşīnām ca stutīr (SV suştutīr) upa RV SV VS TS MS KS §294. The rest are scattering

ye vrhşeşu (KS vaneşu) saşpıñjarāh (TS saspı°) VS TS MS KS MG See §§32, 278, and next

namah saspiñjarāya (TS saspi°) tvisīmate VS TS MS † KS

sarvam tam (AV sarvān nī, MS KS TA sarvāns tān) maṣmaṣā (TS SB, masmasā, MS † mṛsmṛsā, one ms mṛimṛsā, VS bhasmasā) kuru (AV -karam) AV VS TS MS KS SB TA The word is sound-imitative (cf Eng mash, similar but independent) VS rationalizes with thought of 'ashes' (§242)

ā sutrāvne sumatim āvṛnānah AV oṣṇṣṭhadāvne sumatim gṛnānāh TS Whitney suggests, attractively, āśutrāvne (to match oṣṇṣṭha- in

TS); but su-trāman, su-trāla, and su-trālra seem to support the tradition of AV (āšu seems not used with the root trā).

kh, ks and sibilants

§295. In view of the common later confusion of s and kh, it is surprising to find practically no variants between these sounds, of the mes, reading sudas at AV. 20 135 4, for khudas of SS:

kaşolküya svāhā TA TAA.. khakholkāva svāhā MahānU Neither word is interpretable

§296. There are, however, a couple of cases of variation between the and s, which point in a like direction, of the reading khunā for sunā (thru sunā) 'by a dog', Pārsvanātha Caritra 2 268.

āšum tvājau (ApŚ ākhum tvā ye) dadhire derayantah KS ApŚ MŚ The original is āšum, which refers to Agmi To make a 'mole' out of Agmi seems sufficiently absurd, but the reason is plain. The viniyoga of the sūtra, in both ApŚ and MŚ, reads ily ākhukarīṣam (MŚ °kirim) mivapati, 'he throws down a mole-hill'. Hence the word ākhu has erept into the sūtra in ApŚ (where Caland translates āšum)

ud vanšam wa yemire RV SV TS. KB. N·ūrdhvam kham wa menire Mabābh 12 284 78

\$297. And one case of his and & (lexical).

mayum te sug rehatu (KS te kşut) VS MS KS SB The same with other animal names in the same passage

s(s) and h

§298. There is but faint evidence for this interchange. The few instances are all lexical or morphological, or else very much under suspicion of corruption. In so far as phonetics may be concerned as a contributory factor, we may call the change quasi-Prakritie, see Wackernagel I §221, Pischel §264. In the following it is to be presumed that an original s is replaced by h.

dhiyā na (SV no) vārān upa māsi (SV māhi) šašvatah RV SV Verb endings, see VV I p 101 The reverse is found in the first variant in §299

dhruvāsah (TB Ap\$ dhruvā ha) parvalā ime RV AV. KS TB Ap\$ SMB MG The obsolescent ending āsah is replaced by the regular ā(s) plus the particle ha

jālavedo nayā hy enam sukrtām yatra lokah JB· jālavedo vahemam (SS vahasvainam) sukrtām yatra lokah (TA lokāh) TA SS. The Conc. suggests possibly nayāsy for nayā hy in JB

- āsannışūn h
rtsvaso mayobhūn RV AV TS MS KSA N $\,$ āsann eşām apsuvāho mayobhūn SV
 $\,$ See §820 $\,$
- [pratyan (etc) some attitutah (°srutah etc, AV text °hrutah), see §275 The true text of AV. is °drutah]
 - §299. In the rest it appears that an older h is replaced by s
- stuto yāsı (RV yāhi) vašān anu RV VS TS KS ŠB LS See VV I p 105 The converse of the first variant in \$298
- turīyādītya (VSK. turyā°) savanam (RV hav°) ta indrīyam RV VS VSK TS MS KS SB Synonymous roots su and hu
- ghṛtapruṣo haritas tvāvahantu KS . ghṛtapruṣas tvā sarito vahanti (AS harito vahantu) TB AS ApS
- guhā hitām nihitām (KS † omits nihitām, by haplology) gahvareşu KS MS · guhā satīm gahane gahvareşu TB ApS
- pratno hi (TA pratnoși) kam īdyo adhvareşu RV AV TA MahānU The TA reading is corrupt, comm pratanosi
- [suhaveha (AV. misprinted susaveha) havāmahe RV AV VS MS KS See Whitney on AV, 3 20 6]

CHAPTER IX PRESENCE OR ABSENCE OF NASALS, SEMI-VOWELS, LIQUIDS, SIBILANTS, H, AND VISARGA

1 Presence or absence of masals and anusvara

§300. This phenomenon occurs mainly but not evelusively before consonants. When it occurs before vowels, it is really a matter of sandhi, namely, of the use of a nasal as a sort of 'Hiathe-tilger', to bridge the gap between two vowels; the semi-vowels are used in the same way. Before consonants, it is to some extent rhythmic, and therefore of genuinely phonetic bearing, even the rarely if ever purely phonetic, since morphological or lexical considerations play a part. This rhythmic shift is Prakritic in character, see Geiger, Pali §§5, 6; Edgerton, Studies in Honor of Hermann Collitz 32. It appears most clearly when a short vowel followed by a nasal or anusvāra varies with a long vowel without nasal. Thus in variant forms of the same word, or at least from the same root.

ya eşa svapnanansanah (AV °nāsanah) RV. AV N.

pūşne 'āghṛnaye svāhā TA ' pūşna āghṛnaye (em, mss āpṛṇaye) svāhā MŚ āghṛni is a regular epithet of Pūşan For aūghṛni, comm. aājanena dīpyamānah, but it can only be a phonetic variant or semi-corruption for āgh"

§301 From different and equally regular forms of the verb:

agnım naras trişadhasthe sam idhire (SV TS indhate) RV. SV. TS KS. agnım idhe (SV indhe) vivasrabhih RV SV

atra pılaro yathābhāganı mandadhvam TS TB Ap\$ · atra pılaro mādayadhvam VS VSK MS KS \$B A\$ \$\$ L\$ M\$ Kau\$. SMB. GG KhG. V1Dh Add to VV I §240

krūram ānanša (KS † ApŚ ānāśa) martyah (KS † martah) AV. KS. ApŚ See VV I p 187

na papatrāya rāsīya (SV ransışam) RV AV SV Sce VV l p 109.

§302. In words not etymologically related, but more or less similar in sound

atho (LS ApS nir mā) yamasya padbīšāt (VS °vīšāt, LS† şadvinšāt) RV AV VS LS ApS See §217

agnım idila (SV ındhīla) martyah RV SV. Cf next; both verbs are common in Agni-worship

yam sīm ıd anya īdale RV yam sam ıd anya ındhale SV. Cf prec

yūcad (SV. TS. KS. yanead) višram ny atrinam RV. SV. VS. TS. MS. KS. Roots yū and yam quasi-synonyms

ato no 'nyat pitaro mā yorla (HG. yūdhram) Apš NS. HG.: mā vo (Aš no) 'to 'nyat pitaro yoywata (As. yuūgdhram) Aš. Kauś. If we may trust yuūgdhram, the other verbs are from yu 'unite', therefore synonymic. Ci. VV I pp. 42, 150

āpo asmān (MS. mā) mātarah śundhayantu (TS. ApS. śundhantu, AV. MS. KS. sūdayantu) RV. AV. VS TS MS. KS. SB. AS. ApS.

§303. Rather more numerous are cases in which the absence of the nasal does not involve a long preceding vowel, but is due to sundry morphological circumstances which admit of closely related forms with or without nasal. Accidents of nominal and verbal inflexion occasionally involve presence or absence of a nasal. These variations are of course primarily morphological; at most they may be said to have a certain phonetic aspect, so that they are not wholly unrelated to the phonetic shift here considered. It would hardly be profitable to list them all here. So far as they concern verb forms they will be found in VV I: see §192 there (interchange of nasal and non-nasal presents), §5210 and 217 (nasal presents or imperiects varying with non-nasal aorists, as vida: vinda, vrjyāḥ: vrājyāl, etc.); §279 (masīya· maisīya); §280 (adadīhanta: adadīhāhanta); and many variations between 3d persons singular and plural in ti, nti, te, nte, etc., on pp. 255 fi.

§303a. Twice subjunctives in $-(\bar{a})si$ are reported with an anomalous \hat{n} before the s. We might be tempted to emend the sole ms. of KS. in the second; in the first no v. l. is reported for SG. and Oldenberg keeps " $y\bar{a}nsi$, the he translates " $y\bar{a}si$ (see his note, p. 36):

jālānām janayāš ca yān (\$G. janayānsi ca; AVPpp. janayāsi [not °mi, as Whitney says] ca) AV. \$G Barret, JAOS 32. 360, needlessly emends Ppp. to the \$\Sigma\text{reading} Add to VV I \\$253.

§305. Again, in other cases we find stem-forms with and without nasals, involving no real grammatical change. These concern stem or word formation:

urcī gabhīrā (TS gambhīrā) sumatis te astu RV. TS. MS. KS. In this

and the next TS replaces an antiquated form with one which is regular in the later language.

gabhīram (TS. gambh°) ımam adhvaram kṛdhi VS TS MS ŚB Cf.

OPTC

samudra wāsı gahmanā (TB ganh°, but Poona ed gah°) TB ApŚ satyaujasā dṛnhanā (KS † dṛhanā, MS durhṛnā) yam nudethe TS MS KS. sacetasau druhvano yau nudethe AV Both TS. and KS. understand a form of dṛh dṛnh (ef adadṛhanta adadṛnh°, VV I p 187); AV and MS struggle in common with another idea

antah Subhrāvatā (SV. Sundhyāvatā) pathā RV. SV Cf §173

samudrāya sīsumārah VS MS: sīndhoh sīnsumārah (KSA † sīsū°)
TS KSA The form sīnsu° oceurs in RV; cf. Palī sunsumāra
Later sīsu° is regular, but it may well be only a secondary adaptation by popular etymology to sīsu 'boy' The long ū of KSA. may
be a mere corruption in the single ms

§306. The prefix sam varies with its own reduced grade, sa-, and with a syllable sa- of other sorts (some of the cases textually dubious):

samvid ası TS savid ası VS KS. PB: savitā savite savij jinva MS. samstup chandah VS MS KS. SB: sastup chandah TS.

namo vrddhāya ca savrdhc (TS samvrdhtane, KS savrdhvane, MS savrdhvane) ca VS TS. MS KS

satatam tu strābhis tu MahānU · samtatam strābhis (Poona ed silā° v l. strā°) tu TA

nakşatrānām sakāšān mā yauşam MS: nakşatrānām mā samkāšaš ca pratīkāšaš cāvatām Vast Kauš

agne sasrjmahe (MS samsr°) girah RV SV. MS KS Here sa- is the reduplicating syllable

sa (MS sam) dundubhe sajūr indrena devaih RV AV VS TS MS. KSA N The MS hardly makes sense; it is probably due to assimilation in meaning to sajūr

sam (MS sa) dāśuşe kıratu bhūrı vāmam TS MS AS. SS Again MS is hardly interpretable, its change is the reverse of the prec.

sam yajñapatır (VSK yajamāna) āšişā VS VSK. TS. MS KS. ŚB ŚŚ KŚ ApŚ MŚ: sa yajñapatır āśişā Vait (probably to be corrected to sam, see Caland on Vait 4 21)

§307. Other cases of final anusvāra before consonants (cf. also §401): rayobhūmis tvam mām (Mahān U. tvam ām, so TA. Poona ed with v. l tvam mām) rodayasva pravadanti dhīrāh TA Mahān U.

tato (PB te) ha jajñe (MŚ 'ham yajñe) bhuvanasya gopāh (MŚ goptā) TB PB ApŚ MŚ See §192, MŚ clearly secondary $ya\ \overline{\imath}m\ vahanta\ \overline{a}$ śubhih RV $yad\overline{\imath}\ vahanty\ \overline{a}$ śavah SV

svahpatir yadī vrdhe SV svarpatim yad īm vrdhe RV AV

yo raywo (SV raym vo) raymiamah RV SV KB SS SG The SV doubtless corrupt

tasyām no devah (MS tasyām devah) savītā dharmam (VS†VSK† TS†ŠB†dharma) sāvīsat (VSK°şak) VS VSK TS MS KS SB. Stems dharma dharman

mā mā yūnarvā hāsīt (JB yono vām hārasīh) PB JB`LS Incomprehensible in either form

sa īm (TS ī) mandrā ... (see §374) VS TS MS The particle īm becomes ī in TS, before m, this might be put with §401 sam īm (SV u) rebhāso asvaran RV AV SV

Nasal as 'Hiatustilger'

§308. The Rigveda itself has a number of instances of nasalization of a final vowel before an initial vowel, in lieu of regular sandhi. Here the nasal (in the recognized RV cases always anusvāra) acts as 'Hiatustilger'. See most recently Oldenberg, Noten on 1 33 4. The variants present one of these instances in which secondary texts leave the hiatus unrelieved, and in another ease ApMB MG read tanūn for RV tanū, all intending a loc sing

svāyām †tanūn (RV tanū) rtvvye (RV † °vye) RV ApMB MG See Winternitz, Introd to ApMB, XIX Knauer mistakenly considers the form an abbreviation of tanvām

ā te suparnā amınantan (MS TS °ta) evaih RV. TS MS KS AB

§309. Somewhat similar are cases in which other nasals, n or m seem to act in the same way as 'Hiatustilger' between vowels, or, conversely, we find in some texts omission of final m before an initial vowel, either with secondary sandhi of the two vowels thus brought into proximity, or leaving hiatus

yadīn (AV yady) rnam samgaro devatāsu AV TA Comm on TA yadīn rnam, yad eva prasiddham rnam. We must apparently understand în for īm (aliter ī), the partiele of emphasis, the TA form is unprecedented and suggests an attempt to avoid hiatus A heavy syllable is favored as the second syllable of the pāda, cf §438

abhīm riasya (SV abhy riasya) sudughā ghriascutah RV SV The SV, tho secondary, suggests light pronunciation of the final nasal, felt as if mere Hiatustilger

abhī (SV abhīm) rtasya dohanā anūşata RV SV

- yenāksā (SMB °kṣān, PG °kṣyāv, SS yenā kṣām) abhyaṣicyanta (SS SMB abhyaṣiñcalam, PG. °lām) AV. SS SMB PG Nom.: acc. forms
- ā pūṣā etv ā vasu TS: ā puṣṭam etv ā vasu AV. If TS has the original form, AV. may be regarded as a lect fac, with avoidance of hiatus.
- agner jihrām abhi (MS jihrābhi, p. p. jihrām, abhi; AV. KS. jihiayābhi) †gṛṇālam (AV gṛṇala) AV. VS TS. MS. KS. 'Sing to (with) the tongue of Agni.' MS might intend an instrumental, but note the p p
 - §310. Miscellaneous non-final nasals, before consonants:
- agnır ukthena vāhasā VS TS MS KS AŚ. ŚŚ : agnir uktheşi anhasu AV. apām rasam udvayasam (KS udayansam, TA. udayansan) VS. TS. MS. KS ŚB TB TA
- agnim adya hotāram avīnītāyam yajamānah pacan paktīh (VSK. pañktīh) pacan.. VS VSK. MS. KS. TB. (See also Conc. under sīsena agnim adya etc., TB., but Poona ed. of TB. lacks the word sīsena, which is also shown to be an intrusion by the lack of sandhi.) pañktīh 'heaps' is secondary or corrupt. The same blunder in Kauś 22 10; see Bloomfield, GGA 1902 492.
- §311. Miscellaneous non-final nasals before vowels (once before y); to these should be added a few cases of presence or absence of initial nasal consonants which we have placed below in §421, where they seem more properly to belong:
- tam āhutam našīmahi (AV "tam aš") RV. AV. AB. Parallel roots aš and naš
- tasya rathag
rtsaś (MS °krtsnaś, KS °krtsaś) ca \dots VS. TS MS. KS. ŚB See §46
- namah kṛtsnāyatāya (VS. °yatayā, KS kṛtsamvītāya, TS. MS kṛtsnavītāya) dhāvate VS. VSK. TS. MS KS. A sort of metathesis of nasal in KS.
- na kir devā minīmasi RV.: na ki devā inīmasi SV. Svidh. The strange inīmasi is questioningly classed by Whitney (Roots) as an isolated 9th class present from i(-noti) Benfey equates it with min° with unexplained loss of m Reverse of Hiatustilger?
- sam tvā tatakşuh (LS °kşnuh) Vait. KS. LS. See VV I p. 146. The monstrous form of LS may be influenced by its viniyoga: iti takşnuyuh (itself somewhat anomalous).
- agnaye dhūnkṣnā (KSA. °kṣā) TS KSA.: dhunkṣāgneyī (VSK. vv. II. °kṣyā and °kṣvā) VS VSK. MS. Possibly the second nasal of TS. is due to the mfluence of the first.

annam me (ApS *no) budhya (ApS °dhnya) pāhi, and °yājugupah MS ApS One ms of MS writes buddhya each time, perhaps budhnya is intended

Cf jīvām rlebhyah (read mr° with SPP, comm, and many mss) parinīyamānām AV

§312. Note finally the following curious variant

kāyamāno (MŚ kāmayamāno) vanā tvam RV SV MŚ N Sāyana glosses by kāmayamāno, the later regular form, which is secondarily introduced in MŚ

2 Presence or absence of y

§313. A large proportion of the variants under this head concern the presence or absence of suffixal ya A form containing this suffix varies with a corresponding form without it, usually either a primary noun or adjective in a, or a secondary derivative in suffixal a. These cases belong to Noun Formation and are to be dealt with there more fully. To some indeterminate degree they also concern phonetics, notably where y appears after a double consonant in such pairs as bhakşa bhakşya, etc. Metrical considerations enter to some extent, the form with y may be read as a syllable longer than the other form, and this occasionally has import for our judgment of the variation, as will be pointed out in individual cases

(a) Words equivalent in meaning, y follows two consonants

§314. We begin with cases where the y follows two consonants (and is often written, and regularly pronounced, iya, see §784), and in which the form in y is equivalent in meaning to that without y. The latter in a few instances is formally proved to contain the secondary suffix a by showing vriddhi of the first syllable, while the y form lacks vriddhi aghorena cakşusā mitriyena (ApMB maitrena, KS ApS cakṣuṣāham

śwena) AV KS ApŚ ApMB But maitrena may be a noun, 'friendship', mitriyena must be an adjective

māham pautram (KBU putryam) agham rudam (AG niyām, see §724, SMB nigām, and riṣam) AG SMB ApMB HG KBU

ya āntarıkşāh (sc. sarpās etc.) HG ye sarpāh pārthıvā ye antarıkşyā AG

vāyur na īdīta īdītavyair devair antarīksyaih (ApŚ üntarīkṣaih) pātu KS ApŚ: vāyuṣ ṭvāntarīkṣāt pātu sūryo dīvah MŚ The latter contains the primary noun and belongs with §321

prabhāyā agnyedham (TB āgnendham) VS TB On the troublesome TB form see §491

- §315. In the rest, the great majority, secondary viiddhi appears in neither form or in both:
- sumnāya sumninī sumne mā dhattam TS TB ApŚ: sumnāyuvah (KS 'yavas) sumnyāya sumnam (KS sumnyam) dhatta MS KS. sumne sthah sumne mā dhattam VS ŚB Both sumna and sumnya are used as both adjectives, 'gracious', and nouns, 'grace'

agnır devebhyah suvıdatrıyebhyah (TA. °trebhyah) RV AV TA N.

svargāsi KS · svargyāsi ApŠ

ūrdhvam manah svargyam (TA suvargam) MS TA

na yajñasya manvate martyāsah (TB Ap\$ martāsah) RV. KB TB Ap\$ The reading martāsah is poor metrically

 $kr\bar{u}ram\ \bar{u}nan\a (KS † Ap\$ $\bar{u}n\bar{u}\$a$) martyah (KS † martah) AV KS. Ap\$ Agam martah is unmetrical

marleşv (VS MS KS marlyeşv) agnır am
rlo mdhāyı RV VS TS MS KS ${\rm ApMB}$

sumıtrā (VS SB MahānU SS KS sumıtrıyā, AS LS sumıtryā) na (KS na) āpa osadhayah santu (KS † °yo bhavantu) VS TS MS KS SB TB TA MahānU AS SS LS BDh Followed by

durmıtrās (VS SB MahānU KŚ °triyās, AŚ ŚŚ LŚ °triyās) tasmai santu (KS * TS † TB TA MahānU BDh bhūyāsur) yo ..., same texts

- śārgah srjayah (TS KSA ākhuh srjayā) śayāndakas (KSA °kās, em v Schr °kas, TS śayandakas) te maxirāh (KSA °tryāh, em unnecessarily to °trāh in ed) VS TS. MS KSA
- abhi dyumnam (RV VS sumnam) devabhaktam yavışiha (MS KS devahıtam yavışihya, MS p p °şiha) RV VS TS MS KS ApMB yavışiha and °thya are perfect equivalents, the former seems to be preferred at the end of a trıştubh pāda, the latter of eight and twelve syllable pādas
- tvām agne samīdhānam yavīs!ha (RV °!hya) RV. TB. Ap\$ The stanza is pure jagati in RV, half of it is made tristubh in the others
- śałam pūrbhir yawsthya RV · yawstha pāhy anhasah RV TA Sce RVRep 539
- gambhīrebhih (AV TS HG °raih) pathibhih pūrvinebhih (MS pūrvebhih, AV pūryānaih, TS HG pūrvyaih) AV TS MS KS SMB AS HG
- brhat sāma kşatrabhrd vrddhavrşnyam (MS °nam, so ed with p p, other mss °nim, read probably °nyam, TS °vrşniyam) TS MS KS AS
- tāsām visisnānām (KS °nyānām) MS KS

amo nīveṣyāya (p. p nī°) ca hṛdyāya ca MS: namo hṛdayyāya ca nīveṣyāya ca VS.: namo hradayyāya (KS hradavyāya) ca nīveṣyyāya (KS. °ṣyāya) ca TS KS From the noun rīveṣya 'whirlpool', is derived nīveṣyyà 'of the whirlpool'. The stem nīveṣya (or nī°, note accent) is equivalent to this latter and is probably merely a phonetic simplification of it; practically a question of mere orthography. One KS. ms nīveṣyyāya

namah sīghryāya (TS sīghryāya) ca sībhyāya ca VS TS: namah sībhāya ca sīghrāya ca MS KS

tau te bhakşam (LS °şyam) cakratur agra etam VS JB TB ApS LS SS tayor anu bhakşam bhakşayāmi TB. ApS : tayor aham anu bhakşam (LS °şyam) bhakşayāmı VS. LS : tayor aham bhakşam anubhakşayāmı JB SS

jaitrāyā (ApMB °tryāyā) višalād u (HG. °tām, ApMB °tān) mām RVKh VS. ApMB. HG.

devānšo yasmai tvede...bhañqena (ApŚ bhañgyena) VS ŚB ApŚ yamam bhañgyaśravo (KS MŚ bhañga°) gāya KS TA. ApŚ MŚ yamam gāya bhañgyaśravah (KS MŚ bhañga°) KS TA ApŚ MŚ maṇdūkāñ jambhyebhih (KSA. jambhaih) TS KSA TB. ApŚ jambhābhyām taskaran (p p °rān) uta MS: jambhyais (KS. °yebhis) taskarān (KS T °rān) uta VS TS KS.

asıasya vāje (KS krande, TB. krandye) puruşasya māyau AV KS TB yo'sya (MS asya, but Van Gelder 'sya) kauşihya (KS kausiha) jagatah KS TS ApS. MS.

śtelāya raidarvāya (PG °vyāya, AG. ŚG. °dārvāya, MG vaitahavyāya)
.. AG PG. ŚG ApMB. HG MG

pāpāt svapnyād abhūtyāh AV. · pāpah svapnād abhūtyai KŚ It would be pedantry to see in svapnya any really different meaning from svapna [inatamam āptyam (AV. āptam) āptyānām RV AV. N The AV. must doubtless be emended to āptyam with Whitney]

(b) Words equivalent in meaning; y follows one consonant

§316. Next, forms in which the y follows a single consonant, both forms still equivalent in meaning. A small group shows the vriddhi of secondary derivation in the form without y, not in that with y meghyā (VS maighīr) vidyuto vācah VS TS MS KSA

brhanto daitāh (VS divyāh) VS MS ApS divya from div, daita from deta, but meaning the same.

achınno divyas (KS ApS daivyas) tantur mā mānuşas (KS ApS manuşyas) chedi MS KS ApS See next brhaspatir devānām (SS. daivo, this belongs to §324) brahmāham manuşyānām (SS mānuşaḥ) VSK. TB SS KS ApS MS: brhaspatir brahmāham mānuşah LS mānuşa and manuşya are precisely equivalent in all uses, tho here the former happens to be an adjective, the latter a noun Cf. prec

kalpayatam mānvṣīh TB ApŚ dṛhhantām dawīr višah kalpantām †manuṣyāh KS

dhişanāsi pārvalī (VS ŚB par°, TS TB ApŚ parvatyā) VS TS MS. KS ŚB TB ApŚ MŚ Adjectives pārvata and pariatya (and, if VS ŚB are right, parvata. Mahīdhara, parvatātmikā); all 'of the rock' The VS ŚB. reading is supported by the ms readings (two occurrences) of KS, parvatī both times, von Schroeder has emended, with doubtful justice

aranyāya (MS āranāya, but p p aranyāya) sīmarah VS. TS MS KSA. §317. The rest show vriddhi either in both forms or in neither. Among them stands out a considerable group of cases of the perfectly equivalent stems dawa and dawya:

dawo (HG °vyo) yo manuso gandhah ApMB. HG

dawā hotārah sanışan na etat AV.: dawyā hotāro (TS. °rā) vanuşanta (TS vanī°, KS †vanışan na) pūrve (KS etat) RV. TS KS.

davyā (AV °vā) hotārā (TS °rāv, AV. °ra) ūrdhvam (MS adds 1mam, KS hotārordhvam 1mam) adhvaram nah AV. VS TS. MS. KS 18 17a (†)

dawyam (MS °vam) mānuyā yugā (MS yujā) RV SV VS TS. MS. ŠB

pauruşeyâd davyāt KS: pauruşeyān na davvāt AV. 4 26 7c mānuşād davyam (MŠ °vam) uparmı TB ApŚ. MŚ

sam dawena (VS SB both also ^ovyena, TA devena) savitrā VS SB TA Mahīdhara glosses both forms by devena

§318. Another compact group is formed by variants of sura and surya, again perfect equivalents.

brhat sūro (KS. sūryo) arocata RV KS

sūryāso (SV sūrāso) na daršatāsah RV. SV

sajūh sūra (MS sūrā, TS sūrya) etašena VS TS MS KS ŠB sa sūra ā (ŠŠ sūrye) janayañ jyotir indram (ŠŠ indrah) TB ŠŠ

spardhante dhiyah (TS KSA divah) sürye na (SV süre na, TS. KSA T süryena) vişah RV SV. TS KSA

§319. The rest are sporadic:

āpura stā mā prajayā paśubluh pūrayata ŠS · āpūryā sthū mā pūrayata prajayā ca dhanena ca TS AS

- agneh purīşavāhanah (MS purīşya°, VS†ŠB†°vāhaņah) VS TS MS KS SB purīşa and °şya are equivalent, Pān 3 2 65
- kāmāyar svāhā MG kāmyāyar svāhā MS MS. Probably MG. eorrupt
- śakalyam (AG śākalam, sc tarpayāmi) SG. AG Both patronymics from śakala Since Oldenberg's translation of SG reads śāko, we assume that śākalyam is the true reading, śao probably misprint
- yakşmam śronibhyām (ApMB. śroni^o) bhāsadāt RV AV. ApMB. yakşmam bhasadyam śronibhyām bhāsadam AV In RV bhāsada is a noun, in the second AV version it and bhasadya are both adjectives, and one (probably bhasadyam, but Whitney suggests bhāsadam) must be omitted as an ancient gloss
- rāyas roṣam audbhidam (ApMB. °dyam) RVKh VS HG ApMB pā amānāh, °nyāh, and °nyah, various Dharma texts All adjectives from pavamāna.
- māyobhavyāya (ŚG āyo°) catuspadī AG ŚG . catvārī māyobhavāya TB ApŚ ApMB SMB PG HG MG Equivalent nouns
- adveşe (MS °şye) dyāvāpṛthivī huvema (MS huve) RV. VS MS 'Having no hostility' = 'not hostile'.
- [mitrāvarunābhyām ānuṣṭubhābhyām . VS TS MS KSA† Cone wrongly quotes KSA as ānuṣṭubhyā°]
- anyam te asman (NrpU. 'sman, AV. asmat te) nı vapantu senāh (AV senyam) RV. AV TS NrpU Senyam must = senā
 - (c) Words not equivalent in meaning, y follows two consumants
- §320. In the rest, the two variant stems are not precisely equivalent to each other. In many cases the derivative adjective in ya is paralleled by a case-form of the primary noun or its equivalent, or by the primary noun used appositionally, or by a compound of it. In other cases the difference is yet greater, and sometimes the phonetic resemblance becomes rather remote, so that the extent of real phonetic influence is especially tenuous
- §321. As before, we list first cases in which the y follows two consonants, being then sometimes written $\imath y$
- mandrābhibhūth (MŚ mandrā vibhūth) ketur yajñānām (MŚ yajñīyā) vān . TS MŚ
- viśve devā mama śęnvantu yajñiyāh (ArS yajñam) RV ArS ŚŚ yajñam-yajñam (KS yajñiyā yajñam) prati devayadbhyah (KS † ŚŚ † °yadbhyah) VSK KS. TS ŚŚ KŚ MŚ
- mā no rudrāso adhigur vadhe nu (mss nuh) MS, mā rudrīyāso abhi gulbadhānah (TA gur vīdhānah) MS TA

- ıyanı pıtryū (AB vaı pıtre, AŚ. ŚŚ pıtre) rāştry ety (AV GB ctv) agre AV AB GB AŚ ŚŚ
- putrah pitre (KŠ pitrye) lokakrj jālavedah TB KŚ. ApŚ 'As a son to his father': 'as a son at the (rite) of the tathers'
- yā (AV omits) anlarikṣa (KS AG °kṣyā) uta pārthwīr yāh (KS. pār-thwāsah, AV vā pṛthwyām) AV KS TB ApŚ. AG. (AVPpp. . pārthwā yāh)
- namah kātyāya ca gahvareşṭhāya (MS °şthyāya, p p °şṭhāya) ca VS TS. MS KS
- indro jyeşihānām (MS KS jyaişihyānām, VS SB jyaişihyāya) VS TS MS KS SB 'Of the noblest': 'of the highest nobilities': 'for highest nobility'.
- adhva·ām adhvapate śreşihah svasiyasyādhvanah (ApMB śreşihasyādhıanah, MG śraisihyasya svasiasyādhvanah) pāram aśīya AŚ ApMB MG Read svasiyasyā° in MG with most mss
- arghah HG arghyam SS HG. arghyam bhoh Kaus: arhanīyā āpah ApG. arghyam '(water) of the argha'
- adhyakşayanukşattaram TB · †ādhyakşyayanukşattaram VS.
- §322. A considerable group concerns uktha and ukthya, the latter meaning 'a ceremony accompanied by ukthas', or 'one to be revered with ukthas'.
- uktham vācīndrāya TS AB GB AS Vart Ap
S $\,$ MS : uktham avācīndrāya SS . ukthyam vācīndrāya śrn
vate $tv\bar{a}$ AS
- mantram vadaty ukthyam (NrpU uktham) RV VS MS KS AA Ap\$
 NrpU
- añgānı ta ukthyah pātu MS ApŚ ukthas (! read ukthyas?) te †'ñgānı pātv asau AŚ
- ukthebhyas tvokthävyam grhnāmi KS ukthyebhya ukthyāyuvam ApS. uktham (AS ukthyam) indrāya sansyam RV SV AS
 - (d) Words not equivalent in meaning, y follows one corsonant
- \$323. Coming to the cases in which a single consonant precedes the y, we find first a number of interchanges between $v\bar{v}ra$ 'hero' and $v\bar{v}rya$ 'heroism'
- yau vīryair vīralamā šavisthā AV : vīrebhir vīralamā šavisthā MS : vīryebhir vīralamā šavisthā (TB &ac°) VS SB TB. ŞB AS SS eşa te yajāo yajāapate sahasūktavākah suvīrah (AV suvīryāḥ, VS sarva-
- vīras) AV VS TS MS KS ŠB anāmi kṣalram ayaram suvīryam (MS KS suvīram) RV TS MS KS sa (also sā) no dohatām suvīryam (MS suvīram) TB ApS MS (In all texts with both sa and sā)

- purukşu tvaşlā (MS °lah) suvīryam (VSK TS suvīram) VS VSK. TS MS
- nırdevam nırıīram (KSA °ryam) kṛlvā.. TS. KSA.
- prajām suvīrām (PG. suvīryām) krtsā TS PG
- §324. Next a group containing forms of stems dw and dwya, or once deva and dawya; of several similar cases at the beginning of §316 dwas chadmāsi AG.: dwyam chadmāsi. LS
- divo dhārām bhindhi KS.: bhindhīdam (MS bhindhy ado) divyam nabhah AV TS MS KS
- madhye divo (MS * divyo) nıhitah pr \acute{s} nır a \acute{s} mā VS TS MS (both) KS SB
- ahar divābhir (MS. vahad divyābhir) ūtibhih VS MS ŚB. TA ŚŚ LS divābhir is for divā + ābhir, but is understood by comm. on TA as one word, = dyotamānābhir. This misunderstanding is responsible, also, for the variant of MS, which furnishes the only possible form if the word is to be taken as a single adjective.
- vācā tiā hotrā prānenodgātrā. . pañcabhir daivyair (MŚ devair) ṛtugbhir uddharāmi ApŚ MŚ
 - §325. The rest require no subdivision.
- ātır (IS KSA ātī) vāhaso darındā te vāyave (IS KSA, vāyavyāh) VS TS MS KSA.
- pāra (p p of TS pāre) ıkşaıo 'vāryebhyah (KSA 7 'vārîyebhyah) pakşmabhyah svāhā TS KSA.: aıāra (p p of TS °re) ıksavah pāryebhyah (KSA pārīye°) pakşmabhyah svāhā TS KSA · pāryānı pakşmāny avāryā il.şalah, and: avāryānı pakşmānı pāryā ıl.şavah VS MS
- pāryāya kaitarlam TB · pērāya mūrgāram VS avāryāya mūrgāram TB : atārāya kevartam VS
- esa u sva vrsā rathah RV SV.: esa sva rāthyo vrsā VS SB
- sugam ra me supatham (VE KapS. °thyam) ca me VS TS MS KS KapS
- mā trat ksetrāny aranāni (MS °nyāni, p p °nāni) ganma RV TS MS KS TB
- brhatā tvā rathamlarena traisļubhyā (KS tristubhā) vartanyā MS KS brhadrathamlarayos tvā stomena tristubho vartanyā. TS
- sūpasthā ası vānaspatyah MS : sūpasthā deio vanaspatih TS ApS
- agne tram purīsyah VS KS. SB: agneh purīsam asī VS VSK TS MS. KS SB TB ApS MS And others, see Conc
- namah sobhyāya ca pratisaryāya (MS °sarāya) ca VS TS MS KS namo lopyāya colapyāya (MS °pāya) ca VS TS MS KS

- namah parnāya (TS. KS † parnyāya) ca parnašādāya (VS. °śadāya, TS. °śadyāya) ca VS TS MS KS.
- śuhras te grahah (VS SB. grahyah) VS TS MS KS SB, MŚ 'Draught': '(juce) for the draught'.
- atho varunyād uta RV. AV VS: nur mā varunād uta (ApS adhi) LS ApS Inferior meter in the latter
- sa budhnyād (TS, KS AŚ. °nūd) āsla januso 'bhy (TS KS AŚ janusābhy) agram AV TS, KS AŚ (AVPpp agrees with the others, Barret, JAOS 37.260)
- tayā grnantah sadhamādeşu AV.: tayā madantah sadhamādyeşu (RVKh. VS °mādeşu) RVKh VS MS KS TB: tasthur grnantah sadhamādyāsah RV. AV. (Scheftelowitz prints °mādhyeşu for RVKh, but his ms °mādyeşu) In MS KS TB sadhamādya means the same as °māda 'feast', but in RV. AV 'participant in a sadhamāda' nir mā muācāmi sanghāt IS ApS: nivācantu mā tanghvāt RV. AV
- nır mã muñcâmı sapathāt LS ApS.: "nuñcantu mã sapathyāt RV, AV VS
- agne devānām ava heda ıyakşva (KS ıkşva) KS ApS · ava devānām yaja hedo agne (KS yaje hīdyānı, MŚ yaje hedyānı) AV. KS. MŚ : ava devān yaje hedyān TB ApŚ.
- namo dundubhyāya cāhananyāya (MS dundubhaye cāhananīyāya) za VS. TS MS KS
- anhasaspataye tvā VS SB KS: anhaspatyāya tvā TS MS. TB. ApS §326. We conclude the cases concerning the noun-suffix ya with a few variants which are in one way or another anomalous or at least peculiar:
- ürjasvatī rājasvaš (TS rājasūyāya, MS KS °sūyāš) citānāh VS TS MS KS ŠB rājasūya, adjective in MS KS, is equivalent to rājasū, the suffix ya is here added after a vowel In TS it appears as a noun Phonetically, the interchange in this and the next is between -ūy- and -v-
- svāhā rājasūyāh (VS SB °svah, TS °sūyūya citānāh) VS TS MS. SB MS Cf prec.
- mahādevam antahpāršvena (VS † °paršavyena) VS TS TA Formally, the VS form is based on paršu 'rib'. Mahādhara: antar pāršvāsthisambandhinā mānsena The form antahpāršvya occurs in the next formula
- āganma mitrāvarunā udrenyā (KS "yam, MS. varena) TS. MS KS Here the adjective varenya- is corrupted in MS to varena, instr sing of vara-.

Other cases of y in formative and inflexional elements

§327. There remain a few other cases which concern the presence or absence of a y which, when present, is still a formative or inflexional element, tho not the familiar secondary noun suffix which has been dealt with above. Thus, first, a couple of cases concerning the gerund or gerundive endings ya

upastutyam mahi jätam (MS ^otyam janima tat; TS.* upastutam janima tat) te jarvan RV. VS TS (both) MS KS Vait Gerundive varies with past pple

uta prahām atīdīvyā jayātī (AV. °dīrā jayatī) RV AV The RV has a gerund form; the AV. a nom sg of stem -dīvan

In another case an infinitive martaie varies with mrtyave, dative of mrtyu (equivalent in meaning):

jīvātave na mṛtyave (PB martave) RV PB

§328. A few variants concern noun inflexion Thus change of gender accounts for the following (fem forms in y-ah varying with mase or neut forms without y).

āpo me hotrāśansınah (AG °sınyah) ŞB ApŚ AG 'The waters are my Hotrāśansins'; the priest-name is once made fem to agree with āpah

varşāś cāl.susyah VS. SB: varşānı cāl.susānı TS MS KS Here the noun itself changes gender.

Or different case-forms vary:

vi šloka etu (AV. eti; TS ŠvetU. šlokā yanti) pathyeva (KS pathela) sūreh (AV MS † sūrih, KS † sūrah, TS ŠvetU sūrāh) RV AV VS. TS MS KS ŠB ŠvetU Alternative forms pathū and pathyā The latter may be nom in RV. (so Oldenberg, Noten on 10 13 1); in most texts it is certainly instrumental

mām narāh (MŚ ApŚ. narah) kṛnuta vedim etya (MŚ etat, but read eta with all mss but one; ApŚ † 2 2 6a eta) TB ApŚ MŚ Caland recognizes eta as secondary to etya The reading etat (actually etad, before d-) has no standing; were it anything but a blunder it would belong to §401.

rān ma āsan (MS PG āsye) AV TS GB TAA Yait ApS MS Kaus PG BDh Both these forms are regular, from the related and equivalent stems āsan and āsya Interest attaches to the form āsyan, which is read by Gaastra in GB with all his mss, and which is also the reading of most mss of AV and Kaus, so that it seems to be the true Atharvan reading and should be adopted in all three texts (Curiously, however, Garbe reports no such reading from

the mss of Vart, possibly this is an editorial oversight) The form asyan is evidently a blend of the other two forms

§329. In the inflexion of the verb, likewise, variant forms with and without y occur. Thus, first, an inserted y is all that distinguishes a verb-form of the fourth present class from one of the sixth (and sometimes of the first), the same root now and then forms both, ef. VV I p 125, where other instances are quoted, less close to each other in sound than the following:

tapate stāhā TS KSA TA . tapyate stāhā VS

tapatyai (TA Poona ed tapyatrai, v. l. tapatyai) svāhā KSA TA: tapyatvai (v. l °tyai) svāhā TS The form tapyatrai, if correct, would be from the Rigvedic adjective tapyatu, which is based on the present stem tapya- as much as tapatyai (pres pple) is based on stem tapa-

§330. So the y of the passive, in forms which vary with active or middle forms; see VV I pp 49 ff, where other cases, most of them more remote from each other in sound.

yenākşā (ŠŚ yenā kṣām, SMB yenākṣān, PG yenākṣyāv) abhyaṣīcyanta (ŚŚ. SMB °ṣīñcalam, PG °ṣīñcalām) AV SŚ SMB PG

§331. Other verbal variants will be mentioned in the sections immediately following, where phonetic tendencies are more clearly at work. We will add here a single stray instance of verb forms

ubhau lokau sanem (MS sanomy) aham TB TAA ApS. MS See VVIp 78

Presence or absence of y after palatal sounds and ks, s, etc

§332. Deserving of special treatment and emphasis are a considerable number of variants in which this evanescent y follows palatal consonants, or sibilants, especially $k_{\tilde{y}}$. Here it is not to be doubted that the appearance and disappearance of the sound y is phonetic in character, connected, that is, with the difficulty of distinguishing pronunciation or non-pronunciation of y after such consonants. The y may sometimes be interpreted as an inflectional element, as in the following verb forms (most of them collected in VV I pp. 28-9):

vācaspate vāco vīryena sambhrtatamenāyakṣase (TA 'yakṣyase, ŚŚ. 'yachase) MS TA ŚŚ Aorist in MS, future in TA; in ŚŚ a further phonetic variation (see §184), bringing the form into the sphere of ā-yam

(net tvā.) dadhrg (TA dadhad) vidhalşyan paryankhayate (TA °tar, AV. vidhalşan parinlhayatar) RV AV. TA Many mss of AV vidhalşyan, which is certainly intended

sardhānsy agne ajarām (SV. ajarasya) dhah; atah (ApS dhahsyase) RV SV. MS ApS See VV I p 29.

bhakşa bhakşyamānah (KS, bhakşa) VS KS—So the single inst of KS, ed emends to bhakṣya. If the instreading were kept we should have to assume a pple middle in form but passive in meaning mekṣyāmy ūrdhi as tiṣṭham AV., so emended by RWh, all mest mel ṣāmy, yenākṣū (kṣyūr, etc.)—(see §330)—In PG. al ṣyūr is taken to be from akṣi 'eye', but is really a phonetic corruption

§333. In one verb form the y appears after t_2 , it may be regarded as belonging with the t_3 cases in view of §§182 ff:

tenārātsyam (GG SS MS °sam, so also p. p. of MS; most miss of MS °syam with MS text) MS SS MS. GG The proper form is arātsam, norist; the conditional does not fit See VV I p. 29.

§334. Other verb forms which belong in this category:

ratho na vājam samsyann (SV. sann) anāsīt RV SV. Clearly a phonetic shp in SV., making a sort of norist pple.; Benfey, the he interprets the form as nor, translates a future

ā 178cyantām (AV 178cantām) adītaye dureiāh RV AV The AV. form is evidently a phonetic blunder, cf VV I pp 29, 51 f

§335. Besides the verb forms quoted in §332, and a few containing the noun suffix ya, §§314 ff., we find the following cases of y present or absent after ks

dhuñkṣāgneyī (VSK °ṣyāgneyī or °ṣrāg°) VS VSK MS · agnaye dhūñkṣā (TS °ṣnā) TS KSA See §255

tarakşuh (KSA † °kşah) krşnah krā caturakşo (KSA °kşyā) gardabhas ta itarajanānām TS KSA. The ed emends to caturakşo, which seems necessary

alsyos (mes alsos) tanto rapah AV.

Cf further such mss readings as vibhuükşamana for vibhuükşya° at Kaus 23 9, 38 26

§336. The other cases concern y present or absent after palatal consonants Prominent among them are several cases concerning the root scut (Wackernagel I p 268). The forms written with scyut may be partly contaminated with cyu, indeed the miss also show forms which might be derived from that root, and sometimes their confusion is such that their intentions are doubtful:

prasthitā vo madhuścutah (VSK MS °ścyutah) VS VSK MS TB So the editions But Poona ed of TB records a v. 1 °ścyutah; and per contra, all samhitā mss of MS read °cyutah or °ścutah.

srucā devam ghrtaścutā (KS and v 1 of MS °ścyutā) RV. TS. MS KS

ghrtascuto madhuscutah TS MS KS SB · ghrtascyuto madhuscyutah VS MS So v l. and p. p of MS in the other passage. Moreover KS has v l ghrtacyuto, and for madhus its two mes. read "scyutah and "cyutah"

dyaur yatas cyutad agnāv eva tat ApS: pṛtlnvyām avacuscotaitad TB ApS: yata scutad dhutam agnān tad astu KS: yatra cuscutad agnāv cvaitat MS. (but the latter is a dubious emendation, better, yatra ścutad): yata scutad (so read) agnāv eva tat AS See on this variant VV I p 139

§337. Other, miscellaneous cases after palatals.

nisnoh śnaptre (TS śnyaptre, MS śipre) sthah VS TS MS KS. ŚB KŚ ApŚ. The pronunciation of n after ś must have been approximately n, this is indicated by the TS variant (v l. and p p, however, śnaptre), so the Vyāsaśikṣn 248 prescribes (cf. Keith, HOS 18 xxxvii).

apāknuşnim apā raksah (and, apā ragham) TA · apāknyuşnim etc. TA.

So, correctly, Poona ed Aśn(y)uşni is an otherwise unknown
epithet of Agni The comm explains only the form with u,
monstrously: aśnīnām bhoktīnām uşnir dāhako yo 'gnih Cf pree
mano jyotir (VS SB LS jūtir) juşatām ājyasya (TS TB Vait ājyam,

AŚ ājyam me) VS VSK. TS. MS KS TB ŚB. AŚ Vait LŚ. KŚ. dwo jyote (KS * °tir) vivāsva (MS devajūte vivasvann) . . . MS KS:

TS

mršase (SV mrzyase) pavase matī RV SV.

vivasvān adilir devanīlis

syāmā sarūpamkaranī AV 1 24. 4a Here the Berlin ed reads sāmā with nearly all mss, but against comm, Ppp, and the evident sense, which demands syāmā, see Whitney's note

Presence or absence of y before initial vowel

§338. To a considerable extent y is evanescent when unconnected with any consonant. That is, first, at the beginning of a word, and most commonly (the not always) when the preceding word ends in a vowel Secondly, or better as a special case under the preceding, there are cases in which the y, when it occurs, is not initial, but joins into one word two words which are unconnected in the form without y. In either case the forms without y often show a hiatus between two vowels, so that y presents the aspect of a kind of 'Hiatustilger', reminding us of the similar use of this sound in Prakrit (Pischel §353) and Pāli (Geiger §73); cf. Edgerton, Studies in Honor of Hermann Collitz 31 The phenomena are, to be sure, accompanied by all sorts of etymological and grammatical changes; rarely do they show such purely phonetic character as in this:

agne akṣīnı (HG agneyakṣīnı) nur daha svāhā ApMB HG As Kurste observes, HG must intend agne alo, so that y is a simon-pure 'Hintustilger' and nothing else See also anāmayaidhi etc, §344 §339. The eases of initial y are

punar brahmāno (AV brahmā) vasunītha (AV °nītir, KS °dhītam and † °nītha, MS °dhīta) yajūaih (AV MS KS * agne) AV. VS TS MS KS ŠB agne is probably original; it is preceded by r or m in AV KS, by e in MS, the latter would be specially apt to lead to the development of initial y-

añjanti suprayasam (AVPpp yuñjanti suprajasam) pañca janāh RV AVPpp MS See §192

prievaidhi sūnava ā (MS sūnave yah) suševah VS TS MS KS TB ApŠ devebhir aklam (VS TS yuliam) aditih sajosāh VS TS MS KSA

kāşthā azmeşv (SV yazñeşv) atnata RV SV A leet fae in SV

vısvakarmā vımanā ād vıhāyāh (KS °nā yo vyomā, MS vımame yo vıhāyāh, TS manasā yad vıhāyāh) RV. VS TS MS KS AS N amessam ası svāhā VS SB yamessam ası (with or vithout svāhā) TS

MS KS TB 'Sacrifieed at home (to Yama)' Preceded by ass in all The preceding vowel s makes insertion or omission of y particularly easy

āśum jayantam anų yāsu vardhase RV VS TS MS SB: yā samjayantam adhi yāsu vardhase KS The latter is doubtless secondary Preceded by girā KapS āśram, doubtless intending āśum

§340. In some instances case-forms of the relative stem ya exchange with similar forms of the demonstrative stem a. This may be assumed to be partly due to the instability of initial y

trınsad yasyā (TB asyā) zaghanam yazanāni MS KS TB

asya (SV yasya) te sakhye vayam RV SV

ghorā rṣayo namo astv ebhyah (MS astv adya yebhyah) AV TS MS cakşur yad eṣām manasas ca satyam AV cakşur yeṣām (v l hy eṣām)

tapa uccabhīmam MS cakṣuṣa eṣām manasas ca samdhau TS yasyām (v l asyām) devā abhi samvisantah MS Others with tasyām, see §281

§341. And the same with adverbial forms derived from the same stems

mitro no atra varuno yujyamānah AV mitro yatra varuno ajyamānah RV Double case, the y of yatra seems as it were to jump the next word and attach itself to the participle in AV

yaded (KS ād 1d) antā udadrhanta (TS adadrnh') pūrve RV VS TS MS KS This pāda precedes or (in KS) follows the next, the words yad (yadā) and ād are transposed in KS, owing to the trunposition of the two pādas

ād (KS yad) id dyārāpṛthwī aprathetām, same texts See prec

athā (TB.* yathā; AV MS TB * yatra) devath sadhamādam madema (AV madanti, comm madema) AV MS KS, TB. (all three) Ap\$
Preceded by a vowel all three times in TB

yathā (RV. atho, VS SB athā) na (RV. ta) indrah kevalīh (VS TS SB. indra id višah) RV. AV. VS TS. KS SB.

yathaınam zarase nayāt AV.: athaınam zarımā nayet HG,

Cf. also: yasya (vy asya) yonini prati reto etc., §363, and yasyām idam viśvam (viśvam hy asyām) etc., §386

§342. Less common is the second class of cases, in which y in one reading connects two words which are unconnected in the form without y. In some cases it is scarcely to be doubted that the appearance of the form with y is related to avoidance of hintus, as in the variant quoted at the end of §338. While no other case is as clear as that, lexical reinterpretation and other sound-changes being always involved, it is significant that the form containing the y is more often secondary, namely in the following group:

vaišvānaram ria ā (TS riāya) jālam agnīm RV. SV. VS. TS MS. KS PB. SB 'Born for the ria' is obviously secondary.

sudevam indre asvinā (MS indrāyāsvo) VS MS TB. As in the last, a dative is substituted for a locative, both depend on dadhuh in the context.

sahasrākşo (VSK TS. KS 'kşa) medhāya (TS. KS medha ā) cīyamānah VS VSK TS MS KS. ŚB 'For (at) the sacrifice'; the latter probably original. Keith on TS. 4. 2 10 1 translates 'for'; his text seems to require 'at'.

graha wśwajanīna niyantar wprāyāma te (MS p p viprāya, mate; KS. nyantar wpra ā †satī) MS KS As in prec, a loc with ā varies with a dat

yo gopā apı (TB gopāyatı) tam huve RV. AV TB ApS.

ta ā vahantı (MS. tayāvahante, KS tad āharantı) kavayah purastāt TS
MS KS TB See Keith on TS. 1 1. 2 1 The original reading
probably in TS; Keith thinks that MS may intend the same, with
tay for te, altho its Brāhmana explains tayā as referring to the

datto asmabhyam (KS. dattvāyāsma°, AS. dattāyāsma°, corrupt for dattvā°, SMB. dattāsma°) drawneha bhadram AV. KS AS SMB.: dadhatha no dramnam yac ca bhadram MS. See §367.

- mahyam vātah pavatām (KS °te) kāme asmın (AV kāmāyāsmai) RV AV TS KS
- §343. In some cases, however, an original single word is broken up by omitting y, and leaving hiatus secondarily.
- vāvakayā yaš (TS pāvaka ā) citayantyā krpā RV VS MS KS \$B Cf Oldenberg, Proleg. 453
- vāhi gāyāndhaso (SV. gā andh°) made RV SV The RV has a regular 2d sing impv pres from gai, the SV an aor inj, gās Add to VV I \$158
- pnteva putram jarase nayemam (MS ma emam) MS KS ApMB HG
 The MS p p reads jarasena, ā, imam, corruptly pointing to the
 reading of the other texts
 - §344. Consider also the following peculiar case.
- amā ma edhi mā mṛdhā na (AS† ma) indra AS SG . apāma edhi mā mṛthā na indra SMB : anāmayaidhi mā riṣāma indo Kauś The mss of Kauś read anāmayedhi, the emended 'yaidhi is supposed to contain double sandhi, for 'ya(h) edhi 'be free from disease' But the Kauś reading may really intend amā ma(y) edhi, like AS SG . with 'Hiatustilger' y as in §338 See Bloomfield's Introduction, p. lviii, and cf §78
- §345. We have now considered the cases of plus or minus y which seem most clearly phonetic in character, in addition to those in which suffixal y is concerned. There is little else to record, except a group of variations between the pronominal stems ta and tya. The more archaec tya is generally the original, but twice it replaces ta in secondary texts $yad\ dha\ sya\ (AV\ sa)\ te\ paniyasi\ RV. AV\ SV\ TS\ MS\ KS$
- mayı tyad (MS tad) ındrıyam brhat (KS TB TA mahat, MS. vīryam) VS MS. KS TB SB. TA AS SS Pratīka in MS mayı tyad (so Knauer, but mss mostly tād)
- yathā ha tyad (TS ApŠ HG tad) vasavo gauryam c.t TS MS KS ŠŠ ApŠ HG TA AŠ ŠŠ
- ā nu tac (SV tyac) chardho divyam vrnīmahe RV SV.
- pratı te (AV tye) te ajarāsas tapışthāh RV AV
- ud it te vasunttamāh ApŚ ud u tye (MS MŚ ud-ut te) madhumattamāh RV AV SV MS GB PB AŚ ŚŚ Vait MŚ
- §346. Other lexical variants, except those considered above where phonetic conditions are favorable, are very few
- pešasvatī tantunā samvayantī (KS TB °vyayantī) MS KS TB Roots vā and vuā
- endram vagnunā vahata PB . vagnunendram hvayata TB ApS (with metathesis of h)

§347. We conclude with a few textual errors and false readings which should probably all be eliminated:

susaty an id gavām asyasi pia khudasi SS: suşadam id gavām asti pra khuda AV. Berlin ed., violently emending the mss which agree precisely with SS but for the slight corruptions gavom and sudasi

vidad gavyam saramā drdham ūrvam (TB. ūrvyam) RV TB But Poons cd. of TB has the correct ūrvam, text and comm, without v 1

salāsatī (comm. satyasatī) prajāpatih TB But Poona ed comm. salāsatī.

hiranyavad annavad dhehi (ApS annam adhychi, read annamad dhehi) mahyam KS ApS The corruption may be graphic in nature prayapsyann iva sakthyau (TB. text sakthau) TB ApS But Poona ed text and comm. sakthyau, the only possible reading.

oşışıhahanam sıngınıkosyabhyam (TA °kosabhyam) TS TA : vasışıhahanuh singini kosyabhyam VS Poona ed of TA °kosya°

ayoddheva (TB °dhyeva) durmada ā hi juhve RV. TB. The Poona ed. has the same reading, it is surely corrupt; perhaps graphic. The comm has the same, but explains it as the ayoddhā-iva

3 Presence or absence of r

§348. Owing to the rarity of r in formative syllables, this interchange appears mainly in radical syllables, producing lexical variations which are naturally along the line of least resistance; that is, the variant words are more or less synonyms. It may be assumed that the relatively faint pronunciation of the liquid was a contributory cause. The materials are very heterogeneous, however, and of less phonetic significance than was the case with y.

§349. We begin with groups of variants concerning nearly synonymous words and roots; and first, śravas and śavas and related words śūro nṛṣātā śavasaś (SV MS śra°) cakānah (SV. ca †kāme) RV. SV. TS MS.

grnānāh śravase (SV. śa°) mahe RV. SV.

satrā dadhānam apratiskutam šavānsi (SV. šravānsi bhūri) RV. AV. SV. TB

ā yo viśvāni śavasā (SV śra°) tatāna RV. AV. SV

śrawsthāh stha MS KS \cdot śawsthā stha rāstradāh VS ŠB

§350. The roots $dh\bar{a}$ and dhr and the like, in virtual synonyms.

sado vaneșu dadhișe (SV. dadhrișe) RV SV

vrşā dharmānı dadhışe (SV dadhrışe) RV SV TS. MS KS ApŚ yo nah pıtā-janıtā yo vıdhātā (MS. vıdhartā) RV VS TS MS KS AŚ.

- dhātā vidhātā (MS dhartā vidhartā) paramota samdrk (KS paramo na samvrk) RV VS TS MS KS
- dawyāya dhartre joṣṭre (MS dhātre deṣtre) VS TS MS KS ŚB devayor dharme (MS °mā, AV dhāmann) asthıran AV TS MS KS kṣāyasyāsı vidhatah (SV tidhartā) RV SV Here vidhatah from root
 - ndh §351. Roots pū and pr
- atırātram vavarşvān pūrta rāvat (KS vavrşvān pūta rāvat, TS varşan pūrtır āvrt) svāhā TS MS KS
- apālām indra (MG indras) triş (ApMB MG trih) pūtvī (AV pūtvā, MG pūrty a°, ApMB pūrtvy a°) RV AV JB ApMB MG §352. Roots prī and pā
- śvātrāh pītā (V1Dh snātāh prītā) bhavata yūyam āpah VS ŠB KŠ V1Dh. pra vām adhvaryus caratı prayasvān (AV °tu payasvān) AV AŠ ŠŠ Comm on AV prayasvān
- $\S 353$. Miscellaneous synonyms or near-synonyms, with some corruptions involving no further changes, or very slight ones, in the words; in the first case r possibly plays the rôle of 'Hiatustilger'
- ahım budhnyam (TS 'nıyam) anu rīyamānāh (TS samcarantīh, MS KS anv $\bar{\imath}$ yamānāh) VS TS MS KS ŠB Practically synonyms, note that r is initial, after a vowel, and probably secondary, a sort of 'Hiatustilger'? r is used in this way in Pāli
- antarikse pathibhir iyamānah (GB hrīyamānah, so Gaastra without the v l hīyamānah recorded in Bibl Ind ed) RV GB The AVPpp 1. 107. 4 (Barret, JAOS 26 290) has the RV reading, GB perhaps corrupt, certainly secondary Note the final r of the preceding word
- vanasade (MS vanarşade, KS vanrşade) vet (TS MS vat) VS TS MS KS SB See §650
- mā tvam hārşīh śrutam mayı PG. śrutam me mā pra hāsīh RVKh 'Take away'. 'abandon'
- purā jatrubhya (TA ApMB jartrbhya, MS cakrbhyā, p p vaktrbhyah) ātrdah (MS °da) RV AV SV MS PB TA KŚ ApMB Comm on TA tries to derive its corrupt form from root jar (jr)
- vikirida (KS °da, VS. °dra, MS vyakrda) vilohita VS TS MS KS See §168
- ya rte (TA ApŚ ApMB yad rte, PB† yakşate) cıd abhısrışah RV AV SV PB TA KŚ ApŚ MŚ Kauś GG ApMB jarı cetīd abhısışah MS (corrupt, see §193)
- jāgrtsyas (mss., v. l. yā gr°) trīpañcāsīh AV yā(h) krechrās trī° AVPpp Sec. §§185, 192

- sunam ma ıştam bunam sānlam (p. krānlam). . MS: svan: ma (AB ma ıdam) ıştam. . svam brānlam (TB text brālam, Poona ed. srānlam)...AB. TB. Apś.: svam ma ıştam astu bunam sānlam... KS
- holā yakşat sarasvatīm (KS brhaspatım) . . Śronitah (KS ŝonitaš; Conc. suggests reading śro°) . VS KS
- prthwi bhūvari (KS vibhū°) sinīvāly urandhra (KS urandha) ācitte ... KS ApS An obscure epithet of earth; perhaps belongs in §350.
- agne 'dabdhāyo 'sīrtatano pāhi vidyot KS: agne 'dabdhāyo 'sītatano pāhi mādya dwah. TS TB ApS: agne 'dabdhāyo 'sītama pāhi mā didyoh VS SB. In KS, apparently the original, 'having unmjured body'; TS, 'having not cold body', an over-sophisticated lect fac VS has a further change, by haplology, and is really uninterpretable; comm either 'most eating' or 'most obtaining', of which the former is adopted by BR and fits Agni well enough, but is formally unsatisfactory
- vi jihīşva lokam kṛnu AV.: vi jihīrşva lokān kṛdhi TA The AV. is original: 'go apart (root hā), make room 'TA. comm. takes it as desiderative from hṛ (vihartum icha), which would require jihīrsasva
- anādhṛṣṭam sahasyam (TS KS. sahasriyam) sahasvat TS MS KS AS "Thousandfold mighty', probably original: 'powerful and mighty', lect fac
- yo agnih kravyavāhanah (VS KS kavya°) RV. VS. KS AS · yad agne kavyavāhana TS. Euphemistic change of kravya° to kavya°.
- yata āllas (AS ārtlas) tad agan punah TS. AS 'Whence it was taken, to it it has returned' AS mere blunder or misprint
- prati vastor aha (AV.* ahar) dyubhih RV. AV. (both) SV. ArS VS KS. SB. praty asya vaha dyubhih TS The comm on AV. has aha; ahar is a blunder suggested by dyubhih
- apām tvā sadhişi (MS † sadhrişu) sādayāmi VS MS KS. SB sadhiş-i, 'in the seat'; sadhrişu ('mere blunder', Keith on TS 4 3. 1. 1) perhaps with thought of RV. sadhrī
- anābho mṛda dhūrta (MS °te, v. 1 °ta) MS MS : anārbhava mṛda KS ApŚ See §749
- sam no bhava hṛda ā pīta indo RV GB AS Vait MS According to Gaastra, all his miss read indro for indo, a stupid blunder which he disregards, printing indo in his text
- ā na indra (and, indo) mahīm işam RV (both)
- vyrddhyā apagalbham (TB apra°, but Poons ed text and comm apa°) VS TB Probably mere misprint.

- potrāgnīdhro (read with Gaastra potā°) nihitam pādam ekam GB §354. The following involve different word-divisions
- yasya (ApMB vy asya) yonım patireto grbhāya (ApMB HG prati reti grhāna) SG HG ApMB
- āyuhpati rathamtaram (MS āyuh pratırath°) tad asīya etc ApS MS The latter corrupt.
- yena bhūyas (PG bhūris) carāty (MS caraty) ayam (AG ca rātryām, corrupt; PG carā divam) AG PG ApMB MG See §61
- tan mā jīnva (KS mārjītvā) TS MS KS 'Quieken me' 'eleansing it' sa vaḥ sarvāh sam caratī prajānan AV.: sarvah sarvā (p p. sah, sarvāh) vī caratī prajānan MS The latter earelessly assimilates to the following sarvāh
- mā mā yūnarvā hāsīt (JB yono vām hārasīh) PB JB LS Both forms obscure
- agnir hotrenedam (SS hotrena) havir ajuşata MS SS agnihotrenedam havir .TB AS But agnir hoo must certainly be read in all texts, with Poona ed of TB
- ud vansam wa yemire RV. SV TS KB N: ûrdhvam kham wa menire Mbh
- §355. In the next group accompanying changes in adjoining vowels or consonants make the two variant words less close phonetically.
- ürdhvacıtah (MS KS 'śrıtah) śrayadhvam VS. TS MS KS ŚB TA See §195
- svām tanvam (tanuvam) varuno 'suşot (TS TB asisret) TS MS KS TB. See §287.
- pred u harwah śrulasya (SV sulasya) RV. SV TS See §278
- tribug (AS tribrud) gharmo vibhātu me (KS gharmas sadam in me vibhāti) KS TB TA AS See §145
- śwā rulasya (TS. and v 1 of MS rudrasya, VSK śwa riasya) bheşajt (MS. °jā) VS. VSK TS MS KS See §684
- aprītapā ādhūyamānah TS viņnur āprītapā āpyāyyamānah VS 'Drinker of unpurified (soma)'. 'protecting when propitiated (?)'
- rudrānām urvyāyām (ApŚ ūrmyāyām, SŚ omyāyām) ŠB ApŚ SŚ Sec §228
- amocı (AV amulthā) yakşmād durītād avartyai (AV avadyāt) AV PB ApMB See §60
- anu daha sahamūrān kravyādah (SV kayādah) RV SV: sahamūrān anu daha kravyādah AV Benfey explains the SV form as from kaya = kāya + ad, 'body-eating' This would imply metric shortening of ā to a There may be involved euphemistic avoidance of the word kravyād, as in kravyavāhana kavya°, §353

- ā sutrāvne (MS KS bhūyış(hadāvne) sumatım āvrnānah AV MS. KS oşışihadāvne sumatım grnānāh TS It is likely that the original form was āšutrāvne, ef. Whitney on AV. 19. 42. 3 The TS. form, the impeccable, is secondary
- §356. Among the rarer cases of presence or absence of r in formative elements, we begin with a miscellaneous group concerning verb inflexion: ghrtam duhata (RV * duhrata) āśiram RV. (both) SV See RVRep 137, 562, and VV I p 169.
- te dakşınam duhate (AV te duhrate dakşınam) saptamataram RV. AV. See VV I, l e
- utamam (NîlarU uta tvā) gopā adršran (TS NîlarU adršan) VS TS MS KS NîlarU See VV I p 170 Followed by
- adršrann (TS † adršann) udahāryah VS. TS See ibid
- apa snehttīr (SV snīhttim) nymanā adhatta (SV. adhad rāh, KS † nymanā adadhrām) RV AV SV KS: upa stuht (Poona ed snuht) tam nymnām athadrām TA See §110, and VV I p 170
- sarasvatyā (AV °yām) adhi manāv (KS mānā, v l manā, SMB vanāva, but Jorgensen manāv, AV. manāv) acarkrşuh (KS and SMB Jorg acak°, SMB Cone carkrāhi) AV KS TB ApS MS SMB. PG The KS also has v l acark°, which perhaps should be read thruout Jorgensen assumes dissimilation, see VV I p 149.
- Compare further variants between the verbal endings -re and -rire, VV I p 170, and ghriam mimikse (TA *ksire) ghriam asya yonih RV VS TA, ibid p 214
- §357. Finally, another not much larger group concerns suffixal or inflexional syllables of nouns. These cases belong to noun formation or inflexion. It may be noted, however, that in a number of cases—those listed first—the r, when present, follows a consonant group. In these, especially, some phonetic element in the shift may be suspected, cf. the similar cases with y, §§314–5, 321–2, and our chapter on Consonant Groups below
- bhūrı sastam (SV sastram) prihuh svaruh RV. SV VS Synonyms, but here the form without r is older
- atwiddhā nithurenā cid astrā (MS astāh) RV MS KS The MS is secondary and may be a phonetic simplification or corruption
- na kir devā minīmasi RV na ki devā inīmasi SV Anomalous reduction of na-kis to na-ki
- sūro rathasya napiyah (ArS napiryah, TB napiriyah) RV AV ArS KS TB Feminine stems napiī and napirī, the latter influenced by napiar

- trașsimati (TA Cone trașstri, which is a v. l. in Poons ed, its text trașstr) te sapeya TS ApS TA: trașstrmantas (MS MS trașstri, ApS trașsu) tră sapema VS MS KS SB ApS The MS MS ApS forms are Prakritie in vocalism. In the Tait school form, which concerns us here, the stem trașstr is, as it were, feminized Add to VV I §345
- praty etā vāmā...pratisthotopavaktar (ŚŚ °vakta, v. l °vaktar) uta KB ŚŚ praty etā sunvan..pratisthotopavaktar uta . AŚ The form ean only be construed as nom, °vakta, if it is intended, must stand for °vaktā with partial sandhi (ā shortened, §991) But it looks as if all texts intended °vaktar Hillebrandt, on ŚŚ, p 252 note, suggests that ru is a bad writing for u, but it is pretty widespread to be a mere graphic error Is r a kind of sandhi consonant or Hiatustilger, as in Pāli? Cf. the first variant in §353. Or is °vaktar used as nom? Cf the nom neut (?) forms in -tari, Wackernagel III p 205 supra
- viśvā amīvāh pramuńcan mānusībhih (KS °șebhyah) AV. KS: viśvā āšāh pramuńcan mānusīr bhiyah VS TS See §783
- raptā (ApMB vaptrā, HG MG vaptar) vapası (PG °ti) kešasmasru (AG PG. MG kešān) AV. AG PG ApMB HG MG vaptrā is an assimilation to preceding instrumentals
- ä mä slulasya slulam gamyäl (Vart gamet) TS Vart·ä mä slotrasya slotram gamyäl PB Synonyms

matyaı śrutáya (mahe śrotrāya) cakşase AV. (both)

gharmanı pāla tasavo yajala (TA °lā, MS. °lrā) vāļ (MS veļ, TA. vaļ) VS MS TA. SB yajala (°lā) is a verb, 'sacrifice ye'.

gaur dhenubhavyā (HG dhenur bhavyā) ApMB HG See §818

- agner agneyāny (KS. agniyāny) asi (one ms and p p of MS agner agner yāny asi) MS KS.: devānām agneyāny asi TS: agner yāny asi TS. MS KS ApŠ MŠ agneyānī, certainly the true reading of TS and probably of MS, is a curious tatpurusa compound in which the stem vowel of the first member is assimilated to the vowel of the genitive ending 'Path of Agni' is meant in every case KS has the regular form, and for that reason may be suspected of being secondary.
- brhaspatisutasya (TS MS add ta, VS VSK. SB add deva soma ta)
 inda (TS indo, VS SB indor) indriyāiatah... VS VSK. TS.
 MS KS SB Gen i voc
- sa triliūcīr (KS. °cī) abhi caste ghrtācīh (KS °cī) RV VS TS MS KS SB The KS changes an accus plur, with which a noun has to be

supplied (the commentators and translators are at sea as to what noun), into a dual form agreeing with *rodasi* in the preceding pāda. devī dvārau (Vait. devīr dvāro) mā mā samtāptam TS. AŚ. Vait. Cf prec., and §732.

asmadrātā madhumatīr (KS °tī) . . . MS KS SS. and others, §800. agurīr (°rī) mumāva see §545.

4 Presence or absence of v

§358. Doublets with or without v seem to have existed to some slight extent in IE times, and still exist historically in the Veda and even in Sanskrit (cf Wackernagel I §232c). Among the variants they are fairly numerous. Undoubtedly most interesting is the large class in which v is initial before a vowel. Frequently, the not always, the preceding word ends in a vowel, so that we seem to be dealing with a tendency to bridge over hiatus by the sound v, as in the case of y (§\$338-44), and to a much slighter extent r (§353). As with those sounds, however, the form with v is not by any means always secondary in text history

v initial before a vowel

§359. Here the place of honor belongs to the rime-words τ ; abha and $v\tau$; abha, perfect synonyms, which exchange on a large scale. In some cases we seem to detect quite clearly the abo e-mentioned tendency to avoid hiatus by using the form with v when the last word ends in a vowel. But this is by no means universal

vrsabhena (TS rs°) tvas $t\bar{a}$ TS KS. This is an instructive case; it is preceded by a word ending in a vowel in KS, in a consonant in TS We can hardly believe that it is entirely accidental that KS begins with v-.

valso virājo visabho malīnām AV · pilā virājām isabho rayīnām TB Observe that is is preceded by a final -m, vis- by a final vowel. It is as if v shifted to m (§236).

vrşabhena (TS 15°) gāh (KS gāvah) TS KS. KSA. The single ms of KSA has corruptly aśvā-vrşa°, which Von Schroeder emends to aśvān vr°, but he adds a note that perhaps the TS reading (aśvān 15°) should be adopted

vrşabham (VS * τξ°) naryāpasam RV. AV. SV. VS (both) MS TB Here preceded by a consonant.

rşabhāya (MS vrş°) gavayī (TS. KSA rājñe gavayah) VS TS. MS KSA A consonant precedés

rşabho (KS vr°) gaur vayo dadhuh VS MS. KS TB A consonant precedes.

- vṛṣabho 'sı svargah AV rṣabho 'sı svargo lokah TB Intıal in verse kakubham (VSK TS ApŚ °ham) rūpam vṛṣabhasya (KS rūpam rṣ°) rocate bṛhat (VSK bṛhan) VS VSK TS MS KS ŚB ApŚ MŚ
- astabhnād dyām vrṣabho (TS MS dyām rṣ°) antarıkşam RV VS TS MS SB TB KS
- brhad rşabham (TB vr°, but Poona ed text and comm r°) gām vayo dadhat VS TB
- śākvarā (LŚ ye śāk°) rṣabhā (AV vrṣ°) ye svarājah AV LŚ Note the vowel preceding
- rathe akşeşv rşabhasya (KS TB °şu vr°, so AV comm, and so Ppp intends, Barret, JAOS 30 204) vāje AV KS TB ratheşv akşeşu vrşabharājāh ViDh
- §360. There are no other forms with and without v that are precisely identical in meaning. But we find a considerable number of other cases of presence or absence of initial v before a vowel, in many of which the preceding word ends in a vowel, so that we may suspect influence of the tendency to avoid hiatus, even the lexical considerations always play their part, and even the the form with hiatus is sometimes secondary, reversing the direction of the process.
- te arşantu te varşantu . LS te varşantı te varşayantı AV Roots arş 'rush' and varş 'raın' One ıs ınclined to suspect assimilation to the following varş-ın AV
- rjūle (KS vrj°) parı vrādhi nah RV VS TS MS KSA Ap\$ Initial in the verse. Von Schroeder says on KSA, 'wohl fehlerhalt fur rjūle' Perhaps assimilated to the following vrādhi
- śalmalır vrddhyā (KSA rddhyā) VS TS KSA SB Synonyms
- agne vājajīd vājam tvā VS ŠB TB Vait ApS ājīm tvāgne MS Synonyms since earliest times Note preceding vowel before vāja°
- varenyakratūr (AV °tur, ApŚ īdenya°) aham RVKh AV ApŚ vīre nyah kratur ındrah susastıh RV
- hrisu kratum varuno (MS °nam) vikşv (RV apsv, MS dikşv) agnım RV VS † TS † MS KS SB † For the RV original is substituted vikşv after preceding vowel, with quasi-'Hiatustilger' v and other phonetic changes (cf especially §153a) On MS see §869 (a further, graphic change)
- tad āyuh (ApŚ vāyuh) MS KS ApŚ 'That is life (wind, breath)' asum (AV TS vasum) gharmam divam (VS svar) ā tişṭhatānu (AV rohatānu) AV VS TS MS KS ŚB asu 'life' vasu 'weal' (with ungrammatical m), preceded by vowel, asu is original, as shown by RV 10 14 12, 15 1 (cf 10 15 9, 10)

- devā gātuvido gātum vitvā (VSK. gātum ilvā) gātum ila AV VS VSK. TS. MS. KS ŠB TB Cf. gātum vitvā gātum ili MS ApŚ; devā gātuvido (MŚ adds gātum vitivā) gātum yajāāya vindata . TB ApŚ MŚ 'Finding' and 'going upon' the way are much the same thing, but the former is obviously original; VSK. assimilates to the following ita
- tve ışah (KS viśve, MS tva eşah) samdadhur bhūrıvarpasah (TS † bhūrıretasah) RV VS TS MS KS SB On MS scc §694. KS clearly secondary, with quasi-epenthetic v between vowels
- dhışane vīdū (VS VSK vīdvī, KS. vīte, MS MŚ īdıte) satī (MS. KS. MŚ omit) vīdayethām (MS MŚ īdethām) VS VSK TS MS KS SB. ApŚ MŚ See §169
- tigmam anīkam viditam sahasvat AV tigmam āyudham vīditam (KS "dham īditam) sahasvat TS MS KS. 'Implored' of KS. is secondary to 'strong'; AV is still farther afield, see §169
- yo aniaro mitramaho vanuşyāl (KS anu°) RV KS. ApS. 'Who.. fights against us' KS seems to feel a form from anu + as, as in English slang, 'who is after us' Reverse of 'Hiatustilger'. KapS vanuşyā.
- namo vīdhryāya (MS vīdhryāya, pp vīdhryāya, TS nama īdhryāya) cātapyāya ca VS TS MS KS Both forms are obscure; TS probably secondary See Keith's note
- isana ıma bhuvananı viyase (SV iyase) RV SV. Note absence of sandhı (complete hiatus) ın SV, reverse of 'Hıatustılger' with a vengeance!
- mahīva dyaur adha (AV vadha) tmanā RV AV vadhatmánā (sic) not divided in pp, and regarded by Whitney as a mere corruption, he translates the RV. Still, the AV may be rendered: 'slay (our assailant, O Soma) by thyself'
- ahar (MS vahad) divābhir (MS divyābhir) ūtibhih VS MS. SB. TA SS LS ahar, adverb. 'by day' One ms of MS. with pp vahad (d or d for r, §§272, 272a); preceded by a vowel, so that it is a case of 'Hiatustilger'.
- visām vavarjusīnām (AV. visām avar^a) RV AV. The original means, 'of the folk who have prepared (the barhis)', Bloomfield, JAOS 35 275 The AV. uses it in a patchwork hymn dealing with a wholly different situation; the initial a-must be taken as privative, 'who have not defended themselves' (vij = pari-vij as in Classical Skt). Cf Whitney ad loc. The retention of the perfect pple. form shows the badness of the AV.

- mahī no vālā iha vāntu bhūmau AV · miham na vāto vi ha vāti bhūma RV Reverse of 'Hiatustilger'
- abhūr āpīnām (HG °nām; AV mss v āpī°) abhīšastīpāvā (AV °pā u) AV HG. ApMB Others, §46
- ramayata (KS °tā) marutah syenam āyınam (MS marutah pretam vāyınam) TS KS ApS MS
- mā ivā ke cin ni (AV cid tw) yemur vim (SV cin ni yemur in, TA cin nyemur in) na pāsinah RV SV AV VS TA vim, acc of vi, secondarily reduced to the particle in (id)
- vīdvīr yāmann avardhayan VS vidvīr yāman vavardhayan TB (Conc)
 But Poona ed of TB has correctly yāmann avar
- §361. In two cases of this kind the secondary form with initial v (after a vowel, 'Hiatustilger') is felt as containing the preposition ava pro ārata (TB. 'vārata) maruto durmadā iva RV. TB 'Rush along, Maruts, like madmen' Comm on TB avārata dhāvata
- uruşya rāya eşo (VSK rāyo 'veşo, 1 e ava, 180, TS MS KS rāyah sam 180) yazasva VS VSK TS MS KS SB ava-yaz 'remove by sacrifice' with object 180, 18 peculiarly mept
- §362. A couple of other pecuhar cases seem also to belong in this category, altho the v, when found, is not initial in its word
- agninendrena somena upa te huve savāham (KSA huve 'sā aham)
 TS KSA 'I summon for thec, O offering' 'I, so and so (asau
 'N N '), summon for thee' If, as we are inclined to assume, KSA
 is original, the TS reading uses v as a sort of 'Hiatustilger', yielding
 a different lexical result The same with brāhmanān rtvijo devān
 . ,iştena pakvam . , devān sendrān
- aākāākam (MS aākāv-aākam, so divided in pp, KS aākaākam) chandah VS TS MS KS SB Nothing is known of the original form or meaning of this word (said by comms to mean 'water'), note the curious KS variant, with short a It may be that MS has a kind of 'Hiatustilger' with its v

u initial before a consonant

§363. So far initial v before a vowel In a few cases the same v appears or disappears before an initial consonant

resīnām (VS SB vre°) tvā patmann ādhūnomi VS MS KS SB MS.
resīsu (sc te svkra sukram ādhunomi) TS An epithet of water, of
unknown etymology and meaning, v- presumably unoriginal

agne yajasva (AV vyacasva) rodasī urūcī RV AV MS See §57. apāvrnod duro asmavrajānām (MS asmad-rathānām, p p asmin, ra°)

īvṛnod duro aśmavrajānām (MS asmad-rathānām, p.p. asmīn, ra^v) RV MS TA · The MS is hardly interpretable. yasya (ApMB vy asya) yonun prati reto grhāna (SG patireto grbhāya) SG. ApMB. HG. Cf §354. vy asya 'open' must be intended; yasya makes no sense.

v not initial

§364. Coming to non-initial v, present or absent, we shall find that strictly phonetic influences are more indeterminate, the even here we believe that they are not absent. We shall, however, begin with several groups of cases which concern lexical interchanges between familiar forms both well established in the language. In them probably the phonetic moment is evanescent. Thus, first, the prefixes sva- and sa-vary. Comment is hardly necessary, except that both vary equally easily with su-, see §§612 and 741:

salavasemam (KS sva°) yajñam divi deveşu dhatlām MS. KS TB. sūro na svayugvabhih (SV sayu°) RV. SV.

viśvā dveṣānsı taratı svayugvabhıh (SV. sayu°) RV. SV. Better meter in RV. (anapest after eesura)

ındra svayugbhir matsvcha (ApŚ sayugbhir didyun na matsvā madāya) mahe ranāya AV ApŚ

yajño bhūwā yajñam āsīda . salsaya (MŚ. svalsaya) chi TB ApS MŚ.

§365. There is, of course, a much clearer change of meaning in the rather numerous cases of shift between various forms of the pronouns in tv- and forms of the demonstrative stem ta-. At the end of the list we add, because of the phonetic similarity, a single case each of shift between a tv- form and the enclitic te (2d person), and between kva and $k\bar{a}$ (both from the interrogative stem):

tam ıd arbhe havışy ā samānam ıt RV.: tvām arbhasya havışah samānam ıt SV. KS TB ApS Followed by:

tam ın mahe vrnate nānyam tvat RV: tvām maho vrnate (TB. ApS. vrnate naro) nānyam tvat, same texts

tam (TA. tvam) u nır vapaya punah RV. TA

wām (MS tām) šašvanta (MS °tā) upa yantı rājāh RV. SV. VS. TS MS

paramām tam (TB ApS tvā) parāvatam AV TB ApS

etat tvātra pratimanvāno (AŠ °vanvāno) asmi (AŠ †asmin) VS. AŠ ŠŠ Vait: etat tān pratimanvāno asmin LŠ.

yā tām rātrīm upāsmahe PG : yām tvā rātry upāsmahe (TS upāsate, SMB rātrz yazāmahe) AV. TS SMB.: ye tvā rātry (MG rātrīm) upāsate KS MG

tvam gopāya MG· tam gopāya etc., see Conc

- prajāyai mṛtyave tvat (TA tat) RV TA Here the stem tva- is not the 2d personal pronoun
- tayānantam (MŚ tvayūgne) kāmam (ŚŚ lokam) aham gayānı (MŚ °mi) AŚ † ŚŚ. ApŚ MŚ ApMB
- tayā (ApMB tvayā) prattam svadhayā madantu (ApMB °tı, v 1 °tu) ApMB HG
- tayāham (MS tvayā°) śāntyā śāntım karomı MS TA . tābhih śāntibhih śamayāmy aham AV
- tvayā (TAA 10 1 9 tayā) hatena pāpena TA TAA † MahānU
- yayıryuktanı sāmabhır āktakham tvā (MS rktakham tā) MS TA The words are bad enough in either case MS p p rkta-khám, tā, making tā an independent enclitic, rktakham is not in any lexicon But āktakham is little better TA comm āktāny āpyāyitāni khānīndriyāny avayavā yasya pravargyasya so 'yam āktakhas tādršam, sāmagānena hi pravargya āpyāyito bhavati (1)—Boehtlingk, p w 2 293, 'dessen Buchse geschmiert ist'
- puras tvā (SS purastāt) sarve kurmahe AB SS Here -tāt is an adverbial ending, not a pronoun The sense requires object tvā Simplification of three consonants to two (§§419 ff) in the secondary SS
- yat tvemahe (SMB te mahe) prati tan no (Kaus prati nas taj) jusasva RV TS MS. Kaus SMB PG ApMB All mss and comm. of SMB agree, but it can only be a (phonetic?) blunder for the other reading Comm, unbelievably te tvām (!) yat phalam mahe (!) tan no 'smabhyam jusasva prayachety arthah.
- kva (SV kā) pratnā va āhutıh RV SV
- §366 Further, v is occasionally found in formative elements, varying with other forms without v Thus in nasal present stems of verbs, of VV I p 121
- deva tvaşlar vasu rama (TS ranva, KS rana, MS rane) VS TS MS KS ŚB (In MS rane is a noun)
- āpas tvā sam arınan (MS arınvan) VS MS SB āpah sam arınan TS KS
- mana: (MS manve) nu babhrūnām aham RV VS MS KS ŠB N See VV I pp 76, 121
- With these may be grouped the following, the here the two verbs are lexically unrelated.
- jananta (SV jinvanta) uşaso bhagam RV SV
- §367. Larger is the list of variations between gerund forms in suffixal $tv\bar{a}$ ($tv\bar{i}$) and other forms lacking v, but they are mostly under suspicion of corruption

- asya pītā (SV pītvā) svarvidah RV SV. Lect. fac in SV for pītā, loc sing of pīti, 'in the drinking of it'
- yenendro havisā kṛtvī (ApMB kṛtī) RV. ApMB The ApMB form (v l kṛtvī) may be interpreted as nom sg of kṛtin, but is doubtless corrupt. It is a case of simplification of three consonants to two (§§419 ff), the next word begins with a-, and the actual reading is kṛt(v)y-a-.
- datto asmabhyam (KS dativāyāsma°, AS datiāyāsma°, corrupt for dativā°, SMB. datiāsma°) dravincha bhadram AV KS AS SMB: dadhatha no dravinam yac ca bhadram MS 'Give yc (giving) to us riches, prosperity'
- hotā vistāmena (ŚŚ vistor me) jaritar AV 20. 135 5, AŚ † 8 3 24, ŚŚ Vait This pāda is omitted in the Berlin cd of AV and therefore in Conc Most ŚŚ mss vistā, per contra, v l of AV vistor. It is very obscure in any case
- dasasyantāmṛtāya (ApMB °tvāmṛtāya) kam RV. ApMB The ApMB. form is doubtless felt as a gerund, in sense equal to RV's pple, but may fairly be called corrupt, cf Winternitz, p xx
- yukivā (TB. Conc yukiā, Poona ed text and comm correctly yukivā) harī vīşanā yāhy arvān (MS KS arvāk) RV MS KS TB
- apālām indra (MG. °ras) trīs (trīh) pūtvī (AV. °vā, ApMB pūrtvī, MG. pūrty a-) RV AV. JB ApMB MG The last seems clearly corrupt
- [indrah pāśena †sıktvā vah ApMB. ındrah pāśena vah †sıktvā (so intended, see Index of Words) HG. ındrapāśena sitvā PG The true reading is sitvā]
- §368. A few stray cases concerning noun inflexion or different noun suffixes.
- madhvo (SV madho) rasam sadhamāde RV SV These alternative forms of gen sing of madhu occur frequently in the pairs madhvah madhoh, see Conc p. 681a
- ed u madhvo (SV PB madhor) madintaram RV AV SV PB AS SS vaso vasvoh puruspihah RV . vasor vaso puruspihah SV
- asammṛṣio jāyase mātroh (TB mātrvoh) such RV TB With mātrvoh, guaranteed by all mss and Vaidikas, cf perhaps putrvya, and note that mātroh in RV. is trisyllabic
- mahāniam gahvareşihām SV . tanūr varşışihā gahaneşihā MS Root gah, with different suffixes
- gambhīrash pathibhih pūrvyash (AV. pūryānash) AV. TS HG The AV is clearly secondary, and contains a phonetic simplification Cf next

- prehi-prehi pathibhih pūrvyebhih (AV pūryūnaih) RV AV MS. AS. AG Cf prec
- aprajastām pautramṛtyum ApMB HG. aprajāstvam mārtavatsam AV. Others, §650 Suffixes tā and tva
- §369. Of the lexical variations which remain, special phonetic interest attaches to this, on which of Wackernagel I §232c:
- saumyās trayah śvitimgāh (KSA śi°) TS KSA
- With *śvit-* and *śvi-*, synonyms, is to be compared also the synonymous *cvi-*, see §195
- cıtra (VS svitra) ādityānām VS MS.
- citro (AV śvitro) raksitā AV MS.
- §370. After two consonants—as in a few stray cases already mentioned under other heads, especially in §367—we find cases which belong with §§419 ff. below.
- siste strage ralsase (AV ralsobhyo) vi nikse (KS nalse, AV mss nilsve), RV. AV. TS MS KS The Berlin ed and Whitney's translation adopt the RV. reading for AV, despite the absurd statement of the comm that the superfluous v is chandasa See Whitney's note, which points out that viniksva occurs in the next verse
- dhuākṣāgneyī (VSK. °ṣvā° or °ṣyā°) VS VSK MS And others, see \$255.
- svarṣām (TB suvar°) apsām (TB Poona ed, twice, †apsvām, in text and comm) vrjanasya gopām RV VS MS TB. apsvām is uninterpretable
- mā tvāgnīr dhvanayīd (MS dhana°, TS °yīd, KSA °yēd) dhūmagandhih RV VS TS MS KSA The text of MS is based on pp, the samh mss are all corrupt but have v in place of dh (tvāgnīr vunairddhamagandhīr). It seems that vu in these mss is a graphic corruption for dhva, which should probably be read in MS as in the other texts
 - §371. After or before single consonants; a miscellaneous group
- āpo devīh svadantu (VSK sad⁵) svāttam crt sad devahavıh VS VSK ŚB: svāttam sad dhavır āpo devīh svadantu MS: svāttam crt sadevam havyam āpo devīh svadatarnam TS ApŚ The reading of VSK 18 poor (cf. svāttam). Cf. next
- em enad adya vasavo rudrā ādtiyāh sadantu (MS svad°) MS KS TB Here svad° does not belong, the reverse of the prec
- aparıhvıtāh (MS °hrtāh) sanuyāma vājam RV. MS KS Intended for synonyms; MS. slovenly, and suggesting phonetic corruption
- tundyumnam vibhvāsaham (SV. vibhā') RV SV vibhā 'glory' and vibhvā

(for 'van) 'excellent'. Grassmann calls SV's reading false, which is rather harsh since it makes good sense, 'winning glory'.

apām rasam udvayasam (KS udayansam, TA udayansan) VS TS MS KS SB TB TA. The original has an adjective 'strength-arousing', KS, and TA a verb form, which in TA is 3 plur aor. of ud-yam KS may intend the same with udayansam followed by s; but in VV I p 214 we have allowed it to pass as 1st person sing.

viśvam tu tvāhutayah sarvā yatra brahmā viśvāmṛto 'sī PrānāgU: viśvantu tvām āhutayaś ca sarvāh prajās tatra yatra viśvāmṛto 'sī MU The Conc says, 'read viśantu' for both In the Poona ed (Upanīṣadām Samuccayah, An Skt Ser, 1895), the MU. passage (p 406) reads višantu in text and comm, but the PrānāgU (p 307), viśvam tu in both Certainly višantu must be read

anutur ası dive TS KS JB PB. Vait · anitir ası GB The Cone calls the latter a 'blunder', yet, curiously, Gaastra also has anitir.

mıtrāvarunā saradāhnām (MS °hnā) cıkıtnū (MS cıkıttam, KS nıgatnū, AŚ cıkıtvam) TS MS. KS AŚ See §45 The AŚ form is difficult and suspicious

salyaujasā drnhanā (MS. durhrnā, KS † drhanā) yam nudethe 'TS. MS. KS.· sacetasau druhvano yau nudethe AV See §305

vande dārum vandamāno vivakmi RV: vandadvārā vandamānā vivasļu SV. See VV I p. 218.

anu daha sahamür
ān kravyādah (SV kayādah) RV SV : sahamürān anu daha kravyādah AV. Se
e $\S 355$

anukāsena bāhyam MS: anūkāsena bāhvyam VS: antarenānūkāsam TS
KSA The VS reading is apparently a blunder, comm. reads
bāhyam, which must be right, as the contrasting antaram in the
preceding formula shows.

§371a. One anomalous case involving false word-division:

uror ā no deva rīṣas pāhī TS. MS KS 'FB · pururāvno deva etc VS SB. I.S. The former (original) means 'Protect us, O god, from wide hostility'. The Vāj reading is only an ancient phonetic corruption: Eggeling, 'fiercely howling (demon)', which probably comes close to what was felt as the meaning, but Mahīdhara derives rāvan from rā 'give'.

5. Presence or absence of a

§372. Beginning with IE times, and continuing into the life of the individual languages of the family, combinations of s + stop (also s + nasal) vary with the consonant alone minus the s Hindu speech

not only reproduces some of these doublets, but out of its own impulses (analogy and phonetic combinations) extends the process (roots spaś paś, kr skr, etc.) See Wackernagel I §230 in lieu of the almost endless bibliography of the subject. The variant combinations are always initial, and the evanescence of the s is perhaps connected with old conditions of sentence euphony (external sandhi)

§373. Thus casy opportunity is offered for various readings in this respect. Moreover genuinely different roots exist which are sufficiently synonymous for purposes of exchange. However, the entire phenomenon operates among the variants to a very limited extent. There are also a few cases, all lexical so far as not suspicious, in which initial s before a vowel varies with a form without s, a sort of psilosis comparable to presence or absence of h, below. In addition a very few miscellaneous cases medially

§374. Beginning with the cases of initial s before consonants (those which occur are k, t, and p), we present first the few strictly phonetic cases, in which we are certainly or probably dealing with alternative forms of the same word

sa prathamah samkritr visvakarmā TS TB ApS. sā (MS MS yā) prathamā samskritr visvavārā (MS yajāe asmin) VS MS SB (Pratīka, MS) The root kr regularly appears as skr with sam, so that the Tait form is irregular

ut te stabhnāmı (TA tabhnomı) prthivīm tvat parı RV AV TA Cf Whitney §233c In TA this law operates in spite of timesis, this

is not without parallel

tegān (TS TB ApŚ stegān) danṣṭrābhyām VS TS MS KSA TB ApŚ No doubt the same word is meant in all, but its etymology and meaning are uncertain RV has stega Perhaps the root tij (originally stij) is concerned. It may be significant that in VS MS KSA the word is preceded by one ending in s, while in TS it is initial in its section. As suggested in §372, this is probably the way in which this whole class of variants originated

tarī mandrāsu prayakşu AV · stanī mandras suprayakşuh KS : sa īm (TS ī) mandrā suprayasah (TS mandrāsu prayasah, MS mandrā suprayasā starīman) VS TS MS Probably all the forms may be corrupt, at least they are all difficult But note starīman in MS (tarī AV)

§375. The rest are lexical, that is different words are concerned, and they are also accompanied by other changes in sounds divah samspréas (MS sampreas) pāhi VS MS SB And

- prthwyāh sampreas (TS TB ApŚ °cah, VS ŚB samsprias) pāhi VS. TS MS ŚB TB ApŚ MŚ sam-pre and sam-spri, praetically synonyms. See §195
- dwam agrenāspiksah †VSK., wrongly quoted in Conc as °āpiksah dwam agrenāspiksal (TB °āpiāl) VS TB And others
- viśvā sprdho (AV mrdho) abhimātīr jayema RV. AV. TA
- āñjanena sarpışā sam viśaniu (AV. spṛśaniām, Ppp [Roth] 1 išania, TA mṛśaniām) RV AV TA
- yatrāspṛkṣat tanvo yac ca tāsasah (ApMB tanuvam yatra tāsah) AV. ApMB · yatrā vṛkṣas tanuvat yatra vāsah HG
- sa bhūmim višvato (ArS sarvato, VS sarvata) vytiā (VS spytiā) RV. ArS AV. VS. TA. See §200.
- tutho'sı janadhāyāh (PB °yah) MS KS PB MS LS : stuto'sı janadhāh TB ApS See §93
- samsrāvabhāgā (VS ŠB samsrava°; MS °gāh, KS. Kauś. °gās) sthcşā (Kauś taviṣā) brhantah VS TS MS KS. ŚB Kauś See §§96, 747.
- §376. Initially before vowels, we find a pair of cases of interchange between sa conjunctive and a privative (antonyms), the rest is sporadic: ajosā (SV saj⁵) vīsabhan paim RV. AV. SV ajosa 'unersāttlich, gierig'. sacelasāv (VSK °sā) arepasau VS VSK SB.: sacelasau sarelasau TB And others, see §180
- ā (VaradapU. sā) nah śṛnvann ūtibhih sīda sādanam (VaradapU śaśvat) RV TS. KS VatadapU The comm. is bard put to it to explain sā, he takes it for sa with Vedic lengthening. It is in fact inexplicable
- yavā ayavā ūmā abdah (KS yavā āyavā ūmā † evā abdas) sagarah sumckah MS KS MŚ: yāvā ayāvā evā ūmāh sabdah sagarah sumekah TS. The form sabda of TS, for regular abda, is wholly obscure, doubtless due to some analogy
- anāgaso yathā sadam it sam kṣiyema Vart anāgaso adham it samkṣayema ${
 m TB}$ See §110
- §377 The very few cases of evanescent medial s are entirely sporadic, except a few cases of precative and other optative forms (as bhūyāma bhūyāsma), which are found in VV I §175 and are not repeated here: agnir no vanate (VSK vanute, SV TS KS vansate) rayim RV SV VSK TS MS KS Present and s-agrist.
- tasya te bhaktıvānsah syāma (MS KS °vāno bhūyāsma) AV MS. KS · tasyās te bhakṣvānah syāma (MS KS ApŠ 4. 13 7† bhaktıvāno bhūyāsma) MS. KS TB ApŠ. (both) Suffixes vans and van

6 Presence or absence of visarga

§378. This change, of course, can occur only at the ends of words or parts of a compound word (or before pāda endings), and in fact it is most commonly found at the ends of pādas. Included are some cases where the actual reading of the text does not show visarga, owing to conditions of sandhi. Altho the modern Indian pronunciation makes this sound regularly an aspiration followed by a vowel, which takes the coloring of the preceding vowel (Wackernagel I §225b), there seems reason to believe that its pronunciation in ancient times was much fainter, and certainly it was never followed by a vowel. The variants support this theory by showing not a few cases in which visarga is evanescent. In the majority of cases both forms are morphologically explicable, involving different forms of noun or verb inflexion or the like, some must be considered mere corruptions.

§379. In VV I §25 we have already presented a group of cases in which verb forms with final h vary with corresponding forms without h, a fairly frequent phenomenon.

pra-pra yajñapatım tıra (TA tırah, Poona ed tıra) AV VS TS MS

KS TA AS SS ApS

süryasya tapas tapa (MS MŚ tapah) MS TA ApŚ MŚ nı düraśravase vaha (ŚŚ vahah, em , mss mahah) AV ŚŚ

nıyudbhır (AV. vıyugbhır) väyav (AV VSK MS väya) ıha lä vı muñca (SS †muñcah) AV VS VSK MS SB TA AS SS ApS Add to VV I §25

vrśvasmāt (TA duvo vr°) sīm aghāyata uruşya (TA °yah) RV TA lāv imā upa sarpatah SV. JB · emām anu sarpata MS agne vittād dhanşo yad yajāma (TB °mah) RV TB aśvinā bhişajāvatah (MS °tam, TB †ota, both edd) VS MS TB anyavratasya (TA anyad vra°) saścima (TA °mah, RV saścire) RV VS

MS SB TA (corrupt)

prati bhāgam na dīdhima (SV °maḥ) RV AV SV VS N viratāh smah (ŚG sma bhoh) ŚG PG.

abhrratāh smah (YDh sma ha) ViDh YDh BrhPDh Here, in late texts, we find what may be a trace of the modern pronunciation (smah sma-ha)

tasmın vayam upahūtās tava smah (MŚ sma) TB MŚ

tau saha (VS SB tā ubhau) caturah prasārayāvahai (SB °yāva, MS `°yāvah) VS TS MS KSA SB ApS

visvāh pinvathah (TB °tha) svasarasya dhenāh RV MS TB (comm °thah in Bibl Ind ed, but Poona ed °tha) This is probably only a case of sandhi before s + consonant, of §978 ff

ata ũ şu madhu madhunābhi yodhi TS: adah su madhu madhunābhi yodhīh RV. SV AV AA. MS Sce VV I p 101.

agne (MS agnir) deveşu pra vocah (MS voca) RV. SV MS. TA. Add to VV I §§25, 156

sam agnis tapasāgata VS. MS SB. (preceded by svāhā, probably felt as part of the formula tho in MS edition separated by a mark of punctuation) svāhā sam agnis tapasā gata (*gatah, Poona ed gata) TA * As pple gatah is defensible See VV I p 161

varchur varān abht şu prasīdatah (ApMB pra sīdata) RV. ApMB A participle (gen sing, Grassmann, acc pl, Oldenberg) is made into a 2d plur in ApMB

tha tama (HG †ramah) MS AB AS. ApS HG Here ramah is a noun form

§380. In noun inflection the variation occurs between nominative and vocative case-forms.

nunar āgāh punarnava (AV "nava and "navah) RV AV (bis)

nicerur asi nicumpunah (TS TB nicankuna, MS KS nicunkunah) VS. TS MS KS SB TB LS. Vocative in TS TB by assimilation to an adjoining formula, see §150

rtena (MG. rte 'va) sthūnām (MG °nā, ApMB HG °nāv) adhi roha vanša (MG vanšah) AV. AG ApMB HG MG Kauš Here the nom is secondary

agne ghrtenāhuta (KS °tah) AV VS TS MS KS ApS

yajñah praty u sihāt (KS pratyasihāt, v l praty u°, MS adds sumatau matīnām) KS MŚ yajña pratitisiha sumatau suševāh TB ApŚ indrah (indra) somasya pītaye (also °ye visāyate) RV (all three)

ındra (MS ındrah) stomena pañcadasena madhyam (KS °dasenoujah) TS MS KS AS

paramajyā rcīşamah (SV.†°ma) RV. SV AV

devebhyo (ApŚ deveşu) havyavāhanah (RV * °na) RV. (both) ApŚ.

sahasrākşo amartyah AV.. sahasrākşāyāmartya AV.

pavamānah (SV °na) samtanım eşi krivan RV SV

tvaştā devaik sahamāna indrah MG tvaştar devebhis sahasāma indra ApMB

yo agnıh kravyavāhanah (VS KS kavya°) RV. VS. KS AS yad agne kavyavāhana TS See §353.

hıranyapakşah sakunıh HG · hıranyaparna sakune PG hıranyavarnah sakunah MU

subtrana sija-sija śunaka ApMB. suvīnah sija-sija HG The latter is doubtless corrupt, a voc is required.

ındra kratvā (MS ındran krivā) maruto yad vasāma RV MS KS See §664

ayā somah (SV soma) sukrtyayā RV SV See VV I §328

ā tisiha mitravardhana (KS TB † Ap\$ † °nah) AV KS TB Ap\$

 $\bar{a}prno$ 'sı samprnah (ApŚ $\bar{a}prnoşi$ samprna) . SŚ ApŚ The latter is secondary and poor

indra karmasu no'vata VS KS indrah karmasu no'vatu TB (but read indra ...'vata, see VV I p 260)

ındra (MS ındrah) śrutosya mahato mahānı RV. MS The nom is hardly construable

_ indrah (SV. PB indra) suteşu someşu RV SV. PB AS SS

ındra (MS ındrah) svadhām anu hi no babhūtha RV MS KS

kāmena kṛtah (RV. and p p of MS kṛta) śrava rchamānah RV MS TB

ırşthā ratham (TB. rathe) adhı tam (VS SB yam, TB yad) vajrahasta (TB. °tah) RV. VS SB TB

dhānāsomān manthina indra (MŚ indrah) šukrāt TS KS MŚ The nom is not construable, see Knauer's note.

mıtra satyānām pate (\$\$ satyānām adhipate) TB \$\$: mıtrah satyānām (VS \$B satyah) VS TS MS KS \$B PG.

viśvā (KS PG viśvāś ca) †deva (PG devah) prtanā abhişya (KS °şyāh, PG † °syak) KS TB. ApŚ. PG HG.

vrīhīnām medha (MS medhah) sumanasyamānah TB ApS MS śuddho mamaddhi somyah (SV somya) RV SV.

sajoṣā ındra (TB ındrah) sagano marudbhıh RV. VS TS MS TA. MahānU. AS

§381. In miscellaneous other forms of nouns and adjectives, commonly with change of construction which can be more or less justified, sometimes involving different but related stems:

pibūt somam amadann (AV somam mamadad) enam ıştayah (AV ışte)

AV AS SS See VV I p 88, loc sing of isla nom pl of isli ghrtavatī savitar (MS KS "tur) ādhipatye (TS "yaih) TS MS KS AS Loc sing instr pl Cf \$706

avyo (SV avyā) vāre (SV * vāraih) pari priyah (and priyam) RV SV As prec

candrena jyotir amriam dadhānāh (KS IB comm and Poona ed °nā)
VS. KS IB sukram na jyotir amriam dadhānā MS (but pp. °nāh) The plural agrees with asvinā and sarasvatī together as subject, the fem sing with the nearest subject, sarasvatī alone

dhanamjayam dharunam dhārayışnu RVKh bhūmidrnham acyulam pārayışnu AV bhūmidrnho 'cyulas cyāvayışnuh AV Change of

- gender, neuter to masculine; the latter certainly secondary, see \$268
- sa viśvācīr (KS °cī) abhi caṣṭe ghṛtācīh (KS °cī) RV. VS TS MS KS. ŠB Change of acc pl to dual, explained in §357 'But the actual reading is ghṛtācīr (before initial vowel following)
- tarī mandrāsu prayakşu AV (taken by Whitney as loc plur): stanī mandras suprayakşuh KS (apparently felt as nom sing) And others, all forms dubious and likely to be corrupt; see §374
- samhilāsi višvarūpā (VS SB SS °pī, TS. ApŠ * °pīh) VS TS. MS KS. SB SS ApS (bis) In TS the old nom fem of the vykīs type
- khajāpo 'jopakāśinīh ApMB bajābojopakāśinī HG. Both words unintelligible, §69 Perhaps h in ApMB ending of urkīs type.
- anāhanasyam vasanam cariṣnu (ApMB HG ja°, PG jariṣnuh) ŚG PG ApMB HG See §57. The nom masc transfers the epithet, whose meaning is not very clear, from the garment to the person who is the subject.
- yenā samatsu sāsahah (SV. °hıh, MŠ °hı) RV. SV. VS. ApŠ MŠ See §584
- aghadviştā devajātā AV. Kaus: atharvyuṣṭā devajūtāh ApS In AV. nom sing fem In ApS, which is ot'erwise corrupt, the actual text has "jūtā followed by a sonant, and Caland understands a sing, but the verb is plural, and the Conc gives what seems intended as the reading of the text (nom plur.).
- sīrāh (TS MS KS sarāh, AV. sarā) palatrinī (TS MS KS onīh) sthana (KS stha, AV bhūtvā) RV. AV VS TS MS KS. Sing in AV, plur in the others
- ya ābabhūva (PB āva°) bhuvanām viśvā (PB viśvāh¹, comm. viśvām) VS JB PB ŠŠ Vait viśvāh is certainly wrong
- vīruc chapathayopanī AV vīdu chapathajambhanīh Ap\$ (corrupt, Caland adopts the AV. reading) See §272
- ula tâm uşaso budhi RV GB Conc budhih for GB, and so all mss. apparently read, but Gaastra emends to budhi (loc sing 'at the awakening of dawn').
- arāddhyā edidhişuhpatim VS.. ārādhyai (read with Poona ed. ar°) jāidhişūpatim TB The VS form is anomalous, as a fem word the stem can only end in u, and the nom form in composition is absurd
- avasyuvātā brhatī (TS ° tīr) na (TS nu, AŠ tu) šakvarī (TS °rīh) TS. MS KS AŠ Sing : plural.
- ımam yajñam avantu no ghṛtācīh (MS KS AŚ avatu yā [AŚ no] ghṛtācī) TS MS KS AŚ Sing : plural.

- parasur (TS. parsur) vedih parasur nah svasti (TS. °tih) AV. TS svasti is familiar as both fem. and neut.
- vişihılāh (AV. °tā) pṛthivīm anu RV. AV. VS. AB TB. SMB. Fem. pl : neut pl (in different contexts).
- śam rātrī (VS rātrīḥ, VSK. TA rātrıh) pratı dhīyatām AV. VS VSK. TA MS All noms sg
- śatamūlā śatānkurā TA. MahānU.: śatamūlāḥ śatānkurāḥ MahānU. Fem sing: plur.
- śrnvaniv āpo dhişanāś ca devīḥ (MS.* dhişanā ca devī) VS. TS MS* KS. ŚB Sing.: plur.
- viso (SV. diso) visvā anu prabhuḥ (TB. prabhu) RV. SV. MS. TB. Agni is meant, and a nom. or voc mase is required; prabhu, repeated in the comm, is apparently understood as an adverb, but is probably only a phonetic error.
- samintam kşatram (MS. KS. TA add me) jişnu (AV. kşatram ajaram astu jışnuh) AV. VS. TS MS. KS ŠB TA. The AV. form would be mase, which cannot be construed; Whitney accordingly adopts jişnu
- valso jarāyu (KS. garbho jarāyuh) pratidhuk pīyūşah AV. TS. MS. KS. The regularly neuter word is here masc in KS., perhaps attracted to the gender of the preceding masc
- sa nah pṛthu (TB pṛthuḥ) śravāyyam RV. SV. ŚB. TB Transference of the epithet with change of gender from neut to masc.
- sīsam ca me trapu (TS °puś) ca me . . . VS. VSK TS MS. KS. The rare stem trapus, for the regular trapu
- sapatnīr jabhibhūvarī (ApMB. °rīh) RV. ApMB. Only a nom sing fem can be construed See Winternitz, Introd, xxii
- sarasvatī (AV. TB.7°tīh) svapasah sadantu (AV. sadantām) RV. AV. VS. MS. KS TB N. Whitney calls the °tīh form a blunder and emends This is perhaps going too far; but of course it is a nom sing. like the other.
- sarasvatyā (TV °tyāh) suprppalah VS. MS. TB Instr.: gen.
- sahasrasīrṣā (ArS °ṣāh) puruṣaḥ RV. ArS VS SB. TA. ApŚ Both nom. sing; °śīrṣāḥ as if from an s-stem (contamination from śiras?)
- atividāhā vithurenā cid astrā (MS astāh) RV. MS KS The MS is doubtless corrupt
- varşman kakubhi (TB. Conc °bhih, MS kakubbhih) šiśriyānah (TB śrayasra) TS MS TB See §400
- upahūtāh sapta hotrāh TS TB SS.: upahūtā saptahotrā SB Sing plur.

- agne tvam purişyah VS. KS SB: agneh purişyam asi VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS SB TB. ApS. MS. Voc: gen.
- hıranyayāh (MS °yā) śucayo dhūrapūtāḥ RV. MS. The only grammatically construable form is °yāh; MS. seems corrupt
- so 'ham vājam saneyam agne (KS. sanāmy †agneh) VS TS. MS. KS. Voc. gen.
- sapratha (MŚ °thah) sabhām me gopāya (MŚ. pāhi. and 'jugupah) TB. ApŚ MŚ. Both voc; stems in a and as
- ımā brahma brahmavāhah (TS † °ha) RV. AV. KS TB. As prec
- svāhā tvā subhava (VSK. TS. ApŚ. °vah, KS. subho) sūryāya VS. VSK. TS MS. KS KB ŚB. ApŚ Vocatives; s and a-stems On KS. see §749
- dātum cec chikṣān sa svarga eva AV.: dātum cec chaknuvānsaḥ (Poona ed chaknavān sa) svarga eṣām TA. See §826.
- dyumad vibhāti bharatebhyah sucih (VS suci, comm sucih) RV. SV. VS. TS MS KS suci might pass as an adverb.
- dūrvā rohatu puspinī (RV rohantu puspinīh) RV. AV. Sing : plur. tripadā yā ca saļpadā (VS yāś ca saļpadāḥ) VS TS MS KSA. Sing : plur.
- irnam vasānā (HG. °nāh) sumanā asas (HG. asi) ivam AV. HG. The form can only be nom sing fem, HG is impossible
- prthwyā (MS * °vyāh) sambhava VS TS MS (both) KS SB. KS ApS Probably the only correct reading is °vyā (see von Schroeder's note). §382. In adverbial forms:
- athā (AV adhah, comm adha, but Ppp adhah) sapatnī yā mama RV. AV ApMB.. adhā sapatnān māmakān AV. See §74.
- śrnvanty (PB °tv) āpo adha (PB 'dhah) Lsarantīh RV PB
- parā svapnamukhāh śucah AV parah svapna mukhā kṛdhi KS See §820 The variation -mukhāh (bahuvrīhi): mukhā belongs to the preceding section
 - §383. Involving different divisions of words.
- samudrād udajani vah (ApŚ udacann ıva) srucā MS ApŚ See §53.
- ıdam aham rakşo 'bhı (MS *rakşobhıh) sam ühāmı (TS sam dahāmı) TS MS (both) KS MS As the Conc suggests, rakşobhıh must be a corruption
- girā ca (AV. vīrājah) śruṣṭih sabharā asan nah RV. AV. VS TS. MS KS SB See §57
- śarīram yajñaśamalam (MahānU yajñah śa°). TS KSA. TA. MahānU See §818
- tıgmāyudhāya bharatā srnotu nah (TB srnotana) RV TB N.

- āsann ā (SV PB āsan nah) pāiram zanayania (KS °tu) devāh RV SV VS. TS MS KS PB ŚB
- pra su (HG sa) mṛtyum (SMB pra sumartyam, MG prathamam artım) yuyotana (MG yuyotu nah) SMB ApMB HG MG
- ürjam bibhrad .vasuvanih (vah sumanõh, vah suvanih, vasumanõh) . . , see $\S 227$
- upānasaķ saparyan RV † upo nu sa sap° SV
- kavır yah putrah sa īm ā (TA Conc. sā ımāh, Poona ed sa ımā) cıketa RV AV TA. N ımāh has no standing
- ava (RV. abhı, MS ā vah, VS ŚB vācā) somam nayāması (RV mṛšāması, VS ŚB avanayāmı) RV. AV VS TS MS. KS. ŚB The reading of MS is secondary but simple
- ındrah päsena †sıktvä vah (HG päsena vah †sıktvä) ApMB HG · ındrapäsena sıtvä PG See §819.
- riasyariena mām uta (TA 11a) TB. TA. riasya tv enam āmutah MS (corrupt, see §838)
- adyā mamāra sa hyah sam āna (MS Samhītā, sahyah samānah) RV AV. SV MS N. sam āna, verb, samānah, ad]
- vīrenyah kratur ındrah sušaslıh RV cf varenyakratūr (°tur, īdenyakratūr) aham, §554 Conc suggests vīrenyakratur, Oldenberg, Noten, goes further and suggests varenya- (or °yah) kratur.
- vāāmanascaksuhsrotranhvāghrānaretobuddhyākūtīsamkalpā (TA TAA °ākūtīh samkalpā) me sudhyantām TA TAA MahānU Despite the persistence of the reading °ākūtīh (to be sure, one ms of TA reads like MahānU), it seems to leave us with an impossible ending for the long compound
 - §384. Miscellaneous:
- purā jatrubhya (TA. ApMB jartrbhya, MS cakrbhyā, p p vaktrbhyah) ātrdah (MS °da) RV AV. SV. MS. PB TA. KŚ ApMB See §57, ātrdah apparently-abl sing of a noun, MS corrupt, perhaps feels ātrda as imperative.
- apa (AV ava) śvela padā jahr AV. AG ŚG PG ApMB. HG: apah śvelapad ā gahr MG (but most mss apa, so read, cf §817)
- apa (MG apah) prāgāt tama ā jyotir eti RV MG Here all mss of MG. have the visarga, which is certainly near to nonsense
- parītosāt iad arpitha ArS: parī dosād ud arpithah KS The true reading in both seems to be udarpītah, see §63
- sugantuh karma karanah karisyan JB: sugam tvah karmah karanah karah karasyuh LS On the obviously corrupt LS see §739
- gharmam kocantah (AS °ta, SS °tam) pravanezu (AS SS pranavezu) bibhratah AB AS SS Cf VVI p 165

aghāya bhūma harvah parūdai (MS °daih) RV. AV. TS MS parādai is an infinitive; parādaih is a very poor reading, perhaps felt stupidly as a second person agrist injunctive (addressed to Indra, despite the 1st person verb bhūma'), or clse as an instreplur. 'by betrayal'. tām ha varitar na pratuagrbhnan AV. AB GB JB ŚŚ Gaastra reads

tām ha jaritar na pratyagrbhnan AV. AB GB JB SS Gaastra reads nah in GB (v 1 na), but the sense clearly requires na

na sīsarīdata (HG †sīsarıdatah) ApMB HG Both hopelessly corrupt, Winternitz p xxvi suggests sīsarī datah)

adrnhathāh śarkarābhıs trunşiapı (MŚ tribhrsiphih) KS ApŚ MŚ.

samudram nah subhvam (AVPpp ms subhavas) tasthivānsam AVPpp MS samudram na subhvah svā abhistayah RV. samudram na subhuvas tasthivānsam AV And others, §§119, 789. nah, pronoun na, comparative particle

bhişajam na (MS nah) sarasvatīm VS MS TB na, comparative particle.

7. Presence or absence of h

§385. The small number of cases of this sort at the beginning of words shows something that resembles occasional psilosis, or its reverse In the interior of words it is even rarer, and entirely sporadic, partly a matter of corruptions, but of the startling samjigaire in the first variant under §387

§386. Initially h appears and disappears before vowels and y, once r. The variation is almost wholly lexical, it occurs especially with particles and light words, and sometimes involves different divisions of words: sa ugrah sa hi (PG i) havyo babhāva TS PG This has most the appearance of a purely phonetic variant; an otherwise unknown i (said to mean 'and', the mss are unanimous) seems to be substituted for hi, and may be suspected of being only a phonetic variant for hi

himkārāya (and, himkītāya) svāhā VS. MS. SB: īmkārāya (and, īmkrtāya, KSA †im°) TS KSA TB ApS. Interjections

tasmını (AV yasminn) ā (VS tasmın ha) tasthur bhuvanānı viśvā RV. AV VS. cf tasmını ārpıtā bhu° vi° RV.

cakşur yeşām (v 1 hy eşām) tapa uccabhīmam MS And others; see §340 yasyām rdam visvam (MS visvam hy asyām) bhuvanam āviresa VS TS. MS KS SB

mahaś (MS mahī) czd yasya mīdhuşo yavyā RV VS. VSK. MS ŠB: mahī hy asya mīdhuşo yavyā TS

dhiyo hinvāno (MS dhiya invāno) dhiya in no avyāt (RY. avyāh) RV. MS TS Rime words

antarıkşe pathibhir iyamānah (GB hriyamānah, v. 1 hiyamānah, but no v 1 in Gaastra) RV GB See §353.

- uta no brahmann avişah (MS. °man havişah) RV. MS KS AB SB SS KS The secondary havişah is unaccented in MS, perhaps felt as a verb form from root hu: 'and do thou sacrifice for us in the brahman'.
- tena samhanu kṛnması AV.: tena sann anugṛhnāsı HG See §47.
- atho mālātho pilā TA. halā mālā halah pilā SMB; halo halamālā krimih AV. The TA. probably secondary.
- raksohāmīvacālanah (AV* atho amīva°) RV AV. (both) VS. TS MS KS. ApŠ If the AV variant is based on the other, which is not certain, it is clearly secondary.
- ānirīmukhah... HG ālikhann animişah... hanirīmukhah... PG Barbaric names of demons, with vague suggestions of popular etymology (as if related to ānira and a fem form of hanir).
- atho ye ksullakā wa AV hatah krimīnām ksudrakah SMB.: atho sthūrā atho ksudrāh TA.
- āsannışūn hṛtsvaso mayobhūn RV. AV TS MS KSA N : āsann eṣām apsuvāho mayobhūn SV See §\$20
- vanishor hrdayād (AV * udarād) adhi RV. AV (both) ApMB
- §387. Medially this phenomenon is even rarer, and in general it has no particular phonetic interest. Only the first variant deserves special attention, in it all mss of Vait are reported as agreeing on the remarkable form samingātre, which is certainly for "hire and shows an unquestionable 'psilosis' between vowels which, just because it runs counter to all expectations in Sanskrit, must apparently be assumed to be a genuine (dialectic) phonetic variant.
- täh prācya (Vait °yah, MS. prācīr) uzjīgāhire (Kچ°hīre, Vait samjīgāre) Vait KŚ MŚ prācīś cojjāgāhire ApŚ
- su (read sa) nah prajām pašūn pūhy aranīyamānah (p p aháh, ánī (sic!), yāmānah) MS sa no rucam dhehy ahrnīyamānah TA Read doubtless ahrnīyamānah in MS; the absurd p p points in this direction
- marudbhyo grhamedhibhyo (MS °dhebhyo) başkıhān (MS ıaş°, ApŚ bāşkān). The word is wholly obscure
- tujo janā (ArS jane) vanam svah AV. ArS.: tujo yujo vanam (SS balam, emend) sahah AA SS The passage is obscure, we see little to choose between svah and sahah
- pary agmm ahrsata (VSK 7 arşata or aharşata) RV VS VSK · parīme 'gmm arşata AV (v 1 in AV arişata) Ppp (Barret, JAOS 43 99) reads as in RV. except aharsata, with one ms of VSK; Barret em ahrsata

CHAPTER X. CONSONANT GROUPS

§388. In this chapter we include, first, variations between identical double consonants (or aspirates with preceding non-aspirates) and the same consonant alone; second, cases of assimilation of one consonant to an adjoining consonant, or the reverse, and finally, some cases of partial simplification of groups of more than two consonants, by the omission of one consonant (or the reverse)—in so far as the consonant omitted or inserted is not one of those whose character particularly lends itself to such treatment, that is, a nasal, semi-vowel, liquid, sibilant, h, or visarga, all of which have been treated in Chapter IX

1 Double and single consonants

§389. The principal subject of this section is double and single consonants between vowels, that is, not immediately preceded or followed by another consonant When associated with other consonants, the tradition is so confused that a detailed record would hardly be profitable Thus, after other consonants, especially after nasals and r, consonants are very commonly written either single or double in Editors have followed very different courses, sometimes they attempt, with more or less consistency, to regularize the discordant spellings of their mss, sometimes they add to the confusion Cf on the whole subject Whitney, Giammar §§228-232, Wackernagel I §98 plain fact is that after or before other consonants it was in practice virtually impossible to distinguish between pronunciation of single and double consonants, as Wackernagel says 1 c It seems therefore fruitless to collect such variants as the following.

śunddhi (PG MG śundhi) śiro māsyāyuh pra moṣīh AG PG. ApMB MG Many mss of ApMB read śundhi

o şu (MS şū) varita (MS KS varia) marulo vipram acha RV MS KS The spelling varita (2d plural) is etymological; Muller prints varia in his one-volume edition (1873) of RV.

§390. Similarly before another consonant, a double consonant which would be required by etymology is very often written single (Whitney and Wackernagel II ce) Very little value is or can be attached to the readings of mss and editions in such cases. Thus the word pattra

'wing', from root pat with suffix tra, may be spelled patra at any time, as in'

Lyenasya patram (MS pattram) na plihā Lacībhih VS MS. KS TB, where only MS. has the etymological spelling. So in:

ukthapatra (MS °rā, TS °pattra) īdyo grbhītah VS † TS MS KS † SB †, the editor of TS alone prints °pattra, all others (contrary to the Cone) °patra, but most mss. of TS. actually read °patra The same arbitrary procedure is applied to TS in

yena (yenā) rṣayas (yenarṣ°) tapasā satram (TS \dagger sattram) āsate (VS. ŚB āyan) VS. TS MS. KS ŚB,

where again most mss of TS. read satram, with the others, but against the etymology (root sad) We have not burdened this book with a list of such cases

§391. Equally a matter of orthographic convention, and unworthy of prolonged consideration, are such variant spellings as occur in the following verb forms:

tā yā devā. ā ca šāsvā (VS. and Poona ed of TB šāssvā) ca gurasva VS TB. The root is šās, the ending sva.

ıyam vah sā satyā . yām ındrena samadhaddhvam (MS °dadhvam) TS. MS: eṣā vas sā satyā...yām ındrena samadadhvam KS Reduplicated stem dhad or dad plus ending dhvam

§392. Before dismissing this subject, however, we shall record a number of variations where real lexical or morphological shifts occur, or at least may possibly be felt as occurring, to be sure we shall find that some of them are mere corruptions or orthographic variants of the same sort as those just illustrated

arhann idam dayase visvam abhvam (TA abbhwam, MS ā dhanvā), RV MS TA. The TA may quite possibly have intended abhvam (on the epenthetic u cf §790). But if the comm is right it would be a lexically different word, he analyzes it as ab-bhwam 'produced from water (and the other four elements)' This is implausible as to sense, but formally possible

ut tvā (SV. PB Svidh u †tvā, two words) mandantu somāh RV. AV. SV PB. SS. Vait Rvidh Svidh The Cone prints utvā as one word, implying belief that ut tvā is intended This is probably right, since the interjection u (of most doubtful authenticity even later) can hardly be assumed for SV, and the other u is encliste, and could not stand first

ya ālrņatty (SamhitopuniṣadB ālrnoty) avitathena (VāDh avida^o) karnau SamhitopaniṣadB. VāDh. N ātrnoty is an impossible form and must be an error.

- ayam yah puro vibhinatty (SV. °naty) ojasā RV SV. The form vibhinaty is not noted by Benfey in his Glossary or the notes to his translation, and is doubtless a mere orthographic variant if not a misprint
- agnir hotā vetv (SB vettv) agnir (SB AS agner) hotram vetu prāvitram . SB. TB AS SS So the Cone; TB. Poona ed reads vettv and vettu In any ease there is here probably a real lexical variation between roots vī 'enjoy' and vid 'know' (SB comm. jānātu). Cf. next, and the variations between the participles vīta and vita, §398 below
- prati tvādītyās tvag veitu (TB Poona ed † veiu) VS TS MS KS SB TB:
 prati tvā dīva (TB dīvah) skambhanīr veitu (TB. Poona ed † veiu)
 TS TB And others in the context The text of TB actually
 reads veiv-ity āha; doubtless veitu is intended
- āprā (AV * āprād) dyāvāpṛthwī antarıkṣam RV. AV. ArS VS TS MS. KS SB. TB AA TA N See VV I pp. 27, 129.
- yad ūrdhvas tisshā (KS tisshād) dramneha dhattāt RV MS KS AB TB.

 N Here the KS form assimilates, perhaps, to the following dhattāt, which however is originally and properly 2d person Cf.

 VV I p 27.
- agnır dād (TS dā) dravınam vīrapesāh RV. TS See VV I p. 26
- satvānām (KS †sattv°) pataye namah MS KS This is certainly not a real lexical variant, for the gen. plur of satvan would be satvanām (ef §494), MS must intend gen plur of sattva, like KS.
- brhaspataye mahışa (TS mahı şad) dyuman namah AV TS. The AV. has a corruption (called by Whitney 'senseless') based on the pronunciation of ddy as dy, and bringing in its train a false division of words; see §826.
- sadanān (Vait sa dahan) pradahan v (Vait nv) agāh GB Vait Particles u and nu; the passage is metrical and v(nv) is read consonantically
- lokam (RV. ulokam) u (ApŚ 1d) dve upa jāmī (RV. jāmīm) īyatuḥ RV. MS ApŚ.

Double and single consonants between vowels

§393. The shift between double and single consonants when both preceded and followed by a vowel is more worthy of attention. Here we seem to find traces of the Prakritic tendency to treat a short vowel plus a double consonant as the phonetic equivalent of a long (or nasalized) vowel plus a single consonant, so that (in Pāli and Prakrit) the two may interchange at random, without regard to etymology. See Geiger,

Pāh §§5, 6, Edgerton, Studies in Honor of Hermann Collitz 32 f. While other considerations regularly enter in with the variants, it seems to us hardly to be doubted that this phonetic tendency existed in the Vedic language. It appears most clearly, of course, when the preceding vowel is long before the single consonant, but short before the double consonant.

§394. In some variants the preceding vowel is the diphthong e This sound, of course pronounced as a monophthong from early times, may be either long or short in Pāli and Prakrit; there it is always short when followed by two consonants, long when followed by one. In Sanskrit it is invariably considered long. But we find variations in the mss between single and double consonants after it, as in AV. 15. 10. 2 (see Whitney's note), where nearly all mss read mānaye tathā for mānayet tathā. And so in the variant

sa no jiveşv ā yame AV: sa no deveşv ā yamat RV. TA,

where most mss of AV read yame, but the comm yamed, which is certainly intended, the next word begins with d- and the actual reading of RV TA is yamad See Whitney's note on AV 18. 2 3, and VV I p. 74 This is clearly a phonetic simplification

§395. The other variations, first where the quantity of the preceding vowel shifts with the doubling of the consonant, involve lexical or morphological shifts. Thus in equivalent noun stems of different declensions, the stem apsaras appears also as apsarā independently apsarassu (HG. °rāsu ca) yo qandhah ApMB HG

yā medhā apsarāsu (MG medhāpsarahsu, Scheftelowitz reads medhāpsarassu for RVKh) RVKh MG: apsarāsu ca yā medhā TA MahānU HG ADMB ADG

Here the fem gender of the word, and its nom sg apsarāh, may have helped in the change But the like is found with neuters, where no such influence can be suspected.

yā te agne 'yāśayā (VS ŚB 'yahśayā, TS 'yāśayā rajāŝayā) VS TS MS KS ŚB MŚ · yā te agne 1ajāŝayā (VS ŚB rajahŝayā) VS MS. KS ŚB MŚ

§395a. The adjective mahad varies with its composition-form mahā-agre vājasya bhajate mahādhanam (SV bhajase mahad dhanam) RV SV.

§396. The forms rāye and rāyas vary with rayyai and rayyās (see Edgerton, l c, §393). Undoubtedly the former are from rai, while the latter are from the parallel stem rayi (which by the way is usually masculine, but occasionally feminine) But the phonetic shift here considered seems also likely to be involved, the rai forms seem original: agne samrād ise rāye (ApŠ rayyai). AŠ. ApŠ ise rāye. VS MS

SB. TB. (The Conv quotes AS ApS. under this form too, but it refers to the same passage, agne samrād etc.)

rāyas poşena (MS rayyā) mā pasyata (and: vah pasyāmı) TS. MS KS. §397. The base su, used as a root noun, must appear as sut; a superlative from it, -sutlama, varies with the parallel base -sū-tama:

ındrāya (MS MŚ °ya tvā) susuttamam (VS ŚB susūtamam) VS MS. KS ŚB. MŚ

§398. The roots $v\bar{v}$ 'enjoy' or the like, and vid 'find' with dental suffixes, produce forms which are lexically independent but show the same phonetic shift, it appears that in both the variants recorded, the forms of $v\bar{v}$ are older Cf §329, agair hotā vetv (vettv) .: istam ca $v\bar{v}$ tam (\$B AS vittam) ca (\$\$ $c\bar{a}bh\bar{u}t$) MS \$B TB A\$ \$\$

ışlam ca vilam (SB AS villam) ca (SS cābhūl) MS SB TB AS SS socasva devavīlamah (KS °villamah) RV. RVKh VS TS MS KS.

SB TA: rocasva devavītamah VS

§399. More numerous are the cases in which the preceding vowel is either short or long in both forms of the variant. They are chiefly lexical. We begin with those in which the vowel is short. Forms of the root cit, with dental suffixes, vary several times with derivatives of ci or cyu.

acıttapājā (TA acyuta°) agnīt, and.

acuttamanā (TA. acyuta') upavaktā MS TA. SS Proper names of rishis; 'unthinkable' and 'unshakable' both make good sense, the latter is secondary.

cuttum (MS KS MS. cutum) juhomu manasā (VS TS SB add ghrtena)
VS TS. MS KS SB MS ApS. See Keith on TS (HOS 19
p 444, n. 1). Cutum is perhaps, as Keith says, a mistake for
cuttim; but it seems widely attested, and we doubt whether it 'should
have been corrected' by the editors of the texts where it occurs
To be sure, one ms of MS has cutum; but MS cutum The passage
belongs to the ritual of 'piling' (cuti) the fire-altar. In the same
context occurs:

citim acitim (KS ms faitm acitim, emended by von Schroeder) cinavad KS † °vo) vi vidvān RV TS KS Add to VV I §337 Cf. pree mā tvā ni kran pūrvacito (AV. °cittā, MS °cittau) nikārinah AV. VS TS. MS. KS. Lexical, but the reading with it seems to correspond better to what is expected (contrary to the view of Whitney and Keith). It refers to people who may 'get ahead of' us in the favor of the gods 'Having thoughts (devotion, or magic') first', or, in MS, 'in first thought': 'piling (the altar) first'.

§400. One case concerns different case-forms of the same stem.

varşman kşatrasya kakubhı (TB Conc °bhıh, Poona ed °bhı, MS kakubbhıh) śıśrıyānah (TB śrayasva) TS MS TB Loc sing instr plur. of kakubh The form kakubhıh is an impossible blend of the two, and should doubtless be removed from the text with Poona ed.; yet the comm seems to have read so (but he glosses uttamānge, as if loc)

§401. The rest are miscellaneous, and in part concern mere cor-

ruptions and false readings

nama ākhidate ce prakhidate ca VS MS KS. nama ākkhidate ca prakhidate ca TS The curious doubling in TS, is authorized by TPr 14 8, but the mss show all sorts of variations, see Whitney's note on TPr, and Weber's on TS 4 5 9 2

ayā san (ayāh san, ayās san) manasā hitah (MS kṛtiah, p p kṛtah, KS kṛtiah) MS. KS TB. ApŚ. ApMB HG. ayāsā manasā (vayasā) kṛtah AŚ ŚŚ Kauś. ayasā manasā dhṛtah ApŚ ApMB kṛttah is obviously a blunder Cf §402

viertiāya (VS viertāya) svāhā VS TS MS KSA viertāya probably an

error

nurtah (SS nurttah) purusād drtih AV SS The passage where this occurs is rank nonsense, and any reading will do as well as any other

vaisvānarah prainathā nākam āruhat (PB †āruha) AV PB TA ApŚ In all followed by diva-, āruhad is the actual reading PB has a phonetic simplification or corruption; a 2d sing impv is inappropriate (subject nominative, and parallel 3d person verb in last pāda) Add to VV I §332

phalāya, and phallāya, KhG bhalāya, and bhallāya, SMB GG See

879

samudrād udazanı vah (Ap\$ udacann ıva) srucā M\$ Ap\$ See §53 ımām narāh (narah) kṛnuta vedim etya (eta, etat), see §328

yamasya loke adhırajjur âyat (TA āya, MS. loke nıdhır ajarâya) AV MS TA Corruption in MS.

viviți (viciti, vivityai, viviștyai) svāhā, see §866

māyādevā avataran HG adevā devavattaram ApMB Several HG mss. read avattaram, pointing to probable corruption in its text

ava tara (TS avattaram) nadīşv ā VS TS MS KS SB : avattaro nadīnām AV. See §832

ışto yajño bhrqubhır drannodā yatıbhır (MS once yattibhır) āśīrdā... MS.† KS† ApІ The isolated yattibhır can only be a mistake

- pilvo (VS MS pidvo) nyañkuh kakkajas (MS kakujhas, TS kasas) . . VS TS MS
- daridra (TS °dran) nīlalohita VS TS. MS KS. SB Epithet of Rudra; the TS form apparently felt as a participle Keith, 'waster'.
- apā vrdhi parıvrlam (TB Conc °vrllım, comm °vrlım; Poona cd text and comm °vrlım) na rādhah RV. TB
- ātmāsy ālmann ātmānam (GB Conc ātmanātmānam) me mā hinsīh GB Vait. Kaus Gaastra reads correctly like the others for GB.
- rajam (AV Berlin ed rajjum, hy emend) granther dānam (AS dhānām) AV AS. Vait The emendation is prohably right, at least in giving the true original reading of the passage; but there is no variant Caland in his translation of Vait quotes it as reading rājam, perhaps by a slip
- jivebhyas tvā samude vāyur ındrah AV 8 1 15a Conc. says read sammude, hut Whitney would keep the text, analyzing with p p sam-ude 'conversation' The comm however connects the word with root mud If this were right the variant could be classed with \$306 Uncertain
- svarvido abhi gā adrim uşnan (SV ışnan) RV. SV. Conc. suggests muşnan in RV, see however Oldenberg, Noten, ad loc
- §402. Next we come to cases in which the vowel preceding the single or double consonant is long in both cases. Particularly interesting, as suggesting the Prakritic influence to which we alluded above, are cases where a secondary or corrupt reading appears with a single consonant after a long vowel, the proper form having double consonant. This seems to point towards a tendency to simplify double consonants in that position. Thus:
- sarvasmād devakilbişāt (VS °vişāt, LS eva kilb°) RV VS MS. LS ApS The LS obviously has a secondary lect fac, altho it makes good sense
- ayā (MS ayāh, KS ayās) san (KS ms ayāsā) manasā hilah (MS. kṛtlah, pp kṛtlah, KS kṛtlah) MS KS TB ApŚ ApMB HG: ayāsā manasā (AŚ vayasā) kṛtlah AŚ ŚŚ Kauś: ayasā manasā dhṛtlah ApŚ ApMB Cf §401
- jīvām tiebhyah parinīyamānām AV mṛtāya jīvām parinīyamānām TA Read mṛtebhyah in AV with some mss and SPP.
- sarvam nı şvāpayā janam RVKh AV Edgerton, AJP 35 439, has suggested şvāpayāj janam as the true reading
- $\S403$. There are several variations concerning the synonymous adverbs $pa\$c\bar{a}$ and $pa\$c\bar{a}t$, before following d— In the first, at least, the

form with double d is the older, so that the same tendency is involved: apaścāddaghvane (SV. apaścāda^o) nare (SV. naraḥ) RV. SV. TB. Apś. apaścāddaghvānnam (AV. apaścādaghvānnasya) bhūyāsam AV. MS Apś. MŚ.

paścādoṣāya glārinam VS.: paścāddosāya glāram TB.

§404. There is some confusion between pratitia (and $pari^o$), pple. of root $d\bar{a}$ in composition, and pratita ($pari^o$), similar form from root i in composition (and, once, an anomalous apratikam). In the first two cases the form with double t is the proper or original one, and the other may be a phonetic (Prakritic) simplification. In the other two the true reading has single t, and the double t is textually very dubious:

yai kusīdam apratītam (TS. "tūtam, and so TA. Poona ed., with v. l "tītam. SMB. apradattam) maycha (TS. mayn) TS MS. TA. MŚ. SMB.: aparnītyam apratītam yad asmi AV: yāny apāmītyāny apratītāny (TB. Poona ed "tītāny) asmī TB ApŚ. It seems that the original form must be apratītam, from pratī-dā (cf. SMB); but possibly the pple. of pratī-ī may be defended. So the comm. on TA. reads (apratītam), glossing na pratyarpītam.

syene paritto (VSK. parito) acarae ca prāte VS. VSK SB: syene vāta uta yo 'carat parittah AV. Here the true form is certainly from pari-dā.

apah siṣāsan srar (TB. ApŚ. surar) apratītaḥ (TB Conc "tīttaḥ, Poona ed text and comm "tītaḥ) RV. AV. KS TB. ApŚ Here the double t has no standing.

stuhi śūrari rajrinam apratīkam (TB. Conc. apratītam, Poona ed 'tītam)

MS TB. The only correct reading is apratītam 'invincible'. On

MS, see §138

§405. In the few remaining cases the doubling is secondary or corrupt: atrā (AV. tatra) yamaḥ sādanā (TA. °nāt) to minotu (AV. kṛṇotu) RV. AV. TA. A clear error in TA.: see note of Whitney-Lanman on AV.

ugrani prišyā (MS. ugrani pašyāc) ca rāṣṭrabhṛc ca tānī MS TA. Names of Apsarases The MS. has a corruption, probably due to mechanical form-assimulation to the final of rāṣṭrabhṛt, see §\$20.

nama ā' hidate ca prakhidate ca VS. MS. KS: nama āk! hi° ca prakkhi° ca TS. See §401.

spāna bhrājā°...VS. TS. SB KS. ApŠ: srāna bhrāj...TA.: srān nabhrād...KS.: surān nabhrād MS. MŠ Keith on TS. suggests srāna nabhrāj- as the original form.

- 2. Assimilation of two consonants to one double consonant
- §406. The variants seem to show clear traces of the common Middle Indic tendency to assimilate two adjoining consonants. Especially a semi-vowel or liquid is assimilated to a different consonant, and an adjoining different consonant is assimilated to a nasal. With these cases we shall group a few instances of the converse, in which the double consonant appears to be older than the two different consonants. Here we have then a sort of dissimilation, which indirectly points perhaps to a feeling of phonetic correspondence between two like consonants and a group consisting of one of them and (especially) a semi-vowel or liquid.
- §407. We begin with cases concerning r, the weakest of all the consonants (Geiger, $P\bar{a}li$ §51; Jacobi, Ausgewählte Erzählungen in Mähäräsir \bar{a} sir \bar{i} xxxi).
- usrāv (VSK KS usrā) elam ... anaśrū (KS anaśśū, v l. °⟨rū) ... brahmacodanau VS VSK TS KS. ŚB. MŚ See Keith on TS 1. 2. 8. 2; he points out that anaśśū, as well as anaśrū and anaśśrū, is capable of a kind of interpretation. Yet it is probably secondary, if not corrupt
- manyor mṛdhrasya (HG. mṛddhasya) nāśinī ApMB. HG.: manyoh krodhasya nāśanī PG Kirste suggests reading ṛddhasya, saying that manyoh seems superfluous. But the parallels show that manyoh is original and that HG has a phonetic assimilation in mṛd°.
- krīdī ca šākī cojjeṣī (ApŚ sākī tcorjiṣī ca) VS VSK ApŚ. Here the dissimilated form is secondary, it is no doubt vaguely felt as meaning 'food-seeking' (ūrj + root iṣ).
- ävat tam (TA read ävar tam, §873) ındrah sacyā dhamantam RV. AV. SV. KS TA
- §408. The next-weakest consonant, that is most apt to be assimilated to another consonant, in Pāli-Prakrit is y We have a number of cases concerning it, to them should be added a few cases of final ny varying with nn before an initial vowel, which really concern morphology but which we have placed with similar phenomena under Sandhi, §928
- abhinne khilye (TB khille) nidadhāti devayum RV. AV. TB. Comm. on TB. khilībhūte, the clearest possible case of purely phonetic assimilation
- duşvapnahan duruşyaha TA. Bibl. Ind : duşşvapnahan duruşşaha TA. Poona ed, text and comm : duhsvapnahan duruşvahā MahānU. See §255.
- aśvān anaśśato (KS †Ap\$ anaśyato, MS. van Gelder, anaśvato) dānam KS TA. Ap\$. M\$. See §255

- ud u tye (MS MS ud-ut te) madhumattamāh RV AV SV MS PB GB AS SS Vait MS The secondary MS MS reading involves substitution of te for the older tye
- yad annenātiroḥati RV ArS VS TA · yad anyenābhavat saha AV Here the form with ny is secondary, but interesting as pointing to the light pronunciation of y On the nonsensical reading of AV (the comm has annena) see Edgerton, Studies in Honor of Maurice Bloomfield 127
- pītā bhāsvaty anūpamā TA pītābhā syāt tanūpamā MahānU See §838 The assimilation is secondary
- capyam (TB. Poona ed cappam) na pāyur VS MS KS TB capya seems well established, tho etymologically obscure, cappam may be a graphic blunder.
- sūryācandramasau vrkyābhyām (KSA vrkkā°) TS KSA The TS form is a secondary and (as shown by Av vərəška) unhistorical form, dissimilatory in character, quite analogous to the preceding. It has caused quite unnecessary trouble for etymologists (cf. Uhlenbeck's plaintive query s v vrkka)
 - §409. A single case concerns l
- gavo gulgulugandhayah (Vait guggulu°) Vait KS ApS MS The usual Sanskrit form is guggulu, but gulgulu occurs so persistently in Vedic texts that one is constrained to accept it as the original form
- §410. As to v, it was already found involved in two cases mentioned in §408 Besides, we find.
- tan nas trāyatām tanvah sarvato (Ap\$ tan no višvato) mahat KS Ap\$ tan me tanvam trāyatām sarvato bihat AV An obvious secondary assimilation in Ap\$, assisted of course by the preceding tan nas
- yathāyatham nau tanvau (AŚ tanvā, MŚ tan nau) jātavedah KS AŚ MŚ The MŚ is obviously corrupt, no v l quoted
- mıtrāvarunā śaradāhnām (MS °hnā) cıkıtnū (MS cıkıttam, KS yıgatnū, AŚ cıkıtvam) TS MS KS AŚ See §45
- vršvavrdam (AV °do) vācam avršvamrnvām (AV avršvavrnnām) RV AV See §236
- apa durhārddiśo jahi Kauś Read °dvišo, the corruption may be graphic (§869)
- §411. Of cases concerning the assimilation of non-nasal consonants to adjoining nasals, there occur the following, besides one or two mentioned in the preceding sections as concerning semi-vowels
- aganma yatra pratiranta (MG prataram na, mss °ran na) āyuh RV AV MG

- dawyā (AV dawā) hotāro (TS. °rā, AV. °rah) vanuşanta (TS vani°, KS † vanişan na, AV. sanışan na) pūrve (AV. KS. etat) RV. AV TS. KS
- akşatam arışlam ılāndam SMB: akşatam asy arışlam ılānnam gopāyanam ŚG Epithets of the cow; cf the cow-name ılāndā, MS. 4 2 1: 22 7, 10, and 4 2. 7: 28 12 Altho SMB comm. says ılāndam ılānnam kṣīrādılakṣanam, it is probable that both this explanation and ŚG's form are due to secondary etymologizing
- yad ejati jagati yac ca ceşlati nāmno (Mahān U. nānyo) bhāgo yan (TAA. Poona ed 'yam) nāmne (Mahān U. yatnān me, v l yan nāmne) svāhā TAA Mahān U. Here probably Mahān U. is secondary if not corrupt, and the (partially) assimilated form with two nasals is original.
- ukṣantūdnā maruto ghṛtena AV 3. 12 4 So Conc, with Whitney's Transl, the comm, and SPP. But according to Whitney no ms reads so, except one of SPP's śrotriyas; most of them have °ūnnā, a few °ūtnā Ppp (Barret, JAOS 32 366) has °ūnā See §183.
- [svāhākṛtasya sam u tṛpnuta ṛbhavah (TB. Conc tṛnnutarbh°; ApŚ and TB Poona ed tṛpnutarbh°) RV. TB. ApŚ tṛnnu° probably mis-print]
- §412. When a final mute is followed by an initial masal, the rules of external sandhi require nasalization of the mute—Lack of assimilation is here the exception, not the rule. But it occurs in a couple of cases: sahasrāpsāh prtanāṣān (SV °ṣād) na yajñah RV. SV.
- anustum (MS 'tub) mutrasya (GB. Vait add paini) MS. KS. GB Vait It is perhaps not accidental that both the sounds here concerned are of very rare occurrence as finals.
- §413. In a case or two m at the end of a reduplicating syllable, or absolutely final, is alternatively assimilated to a following n, or remains anusvara. This may be merely a matter of writing:
- devya (ApŚ dwyā) āpo nannamyadhvam (KŚ namnamº).. PB KŚ
- vājasya hi prasave (TS. °vo) nannamīti (TS. namna°) TS. MS KS ā yam (MS MS āyan) narah sudānavo dadāšuse RV. TS MS KS AS MS Lect fac in MS MS (verb form, 'they have come').
- §414. Conversely, before initial m, final n varies with anusvāra. But two cases are purely morphological, concerning the mass. and neuter (adverbial) forms tam and tad (tan); and the third is regarded by Whitney and the Conc as a mere corruption:
- tam (MS tan) mā devā avantu sobhāyar (MS °y1) TS MS. TA

tan (JB tam) mā punsı kartary erayadhvam JB KBU trıta etan manusyesu māmrje TB; trta enam manusyesu mamrje AV.

Conc and Whitney's note say, read enan with SPP. At any rate a neuter and not a masculine form is intended

§415. Finally we come to assimilation of other consonants to adjoining mutes. In every case a preceding mute may be regarded as assimilated to a following mute (precisely as in Prakrit), with one exception which is extraordinary and may be corrupt, in it a following nasal (I) seems to be assimilated to a preceding mute:

sısum nadīnām harım adrıbudhnam (TS "buddham) VS TS MS. KS

SB Keith assumes adribudhnam in his translation

§416. The other cases present the order of sounds which would be expected as a basis for assimilation. Nevertheless in several of them the dissimilated form is historically secondary. All happen to belong also in §139, where they are discussed individually, there is, then, no need to repeat them here

§416a. To complete the subject of assimilation and dissimilation, as it appears among the variants, a general remark may be added on the not very numerous traces of assimilation and dissimilation of vowels, details of which will be found in later parts of this book. We shall find some signs of a tendency towards u coloring in vowels associated with labial consonants. This appears in the variation of av with uv, §§601-4, and in that of r with ru, §§678-80. We have also noted, among the variants of u with a and v, what appear to be sporadic cases of assimilation to, or dissimilation from, similar vowels in adjoining syllables. These will be found in §§605, 607, 609, 622-4

3. Simplification of Consonaut Groups

§417. Under this heading there are first one or two special cases to be distinguished. On the insertion of t and k after final n and \bar{n} before a sibilant, see §§938 f. On the optional dropping of a mute etymologically required between a nasal and another consonant, see Whitney, Grammar §231; Wackernagel I §233a. The dropping of the mute is required by APr 2 20. The VPr 6 30 requires it before a voiced mute, the variants show also a case where the dropping occurs before a voiceless mute in writing, but as this case involves dropping of t before another t, it may be considered merely a matter of writing a double consonant as single after a nasal (§389). The other Prätisäkhyas ignore it. All texts seem to show it sporadically. But editorial as well as scribal vagaries have helped to make the record of little value. Note Weber's disregard of the

TS mss in the first two variants, which is typical; other less conscientious editors have doubtless been equally arbitrary, without troubling to record the actual readings of their mss

§418. We quote the following variants for what they are worth, which in our opinion is not much, for the reasons just stated:

brhaspate tyāmyām (KS ms. °yā emend. °yām) yungdhi (AS. yundhi) vācam TS MS. KS AS. But practically all mss. of TS yundhi.

parwyādhi (TS MS ŚB °vrāgdhi) harasā... VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. But here too all mss of TS. vrādhi: and so p.p. of MS.

ādityam garbham payasā sam añgdhi (VS añdhi, TS, KS. añjan) VS TS MS KS SB.

athāmṛtena jarıtāram aūdhı (ApŚ. aūgdhi) TB ApŚ. But TB. Poons ed aūgdhı, text and comm

sucir ankte (SV. ante) sucibhir gobhir agnih RV. SV.

yah pauruşeyena kravışā samankie (AV. samanie) RV. AV. Kaus

udno (VS MS apo) dattodadhım bhintta (VS. MS bhınta) VS TS. MS.: udno dehy udadhım fbhındhı KS

sunddhı (PG MG and v 1 of ApMB. sundhi) sıro māsyāyuh pra moşīh AG. PG ApMB MG

ayam sa śrākle (AV. śiāte) yena gaur abhīvṛtā 1.V. AV. JB N.

sampasyan pañktīr (AV. pañtım) upatışlhamānah RV. AV.

achā vīram naryam panktīrādhasam (SV. panti*) RV. SV. VS. MS. SB TA.

[pānktrah (KSA em †pānktah) kašo mānthīlavas (KSA. †man°) te priņnām (KSA †pitrīnām) TS KSA. The mss of both texts all read pāmtra, intending pāntra; TS comm pāmtra-kašān, as a dvandva]

§419. There remains a miscellaneous group of cases in which a consonant is alternatively present or absent in a group of consonants, numbering three (or two at the beginning of the word) when the evanescent consonant is present. We do not include here cases in which the variant consonant is a nasal, a semi-vowel, a liquid, or a sibilant, since these have been treated in Chapter IX (Such cases are common when the evanescent consonant is y or v, see §§314-5, 321-2, 332-7, 357, 367, 370.) The only prominent group which stands out among them concerns derivatives of the roots su and stu The ritualistic use of these words is such that the interchange is easy; there are many situations in which suta and stuta, soma and stoma will do about equally well: girah somah (SV. gira stomān) pavamāno manīşāh RV. SV. Here there

is a change in syntax, but of the next, where there is none?

- ghrtāhutah somapṛṣṭhah (MS stomao) suvīrah AV MS stomapṛṣṭho ghṛtavān supratīkah KS TB † 3 7 2 7b, AS ApS The originality of AV is supported by the RV. epithet somapṛṣṭha (fashioned on the model of ghṛṭapṛṣṭha)
- apsu dhautasya te deva soma nrbhih (TS tr. soma deva te) sutasya (KS siu°, MS ştu°) TS MS KS PB: apsu dhūtasya deva soma te maturdo nrbhi ştutastotrasya (AS nrbhih sutasya) AS SS
- nārāšansena stomena (RV somena) RV VS TS MS KS AB SB LS. Kauś See Oldenberg, ZDMG 54 54 and 56, Hillebrandt, Lieder des RV 124 Grassmann would emend RV to stomena, but this is undoubtedly a later lectio facilior
- [sutā (mss stutā) mayā varadā vandamānā (mss vedamātā) AV: stuto mayā varadā vedamātā TAA Whitney's Translation abandons the unfortunate emendations of the AV edition. Weber, ISt 2. 144, discusses the TAA passage, he would understand stuto as stutā-u]
 - §420. The rest need no subdivision.
- parijmā cit kramate (AS SS cid ramate) asya dharmani AV AS SS 'Even a wanderer walks (rejoices) in his (Savitar's) ordinance' Whitney's note implies that he regards ramate as a preferable reading, to us it seems merely a lect fac
- tam tvam višvebhyo devebhyah kratūn (KS °bhya rtūn) kalpaya KS ApS Apparently KS has the true reading, cf Caland on ApS 10 25 1, kratūn is suggested by the following phrase, daksināh kalpaya
- ahorāirābhyām puruşah samena (GB.* kṣanena) GB. (both) ŠB. yena śriyam akṛnutām PG yena striyam akṛnutam (ŚŚ striyāv akurutam) ŚŚ SMB GG śriyam is clearly a secondary simplification
- with phonetic aspects brhann asi brhadravā (TS KS brhadgrāvā, MS brhadrāyāh, MŚ brhad-
- brhann ası brhadravā (TS KS brhadrava, MS br
- śumbhānas (KS stam°) tanvam (TB tanuvam, SV †tanvām) svām RV SV MS KS TB 'Adorning (establishing) his own person'
- anyavratasya (TA anyadvra') saścima (TA °mah, Poona ed °ma, RV saścire) RV VS MS SB TA Tho the comm on TA takes anyadvratasya as two words, accent and sense agree in showing that it was felt as one, anyad is the 'stem' form
- māteva putram bibhrtā sv (VS SB bibhrtāpsv) enat (TS KS enam) VS TS MS KS SB The verse is addressed to the waters, which accounts for the secondary change of VS SB

- namah śuşkyāya (MS śuşyāya) ca harityāya ca VS TS MS KS. Von Schroeder thinks MS is probably to be emended to śuşkyāya, but it may be the true reading (a phonetic simplification)
- bhayam sīlimabhyām (KSA ° madbhyām) TS KSA Stems in -man -mant; obscure names for some part of the horse's body
- §421. In some cases an initial consonant, or even two initial consonants are dropped altogether (or added).
- kṛtān nah pāhy anhasah (TA enasah) MS TA: ṛtān mā muñcatānhasah
 TB The latter is poor, comm rlāt prāptāt tasmād anhasah
- rtasya dhāmno amrtasya yoneh TS. rtasya yonem mahişasya dhārām VS KS SB ghrtasya dhārām mahişasya yonem MS: ef ghrtasya dhārām amitasya panthām TS KS ApS. Ritualistic rigmarole The MS pāda may be a blend of the other two, both of which are found in KS
- śravo (RV. VS. avo) devasya sānası (TS. TA. °sim) RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. TA
- stavāno (VS TS KS SB avā no) devyā kṛpā (VS SB dhiyā) RV VS TS MS KS SB avā no is a facile and shpshod substitution.
- āyobhavyāya (AG māyo°) catuşpadī AG ŠG: catvārī māyobhavāya TB ApŠ ApMB SMB PG HG. The ŚG is obviously secondary and poor, it must be understood as a quasi-derivative from āyu(s).
- yāsām agnīr iştyā (KSA niştyā) nāmānī veda RV TS KSA The KSA reading is an attempt to 'correct' an obscure passage 'Whose names Agni knows by the sacrifice'. 'whose foreign (external) names Agni knows'
- erum tundānā patyeva jāyā AV.: perum tuñjānā patyeva jāyā TS. The original form of eru peru is unknown, it probably means the male organ.
- purudasmo vişurüpa (KS. purudasmavad visvarüpam) ınduh VS KS SB.· urudrapso visvarüpa ınduh TS. ApS Synonyms
- madhvā (VS adhvā) rajānsīndrīyam VS MS KS TB. Comm. on VS madhvā, the only possible reading Is adhvā a misprint?
- [lvayā jvasena sam ašīmahi tvā ŠG.: tvayāvasena etc TS KS TB AŠ MŠ Kauš SMB PG jvasena is a misprint, corrected SBE 29 98, note]

CHAPTER XI. VARIATIONS BETWEEN SHORT AND LONG A

§422. The outstanding feature of these variants is the light they throw on the matter of rhythmic lengthening, and, to a less extent, rhythmic shortening. They are supported in these respects to a much smaller degree by the variations between short and long i and i, recorded in the next chapter.—In §§300–2 we have referred to variations between \bar{a} and short a plus nasal, they will not be repeated here. See likewise §§395–8 for the same variation before single and double consonants

§423. Particularly important are the cases in which the variant vowel is final, either absolutely, or in the seam of a compound, or before a suffix that is treated as if it were a part of a compound. It is in these that we detect most clearly the lengthening of a short vowel due to sentence rhythm. We shall present them first, following them with variations between initial and medial long and short a, in stem formations of nouns and verbs (where we still seem to find traces of rhythmic lengthening), and in inflexional elements (where it seems to be virtually non-existent). Finally there will be presented a group of purely lexical and miscellaneous variants of non-final a and \bar{a}

§424. In all these classes there are instances of shortening as well as lengthening; that is, cases in which \bar{a} , not short a, is historically the more original, not to speak of different formative elements where both forms may be justified. Shortenings of \bar{a} before more than one consonant seem occasionally to suggest the Prakritic tendency to shorten long vowels in closed syllables (cf. §§393 ff.). But other considerations usually enter in, so that the extent of this purely phonetic shortening is problematic.

§425. The relation of rhythmic lengthening to meter is well stated by Wackernagel I §26ba. The poets make free use of the license to lengthen a final short a in syllables where the meter requires a long But fundamentally it is a matter not of metrical requirements but of sentence rhythm. Among lengthenings of final short a which can with certainty be regarded as rhythmic, the majority do not occur in syllables required to be long by meter. As stated by Wackernagel, the rhythmic lengthening is prehistoric and occurred originally when the syllable would otherwise be short (that is, when a single consonant followed the vowel), and when the neighboring syllables were short,

especially the following one. Analogical extension has obscured without obliterating the original conditions.

1. Final a and a

§426. Under this head are included a and \bar{a} not only as absolute finals in a word, but also as stem-finals in parts of compounds, or before such suffixes as vant (treated as compounds in respect of sandhi), or even in the reduplicating syllable, which as regards sandhi behaves in the same way, the it may be regarded as closing the gap between final and medial conditions. But to avoid possible vitiation of results thru this grouping, we shall separate the absolutely from the relatively final cases

§427. To show the precise extent of genuine rhythmic lengthening, some further distinctions will be necessary. In some of the words concerned, the regular final is \bar{a} , not short a, either in all periods of the language, or at least in the earliest. In others, both a and ā can be more or less justified morphologically or lexically, or the lengthening may have been assisted by some formal analogy. Take as an instance the gerund ending ya or yā Altho ya prevails entirely in the later language, ya is much the commoner in RV., and is probably the older form (a stereotyped instrumental case-form; whether ya is to be regarded as an originally distinct ending, not identical with $y\bar{a}$, need not here be discussed; cf. Wackernagel III p 34 f. and references in small Or again, the instrumental singular ending of a-stems print there) (ena) often ends in \bar{a} ; it is at least possible that other instrumental forms in \bar{a} may be concerned in this (as suggested by Wackernagel I p. 312 infra; rather different is the implication of III p 92). Obviously such forms must be separated from cases of purely rhythmic lengthening We shall therefore begin with-

(a) Absolutely final a, originally short, varying with rhythmically lengthened \bar{a}

§428. Here we include thirty-eight variants in which the lengthening is certainly secondary and seems due to the sole and exclusive operation of the law of sentence rhythm, at least there is no apparent morphological or analogical justification for it. The principle is ably discussed by Wackernagel I §§264-6. The pada-pāṭhas regard the lengthening as one of sentence rhythm, for they regularly substitute short a. Their opinion is confirmed by the fact that the lengthening practically never occurs at the end of a pāda or sentence, nor, in TS, at the end of a

handthā (Wackernagel 1 §265a, note); of VV I p 174. Originally it depended on the quantity of the surrounding syllables—The typical case was that in which final a followed by a single consonant (so that the syllable was light) was both preceded and followed by light syllables. This succession of three light syllables was avoided by lengthening the a.

§429. Most of the cases are verb forms ending in a: thirteen of the 2d sing impv. -a, eight of 2d plur. -ta and -tha, two of 2d sing, middle -sia, four of 1st plur. -ma, and one each of 1st sing perfect -a, 2d sing perfect -tha, and 2d plur. perfect -a There are seven other easest two of sma and pra, and one each of ca, uta, adva, and sapta. On $pr\bar{r}$, probably not to be connected with IE *pr \bar{r} , see §§439, 449, 465.

§430. No school tendencies are revealed by the variants. Late and popular texts replace an older or hieratic a by \bar{a} , and vice versa, with perfect indifference. But some general considerations suggest themselves:

§431. First: the variant word never occurs at the end of a pida or sentence, except in one or two peculiar cases (Note that in AV. 19–39. 10d $suv\bar{a}$ is a misprint for suva, see Whitney's note, the pāda is repeated without variant from AV. 5–22. 3d) One exception has been explained in VV I p 174: vanaspate 'ra $srj\bar{a}$ (KS. srja) AV. VS TS. MS KS. For another see $mh\bar{u}ram$ etc., §446

§432. Secondly: only once does the lengthened syllable occur before an initial vowel, leaving histus:

endra somain pubā imam RV. AV. SV. MS: indra somam umain puba RV. ŠŠ Here indeed one might be tempted to understand pubās in the first form; but p p. of RV. MS both puba. Cf. Oldenberg, Noten on S 17. 1,

§433. Thirdly: Otherwise the word following the $a\bar{a}$ always begins with a single consonant, except in two cases, in both of which the \bar{a} is secondary (AV.; short a RV.) and seems due to special reasons. In both cases, as its happens, the following word is pra. We are not inclined to see any significance in the conjunction mute plus liquid (as if this group failed to make the preceding syllable heavy); possibly more important is the fact that p is a labial consonant (cf. §464):

ut tishhata (AV. Kauś. °tā) pra taratā sakhāyaḥ RV. AV. VS. ŚB. TA. Kauś The ā may be attracted to match the ending of taratā, where ā is in every way regular and demanded by the meter.

thota (AV. °tā) pra ca tishata RV. AV. VS TA This pīda of AV. (18 2 2b) is RV. 10 14. 14b; the preceding one is RV. 10. 14. 15a (these two RV. verses are jumbled in AV., see Whitney-Lanman).

yamāya madhumattamam But further, RV. 7. 102 3b has juhotā madhumattamam, the first word is the first word of AV. 18 2. 2b, and the second is the last word of the preceding pāda. Apparently the secondary ā of AV juhotā is a reminiscence of juhotā RV. 7 102 3b, where the ā is regular, in that RV. passage it was immediately followed by madhumattamam, in AV. it is immediately preceded by that word.

§434. With these, the only two real exceptions, are to be compared two others in which two following consonants are or seem to be concerned:

ekayā ca dašabhiš ca svabhūte (AV cā suhūte) AV. VS MS SB TA. AS. SS Both are regular, in AV cā plus one consonant, in the others ca plus two.

agne purisyādhipā bhava (TS bhavā) tvam nah VS TS MS. KS. SB. Intended for a tristubh pāda Perhaps tvam is surplusage, whether it is or not, a long syllable is required by the meter before it, and tvam (if kept at all) must be read tvam But since vocalic y and v do not count as consonants for the purposes of the law of rhythmic lengthening (Wackernagel I §265a, note), the ā is not followed by two consonants and the lengthening is demanded. It is the other texts, with bhava, that are irregular.

§435. Fourthly, as to the quantity of the surrounding syllables, the variants do not support quite so strikingly the principle stated above, that they should both be short. We may remember that, in fact, one form of the variant always keeps short a. In about half the variants the preceding syllable is long. The following syllable conforms better; it is short in about three fourths of the cases. In eight cases both the adjoining syllables are long. In five of these, the older form of the variant has short a, but in the other three \bar{a} is older. It is, however, probably not accidental that in six of the eight cases the following syllable is an enclitic pronoun, that is a 'light word', lacking in accentual prominence, even the metrically long. It is also worth noting that in half the cases the variant vowel is in the second syllable of the pāda; this is a favorite position for rhythmic lengthening, as we shall presently see

§436. The eight cases where long syllables both precede and follow are:

hinva (Vait °vā) me gātrā (KŚ. gātrānī) harivah TS Vait KŚ. ApŚ. MŚ Lengthening only in the late and pseudo-hieratic Vait pary ū şu pra dhanva (AV. °vā) vājasātaye RV. AV. SV. KS AB ŚB. Lengthening secondary

abhi vānīr rsīnām sapta (SV °tā) nūsata RV. SV.

vidma (Kauś text °mä; read °ma with AV.?) te svapna janitram AV. Kauś (pratika only).

adha sma (MS smā) te vrajanam kṛṣṇam astı (MS. astu, KS. °nam astu kṛṣṇam) RV. SV. VS TS MS. KS. SB Lengthening secondary. vidmā te nāma (AV vidma te dhāma) paramam guhā yat RV. AV. VS TS

MS KS ŠB ApMB.

astı hı şmā (TS MS. KS astu sma) te suşmını avayāh RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

adyā (SV GG Svidh. adya) no deva savītah RV. SV AB KB AA TA. MahānU AS, SS ApS AG SG. GG. Svidh.

§437. The only other cases of a following long syllable, not final in its pada, are:

vahā (TB. N vaha) devatrā didhişo (MS. dadh°) havīnşi MS KS TB N. upa (MS utā) no mitrāvarunāv ihāvatam (MS °ņā ihāgatam) MS. TB. TA

ndrasya nu vīryāni pra vocam (AV nu pra [read prā, §449] vocam vīr°) RV. AV. MS ArS AB KB TB. AA N. Note that ā is clearly secondary and is followed by a labial consonant (§464).

§438. In quoting the full list of these variants we shall classify them according to the position which the variant syllable occupies in the verse All but one of the thirty-eight variants are metrical; and that one is cadenced prose and imitates a tristubh pada. In two cases the order of words is so changed that the variant syllable occurs in different positions Of the rest, the variation occurs most often in the 2d, 3d. and 4th syllables of the pada, viz, six, four, and six times respectively It occurs three times in the fifth syllable of tristubh-lagati pādas before the cesura, and once as the initial syllable, so that it occurs twenty times in the first part of the verse, and fifteen in the last But of these sixteen, eleven concern the eighth syllable and two the tenth, one case each concerns the seventh and ninth syllables of jagati padas, and the sixth of an anustubh This summary indicates that, except where metrical requirements have caused the lengthening, the occurrences tend to be pretty closely restricted to the first part of the verse, and specifically to the second, third, and fourth syllables (and the fifth when that precedes the cesura) In the last part they occur as a rule only when the meter requires a long syllable

§439. In the first syllable of a padar

pra (KS prā) na āyur jīvase soma tārīh RV KS AB GB Vait MŚ It is unlikely that a rather late text like KS has preserved a historic representative of IE *prō. Cf. pra (prō) smā mināty (minoty) ajarah, §512, which probably belongs here, and §449.

§440. In the second syllable:

hinva (Vait. °vā) me gātrā (KŚ. gātrāni) harīvah TS. Vait KŚ. ApŚ. MŚ. vahā (TB N. vaha) devatrā didhişo (MS dadh') havīnşi MS. KS. TB N. vidmā te nāma (AV. vidma te dhāma) paramam guhā yat RV. AV VS TS. MS KS. ŚB. ApMB

vidma (Kauś °mā) te svapna janitram AV Kauś.

adyā (SV. GG Svidh adya) no deva santah RV. SV. AB KB. TB AA. TA MahānU AS SS. ApS AG. SG GG. Svidh

upa (MS. utā) no mitrāvarunāv ihāvatam (MS °nā ihāgatam) MS. TB. TA. §441. In the third syllable:

juhota (AV °tā) pra ca tışlhata RV. AV VS TA

pretā (TS upa preta) jayatā narah RV. SV. AV. VS TS Read pra-itā in RV. etc TS seems to have tried to improve the meter, but only makes it worse

janışvā (MS °şva, RV. KS. °şļa) hı jenyo agre ahnām RV. TS MS. KS. ApS.

adha sma (MS smā) te vrajanam krṣnam astı (MS. astu, KS. °nam astu krṣnam) RV. SV VS TS MS KS SB.

§442. In the fourth syllable:

varıvasya mahāmaha (SV. °syā mahonām) RV. SV.

tam ā prna (TB. prnā) vasupate vasūnām RV TB

ut tışthata (AV Kauś °tā) pra taratā sakhāyah RV. AV VS SB. TA. Kauś See §433

ā juhotā (TB. ApŚ °ta) duvasyata RV ŚB TB ApŚ (pratika)

ramayata (KS °tā) marutah syenam āyınam (MS. marutah pretam vājınam) TS KS ApS MS Three mss of KS. ramayata

astı hı şmā (TS MS KS astu sma) te suşmının avayāh RV. VS. TS. MS. KS SB

§443. In the fifth syllable, before the cesura:

udīrayathā (MS MŚ. °tā, AV. KS °ta) marutah samudratah RV. AV TS. MS KS. AŚ.

yatrā naś cakrā (Conc cakra for KS with one ms, but ed cakrā with others) jarasam lanūnām RV VS MS. KS. GB SB ApS ApMB. HG.

prānco agāma (TA prānjo 'gāmā) nītaye hasāya RV, AV, TA.

§444. In the sixth syllable of anustubh:

ındra somam pibā ımam RV. AV. SV. MS.. ındra somam ımam piba RV. SS See §432.

- §445. In the seventh syllable of jagati
- pary ū şu pra dhanva (AV dhanvā) vājasātaye RV AV SV KS AB ŠB The third syllable after the cesura in tristubh-jagatī meter tends to be long
 - §446. In the eighth syllable of tristubh-jagatī
- apo devīr upa sīja (MS sījā) madhumatīh VS TS MS KS SB
- brhaspate parı dīyā (TS dīya) rathena RV AV SV VS TS MS KS No real variant, since dīyā ends a kandikā in TS , see §428 and VV I p 174
- agne purīṣyādhvpā bhava (TS bhavā) tvam nah VS TS MS KS SB An ırregular verse, which psychologically belongs here unless tvam be deleted, see §434
- vanaspate 'va srjā (KS srja) AV VS TS MS KS Also belongs here properly, see §431 and VV I p $\,174$
- dyumaniam śuşmam ā bharā (SV bhara) svarvidam RV SV
- adılsan vā (MS dhipsyam vā, TB yad vādāsyan) samjagara (TB °jagārā, MS °cakara) janebhyah MS TB TA
- vayam rāstre jāgryāma (MS†KS†°mā, MS pp and TS jāgriyāma) purohitāh VS VSK TS MS KS
- yasmād yoner udārīthā (KS °tha) yaje (MS KS yajā) tam RV. VS TS MS KS SB
- sapta yonīr (KS yonīnr) ā pṛnasva (TS KS TB °svā) ghṛtena VS TS MS KS ŚB TB
- ekayā ca dašabhīs ca svabhūte (AV cā suhūte) AV VS MS ŠB TA AŠ ŠŠ
- bhagemām dhıyam ud ayā (TB \dagger ApMB \dagger ava) dadan nah RV AV. VS TB ApMB
- nuhāram in nu me hara (TS †harā) TS KS The TS form is quoted as a case of lengthened final a in TPr 3 12, the actual quotation there includes the following word nuhāram, which is the initial of the next pāda. There is no doubt of the pāda-division; the pāda is anuṣṭubh, not triṣṭubh. But the lengthening of a final in its pāda is so utterly anomalous that one of two things must be assumed. Either the lengthening was due to a careless assumption that the pāda was triṣṭubh (including the following nuhāram), or (and this we believe is the correct explanation), the real reading intended in the samhitā-pātha is not hara but harās, subj. and not imperative. This was wrongly analyzed by the pp as hara, and hence arose the TPr rule on the subject. This variant should then be added to VV I §152. We do not count it in our figures for this section.

§447. In the minth syllable of jagati-

abhı vānīr rşīnām sapta (SV °tā) nūşata RV. SV.

§448. In the tenth syllable of tristubh:

- vīrebhir aśvair maghavā bhavā (TS °va) nah RV. VS. TS. MS. KS No true variant, since bhava ends a kandikā in TS; ef §428 and VV I p. 174.
- gharmam pāta vasavo yajata (TA °tā, MS °trā) vāṭ (MS veṭ, TA vaṭ) VS MS ŚB TA Cadenced prose, imitating trisṭubh meter; hence lengthening secondarily in TA Note that TA is the only text that has a short vowel in the following syllable

§449. Different syllables, with change of meter:

- idam me prāvatā vacah RV VS TS KS TB: oṣadhayah prāvata vācam me MS: asyā avata vīryam Kauś Where the lengthening occurs it is favored by its metrical position.
- undrasya nu vīryāni pra vocam (AV nu pra vocam vīr°, but most mss, SPP, and Whitney Transl prā for pra) RV AV. ArS MS. AB KB TB AA N—Ppp (Barret, JAOS 48 47f) like RV On prā cf. §439 and 437
- (b) Words in which absolutely final a varies with \ddot{a} , the \ddot{a} being capable of more or less justification on formal grounds
- §450. Here other considerations enter in and make it impossible to regard the law of rhythmic lengthening as the sole determinant, althout remains an important and perhaps in many cases the decisive factor. We include here adverbs in tra or $tr\tilde{a}$; adverbs in tha or $th\tilde{a}$, dha or $dh\tilde{a}$; gerunds in ya or $y\tilde{a}$, instrumentals from a stems in na or $n\tilde{a}$; and neuter nom-accs in ma or $m\tilde{a}$; also one variant of acha $ach\tilde{a}$. It is noteworthy that in nearly all the cases, except the gerunds (in which the ending $y\tilde{a}$ is probably older than ya), the variant vowel occurs in the second syllable of the pada (cf. §438). Furthermore, it nearly always (with only one exception) is followed by a word beginning in a single consonant. Except in the case of gerunds, it never comes at the end of a pada
- §451. Adverbs in tra trā, viz yatra, tatra, atra There is a suffix trā, whose independence of tra seems indicated by a difference of accent (Whitney, Grammar, §1099a), the former is accented on the suffix, the latter on the stem So far as we have noted, our variant forms in trā always accent the stem Still, the existence of the trā-suffix cannot be ignored in considering these variations. While they are probably to be regarded as primarily rhythmic lengthenings, some influence from the suffix trā may be at least suspected.

§452. In all eight cases the adverb comes at the beginning of the pāda, so that the variant syllable is second — It is always followed by a single consonant; the following syllable is short three times, long five times. In nearly all cases the older version has \bar{a}

yatrā (MS. *yatra, AV. *yenā) nah (AV *te) pūrve pıtarah paretāh (RV. MS.* pareyuh) RV AV. (bis) MS (tris).

yairā sapia rṣīn (TS KS yaira sapiarṣīn) para ekam āhuḥ RV. VS TS MS KS. N.

yatrā (TS yatra) suhārdah sukrto madantı (TS. °te) AV. TS

atrā (AV. tatra) yamah sādanā (TA °nāt) te minotu (AV kṛnotu) RV. AV.†
TA

tatrā sadah (SV. tatra yonım) kṛṇavase RV. SV. KS

 $tatr\bar{a}$ (SV tatra) no brahmaṇaspatih RV. SV.: tatra undro brhaspatih VS

yatra (SV. yatrā) devā iti bravan (SV bruvan) RV. SV

atrā (VS atra) jahīmo (RV TA jahāma, AV jahīta) ye asann asevāh (AV. asīvāh, and asan durevāh; VS SB 'sīvā ye asan) RV AV. VS. SB. TA

§453. Adverbs in tha, thā, and dha, dhā Among the variants are found only atha, athā, adha, adhā, and one case of ittha, ithā Here there is less reason for assuming rhythmic lengthening, or more reason for suspecting formal analogy, because most adverbs of this type regularly have \bar{a} The only form that usually ends in tha is atha, and adha is the only one usually ending in dha. The numerous forms in thā and dhā may therefore be supposed to have had some influence in producing the (not uncommon) forms athā and adhā. There is this time no difference in accent. The ithā itha variant really belongs below, with §477, since the word regularly has \bar{a}

§454. In the seven atha and adha variants, the adverb is always initial in the pāda. The following word begins with a single consonant in every case but one, but the following syllable is long also in every case but one

atha (AV adhā) māsı punar āyāla no grhān AV HG

adha (TB adhā) vāyum nıyutah sascata svāh RV VS MS TB

atha viśve arapā edhate grhah TS: adhā viśvāhārapa edhate grhe VS atha jivrīr (read jirvīr, see Whitney) vidatham ā vadāsi AV.. athā jīvrī...ApMB: adhā jīvrī vidatham ā vadāthah RV

adha syāma (MS. athā syāta) surabhayo (ApŚ corruptly, syām asur ubhayor) grheşu AV MS KS ApŚ.

athā (AV atha) devānām vasanīr bhavāti RV AV. TA.

athā (TS.* atha) bhava yajamānāya sam yoh RV. TS MS KS. AS. No true variant, the short a once in TS (3 2 11. 2) is due to the fact that the word happens to end a kandikā; see §428. This shows that after all the lengthening to athā was at least partly rhythmic, and felt as a matter akin to sandhi

§455. For completeness we add here the single ease of *itthā* varying with *ittha* The latter is not recorded in the lexicons, tho it occurs in this variant in four texts. It is, however, clearly analogical, due to thought of *atha*. Of course the original and regular form is *itthā*, and the variant properly belongs with shortening of original final ā, §477: *ihettha* (AV °*thā*) prāg apāg udag adharāk AV. GB AS SS Vart

§456. Gerunds in ya yā 'Aecording to Whitney, Grammar §993a, 'fully two thirds' of the RV forms in ya have \bar{a} , as if instr sing forms of i or ti stems. This, together with the fact that these $y\bar{a}$ gerunds are not governed by the laws which govern rhythmic lengthening, indicates that the variation is of a different sort. It is likely that the gerund ending was originally $y\bar{a}$, and that the later regular ending ya is secondary.

§457. In a majority of the variants the gerund occurs at the end of a pāda, a striking proof that we are not dealing with rhythmic lengthening: hiranyayāt pari yoner nişadyā (MS °ya) RV MS Ap\$

vanaspate raśanayā niyūyā (MS °ya, KS TB raśanayābhidhāya) RV.

MS KS TB AS N

viśvā agne abhryujo vihatyā (AV TB °ya) RV AV MS KS TB rudrāh samstyya (MS °yā, TS ApŚ sambhrtya) prthivīm VS TS MS. KS ŠB ApŚ

mitrah samsiyya (MS °ya) prihivim VS TS MS KS SB ApS

§458. Instrumentals of a-stems in na nā In the few variants occurring under this head we may suspect that the analogical influence of other instrumental forms in \bar{a} assisted the tendency to rhythmic lengthening of the a There are only four cases, three of which concern the pronouns tena and yena, these three forms are initial in their pādas. In the remaining case the variant vowel is in the eighth syllable of a tristubh pāda, so that the meter requires a long, which RV. has, while SV. substitutes short a against the meter—In all four cases the next word begins with a single consonant, and the following syllable is short: havir gribhih kāvyenā (SV ona) karih san RV. SV

tenā (AV TB Poona ed and MS ed tena, but all mss of MS tenā) sahasrakāndena AV TB ApS. MS: tena vayam sahasravalšena TB ApS

tena (AV tenā) vayam bhagavantah syāma RV AV. VS. TB ApMB.

yena vahası sahasram VS MS. ŠB · yenā (KS yena) sahasram vahası AV TS KS. Vait

§459. Nominatives and accusatives neuter (or nom masc) in ma $m\bar{a}$ (once, $a\bar{a}$) Here the phenomena of noun declension play a rôle Sometimes a change of gender is certain or possible (masc \bar{a} . neut a) Sometimes there is a change of number altho the ending short a in the neuter plural is twice as common as \bar{a} (Whitney, Grammar §425d), nevertheless \bar{a} is in a sense characteristic of the plural, and when found there cannot be regarded as merely a rhythmically lengthened a, despite the fact that the pp regularly writes a Note the fact that twice among the variants it occurs at the end of a pāda, where rhythmic lengthening is impossible, and of Wackernagel III §145h There is, indeed, among the variants only a single case (the first quoted) where both ma and $m\bar{a}$ appear to be certainly neut sing, so that the lengthening must surely be rhythmic (cf Wackernagel III §145b)

§460. The variant vowel occurs in the second syllable of the pāda five times, in the fourth twice, and in the fifth of a tristubh once, thus in the first part of the verse eight times out of eleven. In the other three cases it is final in the pāda, and certainly not rhythmically lengthened. The following word begins with a single consonant in every case but two, where it begins with pr-(cf. §§433, 464). The preceding syllable is always long, the following one is long just half the time sarmā (TA °ma) saprathā āvrne KS TA · sarma yachātha saprathah (read °thāh with all mss, cf. Lanman, NInfl. 560) AV. The form must be singular, as the adjective shows, and KS has a clear rhythmic lengthening. This is the only indubitable case.

vyomā (TS °ma) saptadašah VS TS MS KS SB KS MS—BR assume a change of gender here in vyoman The formula is so devoid of meaning that anything is possible, but it may be merely a phonetic variant

ayam sahasram ānavo vidharma (ApŚ °mā) SV ApŚ MŚ Certainly not rhythmic lengthening, as it is final in the formula, rather change of gender, neut to masc, in ApŚ Even the original neuter is used as an epithet ('Weltordner', Benfey).

brahma (ApŚ °mā) devānām prathamajā rtasya PB ApŚ Here there is certainly a change of gender (in ApŚ masc, 'priest of the gods').

rtasya bráhma (AV bhūtānām brahmā') prathamota (emended by RWh in AV to prathamo ha) jajīe AV TB The difference of accent proves that different genders are intended But the pāda is hard to interpret without some emendation; see Whitney's note

- tan no brahmā (TA °ma) pracodayāt MS. TA. MahānU. Here also there is change of gender (MS brahmā').
- trınsad dhāma (MS. MŚ trinsaddhāmā as one word) rī rājati RV. AV. SV ArS VS TS MS KS ŚB The MS understands its compound as of masc gender.
- brahma devakıtam upahütam TS MS TB. AŠ ŠŠ: brahmā devakıtopahütā ŠB Here the number is changed from singular to plural in ŠB
- varma (AV. °mā) sīvyadhvam bahulā pṛthūni RV. AV. KS ApS. Both forms here are plural; and so in the next.
- yaira gavām nihitā sapia nāma (AV. nāmā) RV AV. Cf. prec ; note the variation at the end of a pāda.
- tava śravānsy upamāny ukthyā (SV. $^{\circ}ya$) RV. SV. The only case of a n pl in a \bar{a} not from an n-stem
- §461. One case of the preposition acha achā. The original quantity of the final a is uncertain; but in RV. it is always long except before a pause and in two other cases (Grassmann, s. v.). One of the two exceptional cases is concerned here Wackernagel II. 1 p. 131, believes that achā is original.
 - acha yāhy ā tiahā dawyam janam RV.: achā no yāhy ā vaha RV.SV. We consider that vahā vaha in this varient does not deserve quotation above under final aā in verb forms, because the second form of the text actually reads vahābhi, fusing vaha with following abhi. The pp, of course, always reads short a.
 - (c) Short a as final of stems in composition, and in analogous cases, optionally lengthened
 - §462. Just as the general laws of external sandhi are applied to the combination of parts of noun compounds, and even of stem-finals with certain suffixes (as vant and vin), so short a as stem-final may be rhythmically lengthened in these conditions. And the final vowel of the reduplicating syllable seems to be treated in the same way.
 - §463. The conditions of the lengthening are in large part similar to those where a is absolutely final. So the \bar{a} is invariably followed by a single consonant, without one exception among the variants. But the surrounding syllables are rather more apt to be long, instead of short as we should expect. The preceding syllable in fact is almost always long in the variants, and the following syllable is long in nearly half the cases. Most of the variants are prose, so that they furnish little evidence as to meter or position in the verse. There are five metrical

variants of a \bar{a} before the suffix vant, in every one the variant syllable is second in the pada

- §464. Wackernagel, who discusses this question in II 1 §56, recognizes an influence of a following consonant on the lengthening to this extent, that he finds it especially common before v If the evidence of the variants is to be trusted, it would seem that other labial consonants, especially p and m, exert the same influence, of above, §§433, 460 Nearly all the cases occur before one of these three consonants—For compounds of a privative, sometimes lengthened to \bar{a} , see §§469 f.
- §465. Prepositions in final a, optionally lengthened in composition All the cases are prose In two out of three the following consonant is m or v.
- apamıtyam apratīttam yad asmı AV (pratīkas in GB Vait Kauś) yāny apāmıtyāny apratīttāny (TB Poona ed °tītāny) asmı TB ApŚ (Metrical in AV, but prose in TB ApŚ)
- $up\bar{a}v\bar{v}r$ (TS Ap
Ś upa°) ası VS TS MS KS ŚB. KŚ Ap Ś
 MŚ See pw VII p325
- prayāsāya (VS prā°) svāhā VS TS KSA TB TA On prā, not to be identified with IE*prō, cf §§429, 439
- [prāvanebhih (MS KS pravanena) sajoşasah RV VS TS MS KS ŚB Probably to be derived from root pru, rather than pra + vana See §491]
- §466. Other compounds The variation occurs thrice before p and twice before v The first three cases are metrical, the others prose For variations of the adverb $uttar\bar{a}$ with the stem uttara in composition see §476
- āvitte dyāvāpṛthivī ṛtāvṛdhau MS KS āvinne dyāvāpṛthivī dhṛtavrate TS TB And (in same passage) āvittau (TS āvinnau) mitrāvarunau dhṛtavratau (TS °nāv ṛtāvṛdhau) VS TS MS KS ŠB Note ā before v alone, but short a before vr- (the syllable being long already) Cf §665
- sahasrapoşam subhage (TS * °gā) rarānā RV TS MS KS SMB ApMB sahasrāpoşam subhage rarānā AV Kauś
- ide agnim svavasam (AV svāvasum) namobhih RV AV MS TB AS
 Only the AV truly belongs here, as a compound of sva with vasu
 The others have a compound of su with avas
- deva samsphāna sahasrapoşasyešişe (AV sahasrā°) AV TS·sahasrapoşasyešişe SMB (Conc quotes the latter again for AV TS, but it occurs in them only as part of the longer phrase)
- dvārapāya svāhā, dvārapyai svāhā, dvārapopa sprša, dvārapy upa sprša, all HG dvārā° etc., ApMB

[brhaspatīnā rāyā svagākītah TS: †svagākārakīto mahyam MŚ. Cone svagak° for MŚ]

§467. Formations in vant and vin The variants seem to suggest a tendency for Tait texts to prefer \bar{a} before these suffixes, and Maitr texts short a, but they are not unammous, and are probably too few in number to justify such an inference. It may be noted that similar variants before the parallel suffixes mant and min have not been observed, we have seen (§§238 ff) that they did not occur originally after a vowels. The first five variants are metrical

aśvavat (RV aśvā°) soma vīravat RV SV VS.

ındravanto (TS ındrā°) maruto vışnur agnıh RV AV. TS. KS †40 10b. puspavatīh (TS puṣpā°) supıppalāh VS TS MS KS §B

puşpavatīh (TS V1Dh puṣpā°) prasūvarīh (TS °vatīh, AV. KS °matīh) RV. AV VS TS MS KS

sīkāhastā (TS KS sīkāvanto, MS. sīgavanto) nīsangīnah VS TS MS KS

ındravān brhad bhās svāhā KS . ındrāvān svāhā ·TS $\,$ TB : ındravān svavān brhad bhāh MS

dürehetir indriyāvān (PB†°yavān) patatrī (PB °trih) TS PB TB PG ApMB

vālavān varşan bhīma rāval svāhā MS . vālāvad varşam ugrar āvri svāhā TS · vālāvān varşann ugra rāval svāhā KS

agnīndrayor aham devayayyayā vīryavān ındrıyavān bhūyāsam MŚ· ındrāgnıyor (MŚ °nyor) aham devayayyayendrıyāvy annādo (MŚ °drıyavān vīryavān) bhūyāsam TS "MŚ· ındrasyāham devayayyayendriyāvī (KS °yāvān, MŚ °yavān) bhūyāsam TS KS MŚ

justam devebhyo havyam ghrtavat (TS ghrtavat svāhā) TS MS

dhişanās tvā devīr viśvadevyāvatīh (MS MS dhişanā tvā devī viśvadevyavatī) prthivyāh sadhasthe VS TS MS KS SB And so with addis (vā (°tis tvā) devī , devānām tvā patnīi devīr ., janayas tvāchinnapatrā devīi , varūtrayo janayas (varūtiī, ete) ; gnās tvā devīr All in same texts, Maitr always reading viśvadevya°, the others °vyā°

[somam te krīnāmy ūrjasvantam payasvantam vīryāvantam TS KS Conc vīryavantam for TS]

§468. The reduplicating syllable Two cases, in both the following consonant is m or v

trita etan (AV. tria enam, comm etat, read etan or enan) manusyesu māmīje (AV mamīje) AV TB The AV form is more usual but bad metrically; TB (probably secondarily) improves the meter by using the stem māmīj- (found RV)

- sucanto agnim vavidhanta (AV $v\bar{a}^{\circ}$) indram RV. AV KS The regular form is va° but forms with $v\bar{a}^{\circ}$ are found in RV.
- (d) Final \bar{a} optionally shortened to a, and other a \bar{a} either absolutely final, or in the seam of compounds
- §469. We group here a varied assortment of cases which complete the list of what may be called in a large sense 'final' a \bar{a} Real phonetic shortening of \bar{a} is not common. In most of the following variants both short and long a can be justified morphologically. We hegin with an interesting group concerning a privative and the preposition \bar{a} . Some of these concern lengthenings of a privative and properly belong in the preceding sections, but are mentioned here because of their similarity to those which involve the preposition \bar{a}
- §470. Thus, it has long been recognized that the RV form a'deva, 'godless', is the same as adeva, which varies with it in two of our variants, one of which occurs in both forms in RV itself. A somewhat dubious theory on adeva, rejected by Oldenberg, Noten on RV 6 49 15, is put forward by Wackernagel II 1 p 131
- visa ādevīr abhy asnavāma RV viso adevīr abhy ācarantīh RV AV. AB bhuvad (SV bhuvo) visvam abhy ādevam (SV ad°) ojasā RV SV Here the ā may be due to the tendency towards an anapest after the cesura, with short a we have a tribrach

§471. Less certain cases of lengthening of a privative are.

adayo (TS adāyo, MS ādāyo) vīrah (AV adaya ugrah) satamanyur ındrah RV AV. SV. VS TS MS KS In pw I p 297 it is said that ādāya is an error for adaya But the pp repeats the form, it might be interpreted as 'taking, seizing', from ā-dā

yavā ayavā ūmā abdah (KS yavā āyavā ūmā tevā abdas) sagarah sumekah MS KS MŚ: yāvā ayāvā evā ūmāh sabdah sagarah sumekah TS ApŚ The forms yava(n), yā°, and ayava(n), ayā°, are used with great confusion, but the a- seems to be felt as privative, the y-forms designate the first half of the lunar month, the ay° forms the latter half The form with āy° is not noted except here and in the next, it seems to be equivalent to ay°

sajūr abdo (MS* abdā) ayavobhih (TS ApŚ 'yāvabhih, MS MŚ āyavabhih, KS āyavobhih) VS TS MS KS ŠB ApŚ MŚ Cf preceding

§472. In the next we have a clear case of the preposition \bar{a} varying with a privative.

yām āpīnām upasīdanty āpah AV · yām apītā upatisthanta āpah IS

'Whom, fattened, the waters wast upon': 'whom the waters, undrunk, wast upon'

§473. In the rest, real phonetic shortening of \bar{a} seems at least possible, especially in the couple of cases where it occurs before conjunct consonants, of the similar law in Pāh and Prakrit (§§393 ff.) The words are however largely problematic, and in some of them a privative may be involved; so in the first

svastidā āghrnih (TB TA. aqh°) sarvavīrah RV. AV. MS TB. TA This familiar epithet of Pūṣan certainly eontains the preposition \bar{a} The form aghrn is recorded in no levicon. Comm. on TB desperately takes the a as privative asodhavyadīptih ('). The eomm on TA varies in different mss, one reading is \bar{a} adaptith (taking a as $=\bar{a}$). The reading adopted in Poona ed is adaptith, asmāsv anugrāhī, which is not utterly unreasonable, of the elassical aghrnin (pw II p. 286, 'nichts verachtend'). But ef also pūṣne 'āghrnaye svāhā, §300, where the yet different form aūghrni oecurs, and is certainly a phonetic variant for \bar{a} ghrni

asleşā (TS āśreşā) nalṣatram TS MS KS. Name of a nakṣatra, more commonly āśleṣa, both these forms are otherwise unknown BR. derive aśleṣa from a privative, but āśleṣa (āśr°) from the preposition ā, this is hardly credible. The two forms must be of the same origin, one a phonetic variant of the other. The prevalence of ā-forms suggests that a- is a case of shortening before two consonants.

ā no visva (MS °vā) āskrā (TB visve askrā) gamantu (MS °ta) devāh RV MS TB AS The word is obscure, askra seems to be otherwise unknown Comm on TB ābhimukhyena kaitārah santah, which implies ā and supports BR's derivation from ā plus root (s)kr (Sāyana derives from kram) This would then be another case of shortening before a two-consonant group.

§474. There are three other cases which would be counted as rhythmic lengthenings of a privative, but for the fact that they seem to be misprints or textual blunders. The ā forms occur each time only in TB. Bibl Ind ed, and each time the Poona ed reads short a in text and comm without report of variant, agreeing thus with the other texts araddhyā edidhişāhpalim VS. ārādhyai †didhişāpalim TB Cone 'For misfortune'

aṣādham (TB Conc aṣ° or āṣ°) yutsu pṛtanāsu paprım RV VS VSK MS. TB AŚ ŚŚ 'Unconquerable' aṣādham (TB āṣ°, Conc) ugram sahamānam ābhıh RV. AB TB

§475. Next, a few cases of final \bar{a} of feminine stems, optionally shortened to a in composition and before rant They hardly confirm, but are not numerous enough to dispute, the statement of Wackernagel II 1 \$56e that the shortening is specially common before consonant combinations and in the neighborhood of long syllables. Perhaps by chance, a labial consonant follows the vowel in nearly every case

nāsikārate (TS °kavate) svāhā TS, KSA.

amāyān māyaratlarah SB.: māvām māvāratlarah AB

idaprajaso (KS idā°) mānavīh TS, MS KS

śirahpānipādapāršvaprsthorūdarajanghasiknopasthapāyaro (MahānU. °prsthodarajanghā°) me sudhyantām TA, TAA MahānU.

ūrņamradasam (TS. TB. Ap\$. ūrņā") tvā strnāmi (KS ūrnamradah prathasva; Kaus ūrnamradam prathasva) svāsastham (VS 7 SB 7 °sthām) devebhuah VS. TS KS. SB. TB. KS. Kauś: uru prathasrornamradam svāsasiham devebhvah MS.

\$476. The adverb uttara varies with the adjective stem uttara in composition:

murāvarunanetrebhyo vā marunnetrebhyo vā devebhyo uttarāsadbhyah (VSK. uttara°) svāhā VS. VSK. SB.

ve dezā metrāvarunanetrā vā marunnetrā vottarāsadas (VSK. vottara°) tebhyah svāhā VS. VSK. SB.

\$477. The rest are sporadic. The stem asta asta belongs with noun formation rather than here; \bar{a} occurs in the regular inflexion of the stem (cf. Wackernagel II. 1 p. 131, III p 358). On attha attha see §455; on achā: acha. \$461. Otherwise we record here only the form viśvāhā or °ha, and a couple of lexical variants:

śirā riścāha (VS. and pp of MS. °hā) bheşajī (MS °jā; TS viśvāhabhesañ) VS. TS. MS. KS. (Cf. vratañ rakşanti viśvahā etc., §511). The reading of MS p p. suggests interestingly that we may have a case of shortening for the sake of rhythm or meter (note surrounding long syllables). If the word is a compound of viśva and ahan, as Grassmann believed, the variation would rather be one of noun declension (neut plur. in a.ā, cf. §§459 f.).

ali vā (AV. atīva) yo marulo manyate nah RV. AV. vā na uad indra citra mehanā (SV. PB ma iha na) RV. SV. PB. AS. SS N

See §832

athem ara sya (AV. athemam asyā) vara ā prthvyāh AV TS AS ŚŚ MŚ 'Then set him free upon the choice spot of earth': 'then him upon the choice spot of this earth'.

2 Non-final a ā in verb inflexion

- §478. In various verbal stem-formations and a few verbal inflexional forms, a medial varies with \bar{a} Rhythmic considerations play a part in some of these, notably in the well known variation between $\bar{a}ya$ and aya in denominative stems (VV I p 155), with which must properly be classed verbal adjectives in u from denominative stems, showing the same shift.
- devān devayate (TB Ap\$ M\$ devā°) yaja (M\$ yajamānāya svāhā) RV SV. KS TB. Ap\$ M\$
- agne prehi prathamo devayatām (AV. devatānām, MS KS devāyatām) AV VS TS MS KS SB The verse is meant for jagatī in all except AV.; meter favors devā°.
- apānudo janam amitrayantam (AV amitrā^o) RV. AV. TS. KS devayuvam (TS TB devā^o) viśvavārām (AŚ ^ore) TS. ŚB TB AŚ. ŚŚ devīr āpo agreguvo...devayuvam (VSK deva^o) VS VSK ŚB.
- §479. Similar conditions exist in the radical syllable of the causative (VV I p 155).
- vasospate nı ramaya (N. rām°, so v. l. of AV.) AV. N. : vasupate vı ramaya MS
- yāvayāsmad dveşam KS: yavayāsmad dveşah VS TS SB. Kauś. yavaya (v. 1 yā°) dveşo asmat MS: yavayāsmad aghā dveşānsi TA.
- yāvayārālim KS. yavayārālīh (MS. Kaus "lim) VS TS. MS SB Kaus The p p of MS has yāvaya
- tatra havyām gāmaya (KS ga°) RV. KS TB ApS MS But von Schroeder reads gāmaya in KS with one of his three mss
- §480. There are shifts between strong and weak perfect stems which involve this variation; see VV I p. 187, to which our first variant should be added
- adusan vā (MS dhipsyam vā, TB yad vādāsyan) samjagara (TB. °jagārā, MS °cakara) janebhyah MS TB TA These are first person forms, so that either a or ā is permissible by regular grammar
- yat sāsahat (SV sāsāhā, KS †sāsāhat) sadane kam cīd atrīnam RV SV. KS
- bibheda valam (AV. AS balam) bhrgur na sasāhe (AV. sasahe) AV. SV. AS SS The ā is probably due to the meter here, in the middle it is highly irregular, tho not unknown (Whitney, Grammar §793h). But the AV. form is itself not regular, it should be sehe
- svām cāgne tanvam (TA tanuvam) piprayasva (AV. piprā°) RV AV. TA. MahānU See VV I p 187 The ā here disturbs the meter, but is otherwise hardly much worse than the rival form.

§481. There are a number of cases of sigmatic aorists containing a or \bar{a} , or sigmatic aorists with \bar{a} varying with other aorists or presents in medial a They are mostly collected in VV I pp 128 f, 186 On the latter page, under §277, is to be added the following.

ānyāvākṣīd (VS ānyā vakṣad) vasu vāryānī VS TB Cf also·

grāvāvādīd (ApŠ grāvā vaded, so KS ed, with v l as Conc) abhi somasyānšum (ApŠ °bunā) KS ApŠ

§482. Subjunctive forms with an ending containing \bar{a} often vary with indicative or imperative (injunctive) forms with endings containing short a. They hardly concern phonetics, and can be found in VV I, in the appropriate places (§§117, 124, 137, 152-4, 167f). Nor shall we list here the different modal forms of the roots $d\bar{a}$ and $dh\bar{a}$ which show alternatively a and \bar{a} (VV I §193), or augmented and augmentless verb forms in initial $\bar{a}.a$, VV I pp 180f, and elsewhere, of which the following may be mentioned here as examples

ayann (TB ApŚ āyann) arthām kṛnavann apānsi RV KS TB ApŚ ahā yad dyāvo (AV devā) asunītim ayan (AV āyan) RV AV āyan is imperfect indicative, ayan subjunctive

There are yet other variations in verbal endings showing this shift We shall quote only one of the dual endings -tam and -tām, 2d and 3d persons, which should be added to VV I §337

ā mā gantām (VSK † °tam) pilarā mātarā ca (VSK †yuvam) VS VSK 10 3 12c, TS KS SB Subject voc in VSK, nom elsewhere Surrounding pādas have 3d person verbs

3 Non-final $a \bar{a}$ in noun formation

§483. In this class nearly all traces of rhythmic or metrical influence disappear, the variants are almost exclusively morphological (occasionally lexical), and concern phonetics only to a slight extent. Yet even here it is hard to rule out altogether phonetic considerations. Our volume on Noun Formation will deal more extensively with this group

§484. Most of them fall into two classes First, there are variants in which two primary noun formations interchange, one having a and the other \bar{a} in the radical syllable, the suffix being usually the not always the same Included here are some obscure words of doubtful origin, where the original form is uncertain and the variation may be phonetic in some sense Second, there are cases of variation between secondary formations with the viiddhi of secondary derivation and other, primary or secondary, formations without this viiddhi. The distinction between the two classes is not always clear or definite

§485. Under primary formations with radical a or \bar{a} , we may call attention first to a number of variations between the stems yava(n), yavas, $y\bar{a}v^{\circ}$, and ay° , $\bar{a}y^{\circ}$, to which attention has already been drawn in §471 The original form of the word in question is unknown:

sajūr abdo (MS *abdā) ayavobhih (KS āy°, TS ApŚ 'yāvabhih, MS. MŚ āyavabhih) VS TS MS KS ŚB ApŚ MŚ

yavā ayavā ūmā abdah (KS āyavā ūmā ţevā abdas; TS. ApŚ yāvā ayāvā evā ūmāh sabdah) sagarah sumekah TS MS. KS. ApŚ MŚ

yavānām (TS yāv°) bhāgo 'sı VS TS MS KS SB

ayavānām (TS ayāv°) ādhipatyam VS TS MS KS

yavāš cāyavāš cādhīpataya āsan VS MS KS ŚB: yāvānām cāyāvānām cādhīpatyam āsīt TS

§486. Rather numerous are cases in which the primary suffix a is used with well-known roots in forming primary derivatives with either a or ā in the root syllable, type bhaga bhāga They call for no comment: subhagamkaranī mama AV. subhāgamkaranam mama SMB Most samhitā mss of AV subhāgo.

mām agne bhāginam kuru ApMB: mām indra bhaginam kṛnu AV

samsrāvabhāgā (°gāh, °gās, VS ŚB KŚ samsrava°) stheṣā (Kauś taviṣā) brhantah VS TS MS KS ŚB. Kauś

namah parnāya (TS KS † parnyāya) ca parnasādāya (TS °sadyāya, VS. °sadāya) ca VS TS. MS KS.

prātah prātahsavasya (ApŚ. MŚ °sāvasya) sukravato...ŚB. KŚ ApŚ MŚ prātahsāva is the only form known to RV, but the other is commoner later

prātah prātahsavasyendrāya (ApŠ MŠ °sāvasyen°) ..KŠ ApŠ. MŠ śrāvaś (VS. śravaś) ca me śrutiś ca me VS. VSK TS MS KS. śravaś might be taken as an s-stem, but not śrāvaś

ksuro bhrajas (TS bhrjvān, MS bhrjas, VS bhrājas) chandah VS TS. MS KS SB.: bhrajas (KS ed †bhrā°, v l bhra°) chandah VS (in next verse) TS KS (in same verse) SB Comm. on VS bhrajas for bhrā°.

vahnih samtarano (TA sampārano) bhava VS TA Different but synonymous roots

§487. Forms in primary ya, practically gerundives in meaning:

yad bhūtam yac ca bhavyam (AV *ArS VS bhā°, AV.* yad vā bhāvyam) RV AV (bis) ArS VS TA Gomm on AV and Ppp bhav° Metrical lengthening, possibly

uttarasyām devayajyāyām upahūtah (TB also °tā) TS SB TB : upahūto 'yam yajamāna (MS °nā) uttarasyām devayajyāyām (MS. °yājyāyām) MS AS SS

- §488. Forms in other suffixes.
- havanasrun (TB hāvanasrūr) no rudreha bodhi RV TB hāvana- is not otherwise recorded from root $h\bar{u}$
- dūṣīkābhir hrādunim (KSA † hra°) TS KSA: hrādunīr dūṣīkābhih VS MS. The word is not otherwise recorded with short a, if KSA is correct, it has probably suffered analogical influence from the sphere of hrada
- duācarebhyo (MG °cārībhyo) bhūtebhyah MG V1Dh · ahascarebhyah SG (Sc. namah in both) Also. naktamcarebhyah SG. V1Dh · naktamcārībhyo bhūtebhyah MG Stems cura and cārīn
- talam me apas (TB ApS. ma āpas) tad u tāyate punah RV KB TB AS ApS Both apas and āpas are Rigyedic
- vratāni (MS TB ApS vratā nu) bibhrad vratapā adabdhah (TB SS ApS SG adābhyah) MS AB TB AS SS ApS SG Here the gerundive varies with a participle.
- §489. The remaining variants under this head are in some way or other doubtful or obscure, but seem generally to be primary formations, occasionally they may be lexically different in origin
- adayo (TS adāyo, MS ādāyo) vīrah (AV ed with p p adaya ugrah, but mss adā°, and so comm) satamanyur indrah RV AV. SV VS TS MS. KS On the initial ā of MS see §471 The second ā is anomalous if the word means 'pitiless' (so AV comm). Possibly 'without a share' (dāya), tho this fits none too well For other suggestions see Keith's translation of TS and note
- marudbhyo grhamedhibhyo (MS °dhebhyo) başkihân (MS. vaş , ApŚ bāşkān) VS MS. ApŚ. Cf §219 The word is obscure, is the ā somehow connected with the suppression of the second syllable in ApŚ?
- vāṣat ApŚ · raṣatkārah AG ŚG If Garbe's conjecture is right (all mss of ApŚ raṣat) it is a deliberate and artificial variation of the familiar exclamation raṣat
- ākhuḥ kaso mānthālas (MS mānthālavas, VSK māndhālas) te pilīnām VS VSK MS: pānktrah (KSA † pānktah, but mss of both texts pāmtra-) kaso mānthālavas (KSA † man°) te pilīnām (KSA † pilīr) TS KSA See §77
- hemantāya kakarān (KSA 7 kakārān) VS MS KSA ApS Name of an unknown anima! or bud
- [śiśirāya iikakarān (KSA † iikarān, Conc iikārān; ApŚ iikirān) VS KSA ApŚ]
- āslām jālma (KS jalma) udaram šranšayivā (KS srans°) AV KS.

- nākro makarah kulīpayas (TS kulīkayas, MS pulīkayas, KSA pulīrayas) te 'kūpārasya (KSA † kūvarasya) VS. TS. MS KSA Read kūvārasya in KSA; see §198
- śanderathaś śandikera ulūkhalah ApMB.: śāndīkera (PG śaundikeya) ulūkhalah HG PG Fanciful names of demons
- ākhuk sījayā šayandakas te maitrāh (KSA šayāndakās te maitrāh, em in ed to "kas te maitrāh) TS KSA · šārgah sījayah šayāndakas te maitrāh VS. MS The word šay" is obscure, and may have been originally a compound
- vāšā stha VS TS SB TB ApŚ. vašāh stha MS KS MŚ. Addressed to waters vāšā probably 'bellowing' (BR and Keith 'obedient', implausibly following one of Sāyana's guesses); vašāh 'cows' It is held by some that vašā is connected with the root vāš, 'bellow'.
- $\S490$. Coming to secondary noun formations, we find first a number of cases in which two secondary stems exchange, one having vriddhi in the first syllable and the other lacking it
- tısras ca rājabandhavīh (HG. °vaih) HG ApMB. prajāh sarvās ca rājabāndhavaih (MG °vyah) PG MG: sarvās ca rājabāndhavīḥ (SG†°bāndhavaih) AG SG (Oldenberg suggests reading °vīh in SG) Alternative stems bandhava and bān°, both from bandhu
- mulrāvarunau prasāstārau prasāstrāt (KS prā°) KS ApS MS. The office of the prasāstr is prasāstra or prā°
- dwyam suparnam vāyasam (AV payasam, KS VS SB TS* vayasā, MS TS* vayasam) brhantam RV. AV VS TS KS MS SB. AS. Suparn vāyasa and va° both 'bird', vayasā is instr of the unrelated vayas 'strength'.
- dhişanāsi parvatī (TS TB ApŚ 'tyā, MS KS MŚ pārvatī, but KS mss par') VS TS. MS KS ŚB TB ApŚ MŚ. In the Tait texts a secondary adjective parvatya, in the Maitr. school an equivalent pārvata, the form parvatī must also have the same meaning (Mahīdhara seems to explain it as having 'Vedic' shortening); it is too well attested to make emendation advisable. See next
- prati tvā parvatī (TS TB °tır, MS KS MŚ pārvatī) vettu VS. TS. MS KS ŚB TB MŚ See prec Twice in KS, once the sole ms has parv°, the other time pārv°, but KapS parv°
- gārgī (AG gargī) vācaknavī (sc trpyatu) AG. ŚG. Patronymics, gārgī is to be expected See next
- śakalyam ŚG śākalam AG (with both sc tarpayāmi) Read no doubt śākalyam in ŚG (misprint, Oldenberg's translation has Śākalya) Cf prec

- ya āntarīkṣāh (sc sarpās tebhya imam balim harāmi) HG: ye sarpāh pārthivā ye antarīkṣyā ye divyā AG.
- vāyur na īdīta īdītavyair devair antarīksyaih (Ap\$ āntarīksaih) pātu KS Ap\$
- āngūṣānām (SV angoṣinam) avāvašanta vānīh RV SV The SV form in this and the next is dubious
- āngūşyam (SV angoşinam) pavamānam sakhāyah RV SV Cf pred svetāya vaidarvāya (°vyāya, °dārvāya, vaitahavyāya), see §315
- suvarnasianyam avrāiyam (BDh avraiyam) V1Dh BDh Perfect equivalents
- narāšanse (VS nār°) somapītham ya āšuh (KS ānašuh) VS MS KS TB It is at least conceivable that narāšansa, as name of a certain libation, is a secondary derivative without vriddhi
- [narāšansa stansyate AV AŠ ŠŠ In the Berlin ed of AV. 15 printed the false emendation $n\bar{a}r\bar{a}^{\circ}$]
- sūyavasınī manave (RV TA manuşe, KS mānuşe) daśasyā (TA °sye, TS MS KS yaśasye) RV VS TS MS KS SB mānuşa of KS = manuşa of TA (manuşe in RV. 18 dative of manus, a more primitive form, all ultimately connected with manu, whence the dative manave)
- agnīd rajanarauhinau (so ed, v l rāja°, p p rājan, rau°) purodāšāv adhišraya MS A name of a sāman, see note in MS, and BR s v rājana, which seems to be the true form; rajana would perhaps be an equivalent formation if it were acceptable
- yakşmam éronibhyām (ApMB éront^o) bhāsadāt RV ApMB : yakşmam bhasadyam éronibhyām bhāsadam AV
- aranyāya (MS āranāya) symarah VS. TS MS KSA Both mean 'of distance'
- kalpayatam mānuşīh TB ApS . dṛnhantām dawīr visah kalpantām †manusyāh KS
- achınno dıvyas (KS Ap\$ daıvyas) ianlur mā mānuşas (KS Ap\$ manuşyas) chedi MS KS Ap\$
- brhaspatır devānām (ŚŚ dawo) brahmāham manuşyānām (ŚŚ mānuşah) VSK TB ŚŚ KŚ ApŚ MŚ
- §491. In other cases a secondary formation with viiddh of the initial syllable varies with some form of the primary word from which it is derived, or with a related word.
- sunam vāhāh sunam narah (TA nārāh) RV AV TA narah, plur of nṛ, nārāh, plur. of nāra, from nṛ or nara
- namas ie rathamtarāya (AA rāth°) .. AA LS SS Both words refer to

- the Rathamtara saman, AA. forms an adjective from the noun rath, with samne understood.
- bhuvanam ası sāhasram (MS. *sah°, SG. sahasrapoşam, MS. *sahasrapoşapuşı, ApS sahasrapoşam puşa) MS SMB ApS MS. SG Probably read sāhasram ın MS *, note that MS. has this
- vāyosāvitra (TS pp °trah, MS vāyusavitībhyām) āgomugbhyām caruh (MS, payah) TS. MS KSA Both = 'of Vāyu and Savitar.'
- tasmaı brahma ca brāhmās (TA brahmā) ca AV TA.
- nāsām āmniro (TB namā amniro) vyathur ā dadharsati RV. AV. TB āmnira = 'belonging to the enemy (amnira)'.
- agnes tvā (MS agnes tvā) mātrayā jagatyai (KS. °tyā, MS. jāgatyā) vartanyā. .TS MS. KS 'with the path of the jagati' or 'with the jagati as path'. KS v 1. jāgatyā
- jagad asi MS MS : jāgalam ası MS. TA ApS : jāgalāsı MS : jāgalo'si MS MS MS All'composed in jagatī meter'
- prabhāyā agnyedham (TB āgnendham) VS TB. The TB. form is problematic, comm agneh prayvalandkartāram, which would make it equal to agnyedham Should we read āgnyendham, 'having to do with fire-kindling'? Or āgnīndham?
- sadyahkrīś (ApMB sādyaskrīš) chandasā saha ŠG ApMB. sadyaskrī (masc '), name of an ekāha The ApMB. form would seem to be a secondary derivative, but in that case would have to be fem., and there seems to be no fem noun with which it could agree
- prāvanebhh sajoṣasah RV. VS TS ŚB.: pravanena sajoṣasah MS KS The āπ λεγ prāv° is doubtful; Grassmann as secondary adj, '(fires) of the abyes' But RV. pp prav°, possibly rhythmic lengthening (note that the following consonant is v, cf. §464). The primary word is probably to be derived from root pru, tho it has been interpreted as a compound of pra and vana; in that case it would belong to §465
- śāśvatībhyah (AV ApŚ and TB Poona ed śaś°) samābhyah AV. VS TB IśāU. ApŚ The adjective śāśvata = śaśvat, fem forms of both
- yadı varunasyāsı . Kauś : yadı vāruny ası Rvidh ApG.: yady asi vārunī . . GG
- yathā yamāya harmyam (TA hā°) AV. TA.; and
- evā (TA. evam) vapāmī harmyam (TA hā°) AV TA hārmya is recorded only here, and may mean the same as harmya, or be a corruption of that; but TA takes it as a secondary adj, 'suitable for the house', supplying a noun, and this is also possible
- sūpasihā ası vānaspatyah MŚ. sūpasihā devo vanaspatıh TS. ApŚ.

eşa u sya v
rşā rathah RV. SV \cdot eşa sya rāthyo v
rşā VS \$B adhyakşāyānukşattāram TB tādhyakşyāyānukşattāram VS

somo vaisnavo rājā (AS SS somo vaisnavas) . añgiraso (AS ţāñg°, SS āñgiraso vedo) vedah . SB AS SS. 'The Añgirasas (1e, the AV) are the Veda', so SB The others mean the same thing. 'the (Veda) of the Añgirasas'

§492. There remain a number of other cases which seem to concern noun formation in a broad sense. First a group of variants between $\bar{a}grayana$ and $\bar{a}gr\bar{a}^c$, name of the first some offering at the Agnistoma, which is apparently derived from agra, the \bar{a} may be rhythmic in character. The variants seem to suggest a preference for the \bar{a} form in MS MS and KS, with short a elsewhere.

nıdhanavata āgrayanah (MS KS āgrā°) VS TS MS KS ŚB

āgrayanas (MS KS āgrā°) ca me VS TS MS KS

āgrayanāt (KS MS āgrā°) trīnavatrayastrīnsau VS TS MS KS SB āgrayano (MS MŚ āgrā°) 'sī svāgrayanah (MS MŚ svāgrā°) VS TS MS SB MŚ

āgrayanas te dakşakratū pātv asau AŠ·ātmānam ta āgrāyanah (ApŠ †āgra°) pātu MS ApŠ

§493. When roots ending in \bar{a} are used as final parts of compounds, the \bar{a} is frequently shortened, bringing the word into the common a declension

ürnamradasam (etc., see §475) sväsastham (VS † SB † °sthām) devebhyah VS TS KS SB TB KS Kaus uru prathasvornamradam sväsastham devebhyah MS

krşno 'sy ākhareşihah (MS KS and most mss of MŚ °şihāh) VS TS MS KS ŚB TB MŚ ApŚ

yuvā kavih purumsiha (KS "sihā) riāvā RV TS MS KS

mítro na (MS MŠ nā) ehi sumitradhah (TS KS °dhāh, MS*°dhah saha rāyas poṣena) VS TS MS KS ŠB

yo devānām nāmadhā (AV °dha) eka eva (KS eko astı) RV AV VS TS MS KS.

adabdho gopāh (KS †gopah) parı pāhı nas tvam (KS parı pātu visvatah) RV TS KS

pravāyāhne 'har jinva MS: pravayāhnāhar jinva VS The MS form is suspicious in the light of the surrounding parallel formulas, which are instrumental in form. If correct it is a dative from pra-va, VS has instr. of pra-vā. The root is vā, 'blow'

§494. Other variants involving different related or quasi-related noun stems

- aprajastām pautramṛtyum ApMB HG: aprajasyam pautramartyam SMB. aprajāstvam mārtavatsam AV On stems prajas and prajās (:prajā) see Wackernagel II 1 p 95 f
- sa tvā manmanasām karotu (ApMB 'sam krnotu) PG ApMB. 'He shall make thee (fem) me-minded' Stems man-manas and man-manasa
- agnir adhyalşah (TA °şāh) MS TA. 'Agni is overlord' There is no apparent explanation of the anomalous ā of TA., as if from stem adhyalşas' It is repeated in the comm, with gloss svāmī
- satvanām (MS satvānām, KS †sattvānām) pataye namah VS TS MS. KS Stems satvan and sattva; MS. has a bad writing for sattv°, cf §392
- ımām narāh (narah) , see §328 Nom pl of stems nara and nr. tısrah kşapas (TA °pās) trır ahātıvrajadbhıh RV TA. Stems kşap and kşapā
- tābhr (TB yābhr) yāsı dūtyām (MS °yam) sūryasya RV MS TB Stems dūtyā and °ya (Pischel, VSt 1 22, Oldenberg, Noten on 6 58 3)
- agne pṛthuṣpate...varuna dharmanām pate TB agne pṛthivyā varuna dharmānām. ŚŚ Stems dharma and °man (Also listed in Conc under varuna)
- §495. The numeral for 'eight' has stem final, in declensional forms as well as in composition, ending in both \bar{a} and a, the former predominates earlier, the latter in the later language, cf. Wackernagel III p 358 f
- aşiasthūno dasapakşah Kaus: aştāpakşām dasapakşām AV asiābhyah (KSA aşia°, but ed em aşiā°) satebhyah svāhā TS KSA [aşiābhyah (Conc wrongly KSA aşta°) svāhā TS KSA]
- [agnaye gāyatrāya truvte rathamtarāyāşļākapālah (wīth varr) VS TS

 MS KSA All texts aşļā°, Conc aşļa° for VS]
 - §496. A couple of doubtful cases
- samudrasya tvāvakayā (TS ApŚ tvāvā°) VS TS MS KS ŚB ApŚ MŚ. avakā, name of a water-plant, from ava, avākā presumably the same, perhaps with rhythmically lengthened ā before suffix ka, cf similar cases before vant and vin, §467, and Edgerton, JAOS 31 118, where this should in that case be added Boehtlingk, 'die untere Ethaut' for avākā, evidently thinking of avā(ā)c, Keith, 'wind', we see little reason for either interpretation.
- nırıtım nırıarıalpena (MS nırıalpena, TS nırıalmakena, KS nırıalmaka-) śīrṣnā VS TS. MS KS Obscure word, see §810 TS comm, followed by Ketth, 'bald'.

4. Non-final $a \bar{a}$ in Noun Declension

§497. In inflexional forms of nouns the shift between a and \bar{a} is regularly accompanied, and no doubt wholly determined, by morphological or syntactic changes. Rhythmic or other phonetic considerations enter in hardly at all. We begin with purely formal shifts, not accompanied by change of syntax, that is, the variant forms are felt as of the same case, number, and gender

§498. First, the forms apas and apas are frequently interchanged as nom and acc of stem ap (Wackernagel III p 240):

sam no bhavantr āpa oṣadhayah (6 23 3 apa oṣadhīh) śwāh AV 2 3 6, 6 23 3 But mss at 2 3 6 also apa (comm. āpah), which Whitney's Translation restores, and this despite the fact that both forms are nominatives! The shortening may be influenced by the meter, it furnishes the desired anapest after the cesura

apo (RV. AS āpo) adyānu (TS TB JB. ApS anu, AV. duvyā) acārişam (JB †acārṣam, AV acāyiṣam) RV AV VS TS MS KS SB TB JB AS LS ApS MS ApMB. ApG MG Here the form is accusative

§499. Stems in d do not usually show ablaut in the stem syllable except in the case of pad, which shows some fluctuation in composition and in case-forms (Whitney §387 4, Wackernagel III p 235 f) The variants present a couple of cases of this stem, and also one of sad, not recognized as lengthening the stem a by Whitney §387 or Wackernagel III p 237, foot

d npac catuspad (SV dnpāc catuspād) arjuni RV SV.

dvipac catuspād (AV VS Kaus, dvipāc catuspād) asmākam RV AV VS VSK TS Kaus

catuşpadām uta yo (TS ca) dnpadām AV TS catuşpāda uta ye dnpādah KS MS Here the ablaut is regular, different case forms

viśvā āśā dakşinasat (AB AS °sāt, SŠ °tah, LS °dhak) VS. MS AB SB TA AS SS LS ApS

§500. Twice Tait texts present vriddhi-grade forms of ptt in the bahuvrihi compound dákṣa-pitt, which Wackernagel II 1 p. 101 (cf also III p 200) properly compares with tvát-pitārah.

sudakşā dakşapıtarā (TB °tārā) RV. TB
ye devā manojātā (MS KS MŚ manu°) sudakşā dakşapıtaras (TS†
°tāras) . TS MS KS BDh VıDh

§501. Of n-stems, there is one case of nom. pl vṛṣaṇah (Wackernagel III p 267) replaced in a later text by the more regular-seeming vṛṣāṇah tṛṣaṇah (TB vṛṣāṇah) samɪdhīmahī RV. AV SV SB TB

- §501a. And once a form with irregularly lengthened a, pasumānti, from a mant stem (noted RPr 589 = 9 30), is replaced in SV by the regular form.
- miteva sadma pašumānti (SV °manti) hotā RV SV —Similarly. ava dronāni ghrtavānti sīda (SV °vanti roha) RV SV.
- §502. As to s-stems, the ending as in the neuter nom.-ace of adjectives may be lengthened to ās (Wackernagel III p 288).
- Sarmā (TA °ma) saprathā āvrne KS TA. Sarma yachātha saprathah AV But all mss of AV °thāh, which should doubtless be read; comm °thah
- yachā nah (AV yachāsmaı) šarma saprathah (AV VS KS TA ApŚ ApMB HG °thāh) RV AV VS MS KS TA ApŚ SMB HG ApMB N
- visām agnim alithim suprayasam (KS °yāsam) RV KS The meter favors a long, and this may be the reason for KS's secondary reading, v Schr emends to °yasam, rather rashly, we think Cf. Whitney §415b, 2, 3 (But Waekernagel III p 282 denies ās to other words than usas) Oldenberg, Noten, denies ground for emending the RV, which is unquestionably conservative and wise, but the meter is nevertheless poor, and he offers no explanation of it
- ayā san (so read, MS ayāh san, KS ms ayīsā, ed emend ayās san) manasā hilah (MS kritah, pp kriah, KS kriah) MS KS TB. ApŚ ApMB HG: ayāsā manasā (AŚ vayasā) kriah AŚ ŚŚ: ayasā manasā dhriah ApŚ ApMB HG See next,
- ayā san (MS ŠŠ ayāh san, KS ayā° san, Kauś ayāsyam) havyam ühnse MS KS TB AŠ ŠŠ ApŠ Kauś ApMB HG ayasā ha° ü° ApŠ ApMB. HG The old adjective ayās becomes ayas in oblique cases in some secondary texts, a natural change owing to the ranty of stems in ās, and to the agreement of the nom form with noms of stems in as See Geldner VSt 3 122 n 5, Neisser, ZWbch d RV, s v, Wackernagel III p 282
 - §503. A couple of miscellaneous equivalent noun forms
- agne yan me tanvā (TS tanuvā) ūnam (SS yan ma ūnam tanvas) tan ma ā prna VS TS SB SS PG Abl-gen sing of u-stem
- anadvāns tapyate vahan (MS talpate vahān) ApS MS The passage of MS is unpublished, if correctly reported, the ending of the nom sing pres pple would be lengthened by analogy with mant and vant stems
- §504. Concerning pronoun declension, we have one case in which the dual stem yuva- is replaced by the later yuvā-:

athā somasya prayatī yuvabhyām RV.: adhā somasya prayatī yuvābhyām But v. l. of KS vuva°. KS

§505. Coming now to forms involving some syntactic shift, we find first exchanges between forms of masculine and feminine gender in adjectives modifying nouns of common gender

svām (MS KS. svam, MG sva-) vonim gacha svāhā AV. VS TS MS KS SB MG your may be mase or fem, the Tait school makes it fem in all the variants

agne svam (TS TB svām, SB tvam) yonım ā sīda sādhyā (VS SB sādhuvā) VS TS MS KS ŠB TB See pree

svam (TS svām) yonım ıhāsadah VS TS † MS KS (No svam in TS) yajño bhūlvā yajñam ā sīda svām (MŚ svam) yonim TB ADS MS [svāmkrto (KS svamo) 'sı VS TS MS KS SB KS ApS MS Here both forms are quasi-adverbial, in a compound verb form

dhruvam (TS °vām) vonim ā sīda sādhvā (VS SB sādhuvā) VS TS MS KS SB.

mā mā (KS mām) hinsistam svam (KS yat svam) yonim ... MS KS: mā mā hinsīh svām (KS svam) yonim. VS KS SB TB, ApS: mainam hinsislam svām yonim

sa no dadātu tam (AV, tām) raynm AV AA SS rayn, masc or fem athāsmabhyam sahavīrām (AV VSK MS KS ram) rayım dāh AV. VS VSK TS MS KS HG Cf pree

abhīmam (TS cmām, MS MS v. 1 cmān) mahinā (VS. MS v 1. cmā) dwam (MS dwah) VS TS MS TA. ApS MS.

yā (MS ya) 23avo yāludhānānām VS TS MS. SB NilarU ApMB isu, m or f.

§506. These are the only cases noted of this change due to change in gender of the noun modified (the words concerned being yoni, rayi, and div). There are not a few others in which the epithet is transferred to a different noun, involving change of gender. These will be treated in our volume on Noun Deelension, and we deem it unnecessary to list them here We may, however, quote a few examples of forms in -am -ām, which are both adverbs equivalent in meaning, or of which the form in -ām is an adverb, that in -am a mase or neut adjective:

ındremam prataram (VS TS SB °rām) krdhı (VS MS SB, naya) AV.

VS TS MS KS SB

ud enam uttaram (VS TS KS SB *rām) naya AV. VS TS MS KS SB Vait Aps MS Kaus

jīvālave pralarām (RV °ram) sādhayā dhıyah RV SV. SMB drāghīya āyuh prataram (TA † °rām, MG pratıram) . RV AV. TA AG MG And others, see §575

asmın kşaye prataram didyanah SV.: adhi kşami prataram didhyanah RV. AV.

§507. In the declension of nouns, pronouns, and adjectives there are quite a few case forms which differ from one another only or chiefly in the quantity of an a vowel. This is, for instance, true as between the instr. sing. and other singular oblique cases of \bar{a} -stems, and between the nom mase, sing and plur of a-stems; as well as between mase, or neut. and fem. forms, treated in §\$505–6. We give merely a couple of examples of these, followed by an exchange between the nom. and accuspronouns tvam and $tv\bar{a}m$. Since this matter does not properly concern phonetics, we shall reserve a full list and discussion for our volume on declension:

surayā (MS. KS surāyā) mūtrāj janayanti (VS. 7MS. °ta) retaķ VS MS KS † TB. 'By (from) surā they generate(d) seed from urine.'

surayā (MS. surāyāh) somah suta āsuto madāya VS. MS. KS. SB. TA.

dīkṣayedam (KS. dīkṣāy°) havir āgachatati naḥ KS. TB. ApŚ. All mss. and ed. of KS. read so; but it seems that it must be an error for dīkṣay°.

ā yat tṛpan maruto rārasānāh (MS. onah) RV. TS. MS. KS. The originally plural epithet is transferred to a singular noun in MS.

pra candramās tirate (TS†°ti, AV.†°mas tirase) dīrgham āyuh RV. AV. TS MS. KS N Nom. voc.

bhaga eva bhagavān astu devāh (AV † devah) RV. AV. VS. TB. ApMB. devāh voc. pl.; devah (lect. fac.) nom sing. Ppp ms. devāh, wrongly emended to devah by Barret JAOS 35. 88.

namah krtsnāyatayā (VSK °yatāya)... VS. VSK. Others, §311. Metathesis of quantity in VS, which simulates an instr. fem. but is really uninterpretable

tvām (TB. tvam) rāya ubhayāso janānām RV. MS. KS. TB. The construction is changed; both realings are construable.

5 Non-final a:ā lexical and miscellaneous.

§508. In a considerable group of cases forms with the prepositional prefix \bar{a} vary with forms beginning in short a, of different origins; cf. the cases of \bar{a} and a privative, §§469 ff. First, cases in which the short a is the augment:

vedhām ašāsata (SV. medhām āšā°) šriye RV. SV.†

akrān (TA ākrān) samudrah prathame vidharman RV. SV. PB. TA. MahānU. N. Comm. on TA. ākrān ākrāntavān vyāptavān. āgann apāna ātmānam... SS.: agan prānah svargam... SS. āganma (AŚ ag°) viśvavedasam VS ŚB AŚ

āganma (SV ago) vrtrahantamam RV SV AA SS

ürdhvo adhvaro asthāt (VS SB 'dhvara āsthāt, KS 'dhvare sthāh, ApS adhvare sthāt) VS MS KS SB ApS

agnaye samıdham āhārşam (ŚG GG ahārşam) AG ŚG SMB GG PG HG ApMB

yad gharmah paryavartayat (MŚ paryā°) TB ApŚ MŚ

ājagan rātrī sumanā iha syām AV SPP, Berlin ed ajagan, with slight ms authority, some mss ājāgan, see Whitney's note on AV 19 49 3

§509. Other cases involving presence or absence of the preposition \bar{a} , before forms in short a

āgne (RV. agne) yāhi sušastibhih RV VS TS MS KS ŠB

aryamāyāli vīsabhas tuvismān TS · āryamā yāti vīsabhas turāsāt MS KS patho anaktu (AV KS °ti, TS patha ānakti) madhvā ghrtena AV VS TS MS KS.

āsmāsu (KB as°) nŗmnam dhāt (KB dhāh) MS KB TA ŠŠ kānu antah puruse armtānı (AŠ °sa ār°) VS AŠ ŠŠ LŠ

lāny aniah puruṣe arpıtānı (AŚ Vait °ṣa ār°) VS AŚ ŚŚ LŚ Vait yasmın sūryā ārpıtāh (KŚ †TB TA ar°) sapta sākam AV KŚ TB TA ındram yayñe prayaty ahvetām (TB Conc āhv°, Poona ed ahv°, comm. ahv° with v 1 āhv°) VS TB

agnaya upāhvayadhvam Vait: agnu me hotā sa mopahvayatām SMB agne grhapata upa mā hvayasva KS ApŠ MŠ In Vait upa +ā [antarīkṣam (VS ān³) pṛthivīm adṛnhīt VS TB But Poona ed of TB ān°, which is clearly right]

§510. The pronouns asmat 'from us' and asmāt 'from him, it' exchange:

kṛtam cid enah pra mumugdhy (AV. TS* mumultam) asmat (KS asmāt) RV. AV. TS MS KS

proty auhatām (MS ūh°) asvīnā mṛtyum asmāt (AV asmat) AV VS TS KS MS TA

§511. The rest are miscellaneous.

vratam rakşantı vısvahā AV · vratā rakşante vısvāhā RV Probably both forms are adverbial (not compounded with -ahan), and the penultimate vowel lengthened in the RV form for some obscure reason, cf sivā visvāhā (°ha) etc., §477.

ye te panthāno bahavo janāyanāh AV. ye te 'ryaman (KS arya') bahavo detayānāh TS MS KS † 10 13a jana-ayana deva-yāna But rhythmic or metrical considerations may be involved here

- gharmam pāta vasavo yajata (TA. °tā, see §448, MS °trā) vāļ (MS vct, TA vat) VS MS SB TA vat, vāļ, or veļ, a meaningless saerificial exclamation
- āhalag (MS ah°, TS TB āhalam, KSA ahalam) iti vañcati (TS. TB sarpati) VS TS MS KSA SB TB An onomatopoetie interjection All texts may intend āh°, since the vowel is fused with a preceding final-ā, comm on VS TS āh°, pp of MS, to be sure, ah°, in default of comm or pp there is no evidence as to which KS intended
- ainārasya parah putrah SB āhnārasya parasyādah SS Proper names of barbane appearance and unknown relationships
- śatakṣaraś chandasānuṣlubhṣna ApŚ śatāhṣarachandasā jāgatena Kauś The Cone suggests śatākṣ° in ApŚ, but probably wrongly, Caland, 'der hundertstromige' (sruva).
- agdhād eho . samasanād ekah TS . adhvād eho . . sanād ekah sanāsanād ekah MŚ See §181
- agnaye tvā mahyan āyur (MS mayo) dātra edhi VS VSK MS SB SS Near-synonyms
- aākāākam (MS aākāv-aākam, so p p , KS aākaākam) chandah VS TS MS KS SB The curious shortening in KS seems secondary, and may be related to the fact that two consonants follow (Prakritic shortening) Cf §362
- āptye (AV apriye) sam nayāmasi RV. AV See §878
- vālajavair (HG vātājirair) balavadbhir manojavaih MS HG. See §268 gāva upāvatāvalam (SV upa vadāvate) RV SV See §60
- āntrīmukhah HG ālıkhann ...hantrīmukhah PG. See §386 visvalarman bhauvana mām didāsitha (SB manda āsitha) AB SB. SS. See §840
- §512. Finally, a few cases with readings which are dubious or clearly erroneous.
- pra smā mināty ajarah RV KS · prāsmā minoty ajarah ApS We cannot interpret prāsmā, unless as prā (for pra) smā (for sma). In that case the writing of the two words together is merely an editorial error, and the variant should be added to §439
- nīlāgalasālā AV. 6 16 4c nīlagalamālah swah pasya NīlarU. 22b The true reading of NīlarU. 12 certamly that of AV, see Jacob's Concordance s v, two mss and the comm read so, and the comm quotes AV 6, 16 4
- aśīrṣānā ahaya (SV. °ṣāno 'haya) wa RVKh SV: aśīrṣāna wāhayah AV But we must read in RVKh as in SV, with Scheftelowitz (p 106).

- agnis ca dahatam prati AV. SV. Misprinted agnis in AV, see Whitney's note
- alrā (AV tatra) yamah sādanā (TA. °nāt) te minotu (AV kṛnotu) RV AV TA. Cone sadanā for AV
- asmān decāso 'ratā (Conc. 'rata) haceşu AV † And others, all with acatā
- ā na ındo salagunam (SV. misprinted sāla") RV SV. See Benfey's Corrigenda
- arrūñ (GB ärrūñ) chi somakāmam trāhuh GB etc Gaastra correctly arrūñ
- viève devā udīcyām tu abhişiñcantu (error for °cyām tvābhi°) śrcyasc Rvidh . udīcyām tvā diśv viève devāh . . abhişiñcantv AB.
- jāmim (KS teami) mā hinsīr amuyā (MS anu yā) sayānā KS TB MS mā jāmim mosīr amuyā sayānām AV The KS (one ms only) must certainly be emended to jāmim
- paramāna ridharmani RV SV Once misprinted paramānā in SV corr Benfey's Corrigenda
- jrārşāharam sāma gāya (correct Conc.) MS SB MS prastotar vārşāharam sāma gāya ApS

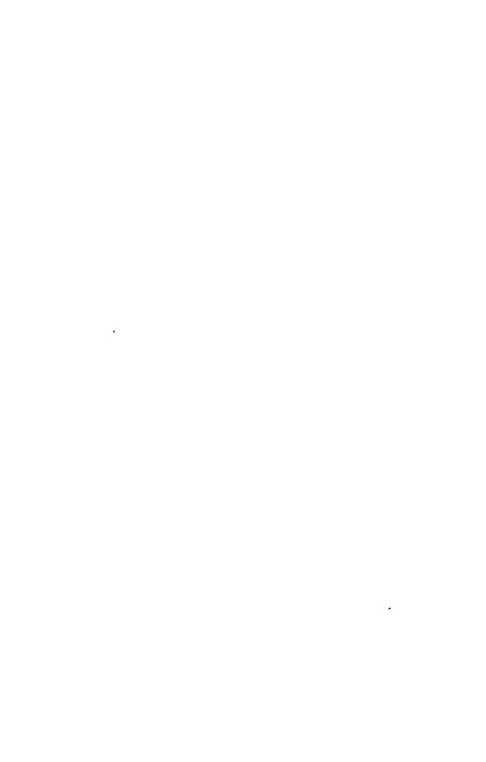
CHAPTER XII VARIATIONS BETWEEN SHORT AND LONG I AND U

§513. In contrast to the $a\bar{a}$ variants, those between i and \bar{i} and between u and \bar{u} are both fewer in number and more miscellaneous in In particular they show relatively little clear evidence of the rhythmie lengthening which was so prominent a feature of the last This is perhaps partly due to the fact that variations between $i \bar{i}$ and $u \bar{u}$ as finals of noun stems are more often matters of morphology To put it otherwise, there is great confusion in the Vedic language between the short and long a and u deelensions, and only occasionally can such variation be plausibly attributed to rhythmie or other phonetic On the other hand, these variants show a rather noteworthy number, proportionately speaking, of cases of 'phonetic' shortening of an $\bar{\imath}$ or \bar{u} historically long. By this we mean a shortening which seems to have no justification in any known morphological category or any analogical influence —See §§300-2 for variations between $\bar{\imath}$, \bar{u} , and short 2, u, plus nasal, and §§395-8 for the like before single and double consonents

1 Final short i lengthened phonetically

§514. We begin with cases in which final ι , originally short, is lengthened, apparently as a matter of straight phonetics. As in the case of a \bar{a} , we include not only absolutely final ι , but ι in the seam of compounds, before the suffix vant, and in the reduplicating syllable. Except the last, nearly all the cases concern prepositional adverbs in final ι . §515. The variants do not conform very well to the general principles established at the beginning of Chapter XI, except that the following syllable regularly begins with a single consonant, and that as a rule they do not occur at the end of a pāda. (On the one exception to this last, see §518) The syllables surrounding the variant syllable are as

they do not occur at the end of a pāda (On the one exception to this last, see §518) The syllables surrounding the variant syllable are as apt to be long as short A majority of the variants are prose, of the metrical ones, about half have the variant syllable as the second of the pāda Only in one case can the lengthening be said to be required by the meter (obbe aprā rodasī vi [vi] sa āvah, §516). There seems to be a special tendency for i to be lengthened before v, but also before r and sibilants (cf §464, and Wackernagel I §§38, 41).



§518. The only other absolutely final $\imath\,\bar{\imath}$ concerns the imperative ending $dh\imath$, which appears sometimes as $dh\bar{\imath}$, probably under the same general conditions as final \bar{a} for a in verb endings. It happens that almost no variants of this sort occur; we may note that in the pāda: $sa\ no\ bodht\ srudh\bar{\imath}\ havam\ RV\ VS\ MS\ KS\ SB\ ApS\ several\ mss\ of\ MS\ read\ srudh\bar{\imath}\ havam\ RV\ VS\ MS\ KS\ SB\ ApS\ several\ mss\ of\ MS\ read\ srudh\bar{\imath}\ havam\ fact, not\ recorded\ in\ the\ Conc.\ Strangely\ enough, the variant noted is, in fact, not recorded in the Conc. Strangely\ enough, the variant syllable is at the end of its pāda, where rhythmic lengthening is generally not allowed. The following pāda begins with havam, and it has been plausibly suggested by Benfey (Quant\ II\ 51), and approved by Oldenberg (Proleg.\ 421), that the lengthening in RV. is due to the common cadence <math>srudh\bar{\imath}\ havam\ (cf.\ RVRep\ 673, top)$ In all texts but one this pāda has $srudh\bar{\imath}\ havam\ (cf.\ RVRep\ 673, top)$ In all texts but one this havam does not immediately follow (the pāda being quoted in isolation there).

ımam me varuna śrudhī (AŚ śrudhı) RV SV. VS TS MS KS AŚ. ApMB.

§519. Next we find three cases concerning the reduplicating syllable. The lengthening here is doubtless rhythmic, except in the first variant where it is obviously secondary and late (occurring before two consonants, the only case of this kind among the phonetic lengthenings of i).

ımam agne camasam nıā vı jıhvarah (TA jī°) RV. AV. TA AG.

yıyapsyata (AS yz°) wa te manah (AS mukham) AS SS Desiderative from yabh, the form with yz° is not recorded lexically nor in Whitney's Roots

udgrābhenod azıgrabhat (KS azīgrabham and azīgrbham) MS. KS.

§520. There are two cases of apparently rhythmic lengthening of z before the suffix vant

mādhyamdinasya savanasya nişkevalyasya bhāgasya sukravato (ApŚ adds manthwato) madhuscula (KŚ* manthīvata, v. 1 manthi°) indrāya (MṢ savanasya sukra° manthivato nisk° bhāgasyendrāya). . KŚ (bis) ApŚ MŚ Stem is manthin (weak manthi) + vant.

parameşihī tvā sādayatu . raśmivatīm (MŚ raśmī°) MS KS.

§520a. In one case $\bar{\imath}$ is required in composition with a derivative of the root kr, while the \imath -form (otherwise textually dubious) may possibly represent an $\imath n$ -stem before $c\bar{a}rin$:

ıma udvāsīkārına ıme. .TB ApŚ ımā uddhāsıcārıņa ıme...MŚ. Cf §59

§521. And finally, a single case of a noun compound, with what looks

like genuine rhythmic lengthening of i as stem final of its first member: $y\bar{a}$ te agne harisayā (VSK harī°, MS MŚ. harā°) tanūr varşişihā gahvareşihā VS. VSK ŚB. (Pratīkas MS MŚ.)

2 Final i in the seam of compounds shortened phonetically

§522. No wholly satisfactory formulation of the circumstances of this not uncommon phenomenon has yet been attained. We cannot improve on Wackernagel II 1 §56 e-g (cf also Leumann, Gurupūjūkaumudī 13 ff). It seems most likely to have been dependent originally on the opposite conditions to those which caused rhythmic lengthening, that is, to avoid a succession of long syllables, ī was shortened before two consonants and between long syllables. The variants are on the whole favorable, or at least not unfavorable, to this hypothesis

§523. Radical $\bar{\imath}$ is shortened in the word senān $\bar{\imath}$, not only in composition but in case-forms (below, §527), the following group of variants occurs all in one passage, where TS alone has the shortening:

tasya rathagrisaś (KS 'krtsaś, MS °krtsnaś) ca rathaujāś ca senānīgrāmanyau (TS senām°) VS TS MS KS ŠB And so with tārkşyaś cāriṣtanemiś ca, senajic ca susenaś ca, rathaprotaś (TS rathe°) cāsamarathaś ca, rathasvanaś ca rathecitraś ca

§524. The other cases concern the feminine nouns prihivi and (once) prapharvi.

yā devy asīstake prānadā prapharvīdāh (ApŚ °vidāh) KS ApŚ namo 'gnaye pṛthivikṣite lokaspṛte (ChU pṛthivīkṣite lokakṣite, MU pṛthivīkṣite lokasmṛte) TS KSA ChU. MU.

pṛthiviṣadam (MS pṛthivĩ°, VS † °sadam) tvāntarikṣasadam (VS †adds divisadam devasadam) ... VS. TS MS KS ŠB TB

pṛthivispṛñ (MS pṛthivī°) mā mā hinsih MS TA

ye devā duribhāgā ... ye pṛthwībhāgās (TS KS pṛthwi, but 2 mss of KS °vī°) TS MS KS

svadhā pitrbhyah pṛthinişadbhyah (MS GG pṛthinī) AV ApS MS Kaus GG HG

3 Miscellaneous final 27

§525. There is very little else On na ced avedî (avedî) etc, see §530 below, it does not belong here except by grace of Boehtlingk's emendation, which is not justified Otherwise we have noted only a few stray cases concerning noun declension, which really belong later and are placed here only because both forms happen to have final i or ī.

agne tvam sūktavāg asy upakrutī (MS. "tı, TB "krito) divas (TB divah) prthivyoh MS SB. TB AS. SS The form is locative of an i-stem:

MS is anomalous (or possibly felt as a sort of neuter accusative adverb?)

ado (MŚ ato, AV ado yad) devī (AV. KŚ devī) prathamānā prthag yat (AV. °mānā purastāt) AV KS. ApŚ. MŚ Nominative and vocative

stomatrayastrınse bhuvanasya patni TS KS AS: stomas trayastrınse bhuo patni MS As prec see §818

sam devi (KS devī) devyorvašyā...TS KS ApŚ

rātrı (TB rātrī, v. l of KS rātrıh) stomam na jıgyuşe (KS † TB °şī) RV KS TB

satyād ā (ApS satyā tā) dharmanas patī (Vant MS parī) AS Vant ApS. MS

asvinendram na jāgīvi (TB° vī) VS MS TB. The -vī form is a dual adī, and so Mahīdhara takes the -vi form also; but possibly it may be a neut sing adverb

gāyatrī (MG °tri) chandasām mātā (MG mātah) TA. TAA MahānU. MG Nom: voc

na sīsarīdata (HG † sīsarīdatah) ApMB HG See §384.

4 Noun stems in 2 2

§526. It is well known that the division between short and long *i*-stems is lax, many words slip over from one category to the other sporadically or even frequently, and in some cases it is hard to be sure to which they originally belonged Practically all the variants in this division concern such fluctuations Little evidence for rhythmic influence can be discerned

§527. We begin with cases where the original is certainly or probably $\bar{\imath}$ First, a case of the stem $sen\bar{\imath}n\bar{\imath}$, where the root $n\bar{\imath}$ 'lead' guarantees the original length of the vowel In §523 we have seen that the shortening occurs also in composition:

namah senābhyah senānībhyas (VS TS °nıbhyas) ca vo namah VS TS MS KS

§528. In the same context occurs the following variant Boehtlingk takes the form in short \imath from a stem $\$van-\imath n$ 'having dogs', while he derives the other from $\$va-n\bar{\imath}$ 'leading dogs', this seems improbable in the light of the variants, both are probably from $\$va-n\bar{\imath}$, with (possibly rhythmic) shortening in the one case (so Mahīdhara, followed by Griffith and Keith).

namah śvanibhyo (MS śvanī⁵) mṛgayubhyaś ca vo namah VS MS KS: namo mṛgayubhyah śvanibhyaś ca vo namah TS

Other cases of probably original i are

sucakşā aham akşībhyām (MG akşı°) bhūyāsam AG PG MG N The ī-form is regular in the older language Wackernagel III p 303

varūtrīm (KS † varu°, TS, varūtrīm) tvastur varunasya nābhīm VS TS KS ŠB tvastur varutrīm va° nā° MS MŠ

rātrīm-rātrīm (AV TS rātrīm-rātrīm) aprayāvam bharantah AV TS MS KS SB

rātrım (KS rātrīm) jinva TS KS PB Vait

rātrīm (TS rātrīm) pīvasā TS KSA

šam rātrī (VS rātrīh, VSK TA rātrih) prati dhīyatām AV VS VSK MS TA

rātrım (SMB PG MG °rīm) dhenum ıvāyatīm (AV upāyatīm) AV HG APMB SMB PG MG

ye rätrım (KS °rīm) anutışthantı (KS†°şthatha) AV. KS

pratı tvā parvatī (TS TB °tır, MS KS MŚ pārvatī) veitu VS TS MS KS. ŚB TB MŚ See §490

veşakrīr (TS ° krir) ası TS KS GB PB Vait LS

mahīnām (VSK mahınām) payo 'sı VS VSK TS KS SB KS ApS MS SG Even from the stem mahı, the VSK form would be anomalous

hrādunībhyah (KSA °nıbhyah) svāhā VS TS KSA This is uncertain, both short and long i are otherwise known RV has hrādunim, but hrādunī-vri See also dūşīkābhir hrādunim etc, \$543

śimībhih (KSA † śimi°, VS śamī°) śimyantu (VS śam°) tvā VS TS KSA §529. But in the rest stems in short i seem to be primary.

svāhākrtibhyah (TS ApŚ and most mss of MŚ °krtī°) preṣya TS ŚB KŚ ApŚ MŚ 'To hail-makings', suffix ti

ayāś cāgne 'sy.anabhiśastiś (AŚ ApMB HG °tīś) ca MS KS AŚ ŚŚ KŚ ApŚ Kauś ApMB HG Suffix ti, as in the last

ākūtım (SMB °tīm) devīm manasah (SMB °sā, AV subhagām) puro dadhe (SMB prapadye) AV TB SMB As prec

ātır (TS KSA ātī) vāhaso darındā te vāyave (TS KSA vāyavyāh) VS TS MS KSA ātı is Rigvedic

abhıştır (HG °ţīr, ApMB abhısrīr) yā ca no grhe (RVKh ca me dhruvā) RVKh ApMB HG

diva (divas, divah) skambhanır (VS SB° nīr, VSK † skambhany) ası VS VSK TS KS SB TB ApS Here fem gender is responsible for the long ī

śirah-śirah prati sūrī vi caşte TS ApŚ śiro devī prati sūrir vi caşte KS Here too sūri is made fem, agreeing with a fem entity śronibhyām (TS. śroni°) srāhā TS KSA yakşmam śronibhyām (ApMB °nī°, v 1 °ni°) bhāsadāl RV. ApMB:

yakşmam bhasadyanı kronibhyanı bhasadam AV

mitrārarunau kronibhyām (TS kronī°) TS. KSA

śam methir (ApMB śam te methī) bharalu kam yugasya lardma (ApMB, trdma) AV. ApMB

rtun prssibhth (KSA em prssibhth, ms bhr°) TS KSA Ci. Macdonell and Keith, Vedic Index 2 358 f.

prstibhyah (KSA † prsti°) srāhā TS. KSA

imām khanāmy osadhım (ApMB "dhīm) RV. AV. ApMB

osadhibhyah MG · osadhibhyah SG.

kraitā varīsiham vara āmurīm uta RV: kraite vare sihemany ūmurīm uta SV.

sam arir (VS SB arir) ridām (KS ridah) VS MS KS SB Nom sing of stem ari; the anomalous VS SB. form is noted in BR, s. v. 2 ari

adhā jivrī (AV. atha jivrīr, ApMB athā jīvrī) vidatham ā vadāci (RV. radāthah) RV AV. ApMB Stem jivrī (or, with most mss of AV., jirrī). RV. has a dual form; ApMB an isolated sing. from a stem in ī, perhaps due to confusion between the RV. and AV. forms. On the ī of the initial syllable see §544

plāśır (TB °śîr) ryaklah śaladhāra utsah VS MS KS. TB.

ambā ca bulā ca nutatnī. . MS · ambā dulā nitatnir... TS. apo mahi vyayatı cakşase tamah RV : apo mahī vynute cakşuşā tamah

SV TB. Here we have a complete change of construction, in addition to (or perhaps rather than?) a change of stem-form

rite bhinadmi takarīm (KS°rim, AVPpp [Roth] tagarīm, AV mehanam) AV TS KS ApS. See §49 There is no way to determine the original quantity of the i here

§529a. There are also cases in which a nom. sing in $\bar{\imath}$, apparently from a stem in in, varies with one in in from a stem in in:

ryānasih (SV. °51) pavase soma dharmabhih (SV dharmanā) RV SV. tan no dantī (TA. °tih) pracodayāt MS TA MahānU Comm on TA. mahādantaḥ

dürehetir ındrıyāvān (PB † °yavān) patatrī (PB. °trıh) TS PB TB PG
ApMB · dūr ° patatrī vājunīvān MŚ. MG

suparno avyathır (SV. °thī) bharat RV SV

§530. In one variant there is multiple confusion, involving also verb forms:

na ced aredī (BrbU aredī) mahatī vīnastīh SB BrbU. So Conc , with

the printed texts But avedi is only Boehtlingh's emendation; mss avedī The Kānva recension, however, has avedīr, and Kena Up (not in Conc) avedīn, a verb-form ('if he has not known [this, it is] a great disaster') avedīr would be nom sing of a noun stem avedīr 'if not, (there is) ignorance, a great disaster' avedīr is taken by comm as nom sing of avedīn. 'if not, (he is) ignorant', etc These are surely enough variants, without Boehtlingh's additional one!

5 Verb forms containing $i \bar{i}$ and $i \bar{i}$ in the second syllable of dissyllable bases

§531. This variation occurs in a considerable number of miscellaneous cases in the inflection of the verb, oftenest in root or stem syllables, in which may be included the second syllable of dissyllabic bases. Among the latter we find cases which may plausibly be interpreted as rhythmic or at least phonetic in character. We include with them also nouns which show the same shift in the second syllable of dissyllabic bases, since they are of the same phonetic character:

sušami šamīşva (TS TB šamışva, KS †šamıīşva) VS TS MS KS TB avanty asya pavītāram (SV. pavī) āšavah RV SV The shortening of SV. improves the meter (anapest after cesura)

§532. The next two concern noun forms which may possibly contain dissyllabic bases in their first elements, but they are very obscure.

antarıkşam purītatā (TS puri°, MS puli°, KSA puli°) VS VSK TS MS KSA

ulo halikṣno (TS ūlo halī°) . VS TS MS KSA Name of some anımal A theory as to the origin of this ī in Wackernagel, I §39 note.

§533. At least in origin, the *i* of the *i*s aorist represents likewise an IE schwa, the second syllable of dissyllabic bases. For well-known phonetic reasons, it is regularly long in the 2d and 3d persons singular, short in the rest of the inflexion. When we find divergences from this scheme, they are to be regarded as analogical extensions in one direction or the other, of VV I p 189.

tena (TB. tato) no mitrāvarunāv (MS °nā) avislam (TB avī°) RV MS TB The root av is undoubtedly dissyllabic in origin. The ī of TB is due to the analogy of singular forms like avīt. So in the next.

amīmadanta pitaro (Kauś also patnyo) yathābhāgam () āvrsāyisata (AŚ °yīsata) VS VSK ŚB AŚ LŚ Kauś SMB GG KhG Cf prec

- mā tvāgnīr dhvanayīd (TS "yīd, KSA "yed, MS. dhanayīd) dhūmagandhih RV VS TS MS. KSA. This is the converse of the preceding; TS shortens the vowel by analogy with dual and plural forms
- ata ü şu madhu madhunābhi yodhi TS adah su madhu madhunābhi yodhih RV AV SV AA MS On the anomalous TS form see VVIp 27
- ā gharmo agnım tlayann asādı (TA °dīt) RV. TA: ā gharmo agnır amtto na sādı MS See VV I §84
- §534. Probably rhythmic in character is the $\bar{\imath}$ which varies with \imath in denominative stems before the ya-sign, cf. VV I p 155, and above §478 where the same shift occurs between a and \bar{a} :
- putrīyantah (AV putriyanti) sudānavah RV. AV SV
- janīyanto nv (AV. janīyantī nāv) agravah RV SV AV. AS. ŠŠ
- §535. In some cases we seem to have rhythmic or metrical lengthening of i in stem syllables, at least it occurs in positions where the meter favors a long
- prati şma (SV sma) deva rīşatah (SV rış°, and so p p. of RV. and MS)
 RV SV MS KS TB The p p readings confirm our opinion that
 the ī is metri gratia
- avāmba (VS SB KS ava) rudram adımahı (VS SB KS adī°, and so v l of MS KS MS, and pp of MS) VS TS MS KS SB TB KS ApS MS
- §536. But the same shift in root or stem syllables occurs in some cases where it cannot be rhythmic, the explanation varies and is sometimes obscure.
- sarvān patho anmā ā kṣīyema (AV. kṣī°) AV TB TA ApŚ The root ksī 'dwell' here presents an exceptional form with ī, perhaps under the influence of the other root kṣī 'perish', from which ī forms are familiar
- yūpāyocchrīyamānāyānubrūhi (MŚ °chriya°) ApŚ MŚ Here the ī, in the passive of śri, is regular, and is probably to he read also in MŚ with most mss
- samingayatı (ŚB samī°) sarvatah RV ŚB BrhU The root ing appears sporadically as nīng in the Brāhmanas, the true reading of BrhU is samīng° in this passage (text emended)
- §537. Jumhled participial forms of the parallel roots ji and $jy\bar{a}$, $j\bar{i}$ a $jit\bar{a}h$ (TA $aj\bar{i}t\bar{a}h$, ApMB and one ms of HG $aj\bar{i}t\bar{a}$) $sy\bar{a}ma$ saradah satam TA ApMB HG
- vājino vājajito vājam sastvānso (KS jigīvānso, TS sastvānso vājam jigivānso) . VS TS KS ŠB

- §538. We have classified the form $\bar{\imath}y\bar{a}na$ 'going', as a reduplicated present from root i; see VV I p 126.
- ıyānah (SV īy°) kṛṣno daśabhıh sahasraıh RV SV. AV KS TA stotṛbhyo dhṛṣnav ıyānah (SV īy°) RV. AV SV.
- §539. The participle $\bar{\imath}d\imath ta$ appears as $\imath d^{\circ}$, probably under the influence of the nouns $\imath d$, $\imath d\bar{a}$.
- īdīto (MS KS. id°, VSK. īl°) devair harīvān abhislih VS VSK MS KS TB
- §540. The present and past passive participles of root kṣi 'perish', kṣinat and kṣīna, are concerned in the following:
- namo whṣṇnatkebhyah (TS KS wkṣṇnak°) VS TS KS ŚB. nama ākṣṇnakebhyah MS If MS. is right it has a blend of the other two readings, but the mss vary, and it is likely that ākṣṇnak° was intended

The 3 plur perfect ending tre appears once as tre:

tāh prācya (Vait. °yah, MŠ prācīr) ujjigāhire (KŚ † °īre, Vait samjigāre) KŚ Vait. MŚ: prācīś cojjagāhire ApŚ

6 Noun suffixes containing i ?

§541. Twice in MS the suffix iya, representing ya after two consonants, appears as iya; but both times the p p. of MS has iya:

namo agrīvāva (VS KS 'grīvāva, MS 'grīvāva) ca prathamāva ca VS TS MS KS

sahasrıyo dyotatām (TS TB. dīpyatām; MS sahasrīyo jyotatām) aprayuchan VS TS MS KS SB TB.

§541a. We have quoted in §249 (q v.) three variants in which AV. reads varīyah for older varwah:

asmabhyam ındra varıvah (AV. varīyah) sugam kṛdhi RV. AV.: asmabhyam mahı varıvah sugam kah RV

sakhā sakhūbhyo varwah (AV. *varīyah; so one ms of GB; Ppp. varwah) krnotu RV AV *TS KS. GB

tvaşlā no atra varıvah (AV varīyah) krnotu AV. TS

§542. Several times forms in *ina* vary with other forms containing short *i*

yā sarasvatī vešabhagīna (ApŠ.* vršobh°, KS vešabhagīnī)...MS KS ApŠ -bhagīna, from bhaga, seems to be found only here; KS substitutes a more regular form (fem of bhagīn).

tırascırāji (MS tirascīnarāji) rakşıtā AV MS Again īna varies with in (weak stem i)

namo yuvabhyo nama ākinebhyah RV ApS: namo yuvabhya ākinebhyak

- (MS $\bar{\alpha}\bar{s}\bar{t}^{\circ}$, pp $\bar{\alpha}\bar{s}\bar{t}^{\circ}$) ca vo namah (MS namo-namah) MS. KS. $\bar{a}\bar{s}ina$ is $\bar{a}\pi$ $\lambda\epsilon\gamma$ in RV , in MS it seems to be secondarily adapted in form to words in $\bar{\imath}na$
- §543. The shortening of $\bar{\imath}$ to \imath before suffixal ka may properly be classed with rhythmic shortenings Cf Edgerton, JAOS 31 95 f, 111 $d\bar{\imath}_s\bar{\imath}k\bar{a}bhi$ $hr\bar{a}dunin$ (KSA † hra°) TS KSA . $hr\bar{a}dun\bar{\imath}r$ $d\bar{\imath}_sik\bar{a}bhih$ VS MS

7 Miscellaneous 2 and 2

- §544. Here, first, a few variants which seem to concern what are fundamentally related forms, one being usually more or less suspicious: $\bar{\imath}mk\bar{a}r\bar{a}ya$, and ${}^{o}krt\bar{a}ya$ (KSA ${\imath}m^{\circ}$, VS MS ŚB ${\hbar}\imath m^{\circ}$) VS TS. MS. KSA ŚB TB ApŚ
- īryatāyā (TB 11°) akıtavam VS TB From the equivalent adjective forms 1179a (RV) and īrya, doubtless ultimately the same, tho the etymology is doubtful (cf Neisser, ZWbch. d RV, s v. 1179a)
- ustarayoh pilvayoh (ApS pilvayoh) MS ApS MS Cf the word pilu or pilu, namc of a tree Obscure
- vīdvī yāmann avardhayan VS vidvīr yāman vavardhayan TB Comm on TB drdhasaktayah, that is equivalent to vīdu, for which vidu is not recorded
- adhā jwrī (AV atha jwrīr, most mss jīrwīr, which Whitney would restore; ApMB athā jūrī) vidatham ā vadāsī (RV vadāthah) RV.AV ApMB Various theories connect the obscure word with either jyā(jī) or jī. The ī in the first syllable in ApMB is isolated and no doubt due to popular etymology, thinking of jīv or of the ī forms of jyā or jī (jīrna etc.) See §529
- anamīvāsa idayā (MS anamīmāsā īdayā, p p idayā) madantah RV MS.

 TB AS The MS form is probably a mere corruption (due to thought of īd? cf the lexically quoted īdā), corrected in p p
- dame-dame suşļutyā (TS ° tīr, MS °tī, AS ŠŠ °tır) vāvrdhānā (AV ° nau, AS ŠŠ vām ıyānā) AV TS MS KS AS ŠŠ Different case forms of an 1-stem See §236
- śanderathaś śandikera ulūkhalah ApMB . śāndīkera (PG śaundikeya) ulūkhalah HG PG See §489
- §545. The rest are more definitely lexical in character, but even they occasionally show traces of phonetic relations, thus in the first:
- subhūtāya pīpihi (MS pipīhi) MS TA. ApŚ And others, with ise, ūrje, hrahmavarcasāya, etc In MS always pipīhi, probably from pā 'drink', while pīpihi is from pyā(pī) 'swell' The result, how-

- ever, gives the semblance of a mutual (quasi-rhythmie) shift of quantity; cf $\,$ VV I p $\,$ 182
- sarasvatī tvā maghavann abhişnak (TB Ap\$ abhīşnāt) RV AV VS MS KS TB \$B, Ap\$ See §142
- sudītir asī TS PB: sudītir asī KS GB Vait: sudītinādītyebhya ādityān jīnva MS Boehtlingk: sudīti Anklang an Adīti, sudīti glanzvoll (dī) Sudīti is Rigvedic
- viśvam id dhītam (MS dhitam) ānašuh (SV. āšata) RV AV SV MS Ap\$ Roots dhī and dhā
- tıgmam äyudham (AV anīkam) vīditam (AV ınditam, KS °dham īditam) sahasvat AV TS MS KS See §169
- kavır yah putrah sa īm ā (TA sā ımāh, Poona ed sa imā) cıketa RV AV TA N
- ali vā (AV Kaus atīva) yo maruto manyate nah RV AV Kaus Metathesis of quantity
- śam padam magham †rayīşine na kāmam (AA rayışanı na somah) SV AA rayı-ışın· rayı-san (so Keith, or, -sanı)
- ghasinā (ApŚ ghasīnā) me mā sampīkthāh VSK ApŚ Corruption in ApŚ, perhaps for ghāsinā (RV ghāsī), with metathesis of quantity? Cf Caland's note
- ā yāhi śūra haribhyām (SV KB ŚŚ hariha, AŚ harī iha) AV SV KB AŚ ŚŚ Doubtless read, in all except AV, harīha (=harī iha), with Whitney on AV and Keith on KB
- gaurīr (TB TA °rī, AV gaur ın) mımāya salılānı takşatī RV AV KS TB Ap\$ SMB MG.
- ındrāpāsya phaligam ApMB ındrāyayāsya sepham alīkam HG See \$46
- samıddho agnır vrşanāratır (AV °nā rathī, SS °nā rayır) dıvah AV AB AS SS
- rādhānsīt (MS MŚ °si) samprcānāv (MS MŚ °nā) asam° MS ŚB KŚ ApŚ MŚ
- nen na rnān rnava it samānah FA nem na rnān rnavān īpsamānah MS And others, see §180
- [atthtritam (comm oritam) attdanturam TB So Conc. with Bibl Ind ed, probably misprint, Poona ed comm with text atthtritam]
- [tvankrīr (so all') asi asya sradhitih sam eti RV VS TS KSA]

8 Final u lengthened

§546 As with the a and i vowels, we include here cases in which the vowel is relatively final, that is, final in its stem as prior member of

compounds, or before the suffix mant, or in the reduplicating syllable. The cases are still less numerous than those of $\imath \cdot \bar{\imath}$, and add nothing further to the subject

§547. Of absolutely final u lengthened to \bar{u} we have noted only four cases, three of the particle u, and one of su All occur before single consonants (once v, twice a sibilant), and in most of them the surrounding syllables are short In only one are both long, but here the original form has short u, and \bar{u} is introduced in a secondary text (MS):

o şu (MS şū) vartta (MS KS varta) maruto vıpram acha RV MS. KS. tam ū (MS u) sucum sucayo dīdıvānsam RV. ArS TS MS KS

udam ta ekam para ū (TB† Ap\$† u) ta ekam RV. AV. SV KS† TB. TA A\$ \$\$ Ap\$ M\$ (u-ta = uta) On puru: purū, a matter of noun inflexion. see \$555

§548. In the reduplicating syllable the change occurs in reduplicated aorists of root gup; the \bar{u} form is here more usual, and is doubtless a matter of rhythmic lengthening Cf VV I p. 182:

grhān azūgupatam yuvam AS : grhān (MS grhān) jugupatam yuvam MS MS

prajām me (ApŠ *no) naryājugupah (ApŠ and MS. v l °jūgupah) MS KS ApŠ MŚ.

paśūn me (ApŚ *nah) śansyājugupah (ApŚ and MŚ. v. l °jūgupah) MS MŚ ApŚ dhanam me śansyājugupah KS: śansya paśūn me 'jugupas tān me pāhy eva ŚŚ. And others in the same passages ahirbudhnya mantram me 'jugupah (v l 'jū')...MŚ.

§549. There is one doubtful case before the suffix mant

santre tvarbhumate (VS SB tva rbhu°, MS tvarbhū°) VS MS SB TA If MS understands a form of rbhu°, as do the others, we have rhythmic lengthening in it But this would imply anomalous sandhi for MS (see §916), and two mss read svarbhūmate

\$550. In the seam of compounds, we find first several variants of the preposition anu, lengthened to an \bar{u} The change occurs before either v or r in every case but one (cf under \$516)

anuroham jinva Vait · anuroho (KS anū°) 'si TS KS GB PB Vait · anurohāya ivā PB Vait : anūrohenānūrohāyānūroham jinva MS (with p p and v. I each time anu°).

anuvrd (KS anū°) ası KS GB PB Vait : anuvrte (KS. anū°) tvā KS PB Vait . anuvrtam jinva Vait : †anūvrtānūvrte 'nūvrj jinva MS panthām anūvrgbhyām (KSA anu°) TS. KSA

anukāšena bāhyam MS: anūkāšena bāhvyam VS antarenānūkāsam TS KSA.

§551. Among other compounds, we find several which quite clearly contain rhythmic lengthening of u, in the first two this is the older form, and is shortened in secondary texts

samdhātā samdhīm (MS °dhīr) maghavā purūvasuh (TA ApMB and p p of MS puro°, MS puru°) RV AV SV MS PB TA KŚ ApMB

urūnasāv (TA uru°) asutrpā (AV TA °pāv) udumbalau (TA ulu°) RV AV TA AS

mıthucarantam (TS mıthuś ca°, KS mıthū°, AV mıthuyā ca°) upayāti (AV abhıyātı) dūşayan AV TS MS. KS

sındhoh śınsumārah (KSA † śıśū°) TS KSA . samudrāya śısumārah VS MS See §305 Whether this is really a compound or not is wholly uncertain

§552. Aside from one or two compounds where the \bar{u} u concerns noun stem formation or inflexion (§§554 ff), we find further only compounds of su (suyama) and its opposite ku, appearing also as $s\bar{u}$, $k\bar{u}$ (cf also §563).

brahmanas pate suyamasya (MS $s\bar{u}^{\circ}$, pp su°) mśvahā RV MS TB The \bar{u} is secondary and not favored by the meter (anapest after cesura)

suyame me adya ghrtācī bhūyāstam svāvrtau sūpāvrtau ApŚ suyame me 'bhūyāstam VS ŚB· sūyame me 'dya stam svāvrtau sūpāvrtau MS MŚ

kuyavam ca me 'kṣrtiś (VS °tam) ca me VS MS KS (v l $k\bar{u}$ ° in MS) akṣrtiś ca me k \bar{u} yavāś ca me TS

9 Final \bar{u} shortened

§553. Only one variant, concerning the old adverb $k\bar{u}$ 'where?', which appears in SV as ku before a consonant combination, so that it may be regarded as a case of rhythmic or quasi-Prakritic shortening $k\bar{u}$ sitho (read $k\bar{u}$ sitho) devāv ašvinā RV ku sithah ko vām ašvinā SV

See Oldenberg, Noten on 5 74 1

10. Long and short u in noun stem formation and inflexion

§554. The words hanu and tanu, compounds of -bhū, and a few others, vary between u and ū forms, in case-forms and in composition hanūbhyām (KSA hanu°) svāhā TS KSA TB ApŠ

hambhyām (TS han \bar{u}°) stenān bhagavah VS TS MS KS In this and the prec Tait texts alone have \bar{u} , the others u

agne sadakşah satanur (KS.†°nūr) hı bhūtvā TS KS : agnıh sudakşah sutanur ha bhūtvā MS.

 \dot{suraso} ye tanutyajah (TA. $tanu^{\circ}$) RV AV. TA. Note that two consonants follow the \ddot{u} , which opposes the possible theory of rhythmic lengthening

ıyam te yaznıyā tanüh (VSK tanuh) VS VSK SB ApS.

avasyur (VS SB °syūr) ası duvasvān VS. TS' MS KS PB SB SS

śundhyur (VS TS. °yūr) ası märjüliyah VS. TS MS. KS. PB. ŚŚ. Only -yu in RV.

ārādhyai (sec §474) †didhişūpaim TB . arāddhyā edidhişuhpaim VS (on the latter see §381)

varenyakratūr (AV. °tur, ApS. īdenyakratūr) aham RVKh AV. ApS. Whitney calls 'tūr 'an improvement'. See also §383

vibhūr (PB vibhur) ası pravāhanah VS. TS MS SB. TB PB ApS. MS vibhūr (KSA vibhur) mātrā prabhūh (KSA prabhuh) pitrā VS. TS. MS. KSA. SB TB ApS MS

śambhūr (KS °bhur) mayobhūr abhī mā vāhi svāhā VS. TS MS KS. ŚB. Note mayobhūr even in KS.

ābhār (VS. TS ābhur) asya nışafigathıh (VS °dhih) VS. TS MS KS savitre warbhumate (etc., §549) vibhumate (MŁ vibhū°) . . . VS MS ŚB TA

phalgūr (KSA "gur) lohitornī. VS TS MS KSA.

havanasrun (TB hāvanasrūr) no rudreha bodhi RV. TB Comm on TB āhvānasya śrotā san Irregular lengthening of śru in composition

§555. Neuter u stems in the Veda have nom-acc forms, both sing. and plur, in either u or \bar{u}

sa hı purü (SV puru) cıd ojasa vırukmala RV. SV. Adverbial.

[sam grbhāya purā (TB puru, Poona ed purā-) šatā RV AV. MS KS TB]

Different forms of related stems āyu and āyus.

§556. In the first member of a dual devatādvandva, the ū may be understood as the dual ending, rather than lengthened stem vowel: kratūdakṣābhyām me varcodā varcase pavasva VS. VSK ·SB: dakṣakratubhyām (sc me etc) TS ApS: dakṣakratubhyām me varcodāh pavasva MS

§557. The stem dhur regularly appears as dhur before a consonantal ending (Wackernagel III §134c). In the ApS form of the following

variant ur appears before the ending bhih, and conversely in the KS form ur before vocalic endings. Both must be analogical, if textually sound, note that in the 'correct' MS form both dhur and dhur forms Von Schroeder, followed by the Cone, stigmatizes KS dhūro and dhūran (for "iam) as corrupt, and Knauer proposes to emend KS on the basis of MS But mechanical form-assimilation may account for all the variants

yathadhuram (KS ms odhūran) dhuro (KS dhūro) dhūrbhih kalpantām KS MS, vathāvatham dhuro dhurbhih kalpantām ApS

11 Other u v

§558. The remaining variants are so miscellaneous that they seem hardly worth subdividing In verb inflexion there is practically nothing Once TB presents an anomalous uh for the regular 3d plural secondary ending uh, it occurs at the end of a pada, and remains unexplained.

upo ha yad vidatham vānno guh (TB gūh) RV MS TB

\$559. The various forms of the root su, sū, 'beget, enliven' etc., show some confusion as to the quantity of the radical vowel Thus. rasāstah pra suhi (KS sūhi, MS suva, ApS suva pra suhi) AS SS KS

ApS MS Both suh and suva are regular forms, and in VV I p 189 it is suggested that suhi is a blend of the two Cf next

ırdhamasyanı prasulalı miryavalalı JB: pancadasal prasulal miryavalah Both must apparently be from the same root, of which the regular participle is sūta, but suta is recorded otherwise JB 1 18 has v. l prasūtāt (see Oertel, JAOS 19 [2], 112, 115, delete in Conc tam ardhamāsam

1st and 2d agrists of bhū.

abhyaşıkşı rajābhūm (Ap\$ °bhūvam) MS Ap\$ abhısıkşa rajābhuvam (v 1 °bhūvam) MS

\$560. Quite similarly vah (weak stem uh) and üh are 'in some forms hardly to be separated' (Whitney, Roots), indeed, and meanings Whitney gives some forms (such as passive uhyate) as identical from the two roots Of course they are ultimately variants of each other mā hınsışur vahatum uhyamānam (ApMB† ühyamānām) AV ApMB

Here uh does not fit very well, AV means 'may they not injure the procession as it proceeds' (In ApMB the pple is made to agree with the bride-'as she is being carried off')

samuhyo 'sı vıśvabharāh SS · samūhyo 'sı vıśvabharāh ApS samūhyo Here, contrary to the prec, it is sam-ūh 'sı vıśvavedā VSK KŠ that is meant, even in SS

phalgunībhyām vy ūhyale ApG phalgunīşu vy uhyale AV Kauś

§561. The present participle of the 'root' ture varies with the related adjective tura:

tūrvan (KS turo) na yāmann etašasya nū rane RV VS TS MS KS

§562. Several times the word varutri varutri, from the dissyllabic root vr 'cover', varies in its two forms.

varūtrīs (vā (KS. varutrīs tvā) devīr viśvadevyāvatīh. . VS. KS SB KŚ: varūtrayo janayas tvā devīr . TS: varūtrī (once, 2 7 6, †varu°, and so v. l m the other passage) tvā devī viśva° MS (bis)

traştur varutrīm varunasya nābhim MS MŚ · varūtrim (VS SB °trīm, KS † varutrīm) tvastur var° nā° VS TS KS SB

varutrīr avayan KS: varūtrāyas tivārayan ApS.

§563. The word sumna or $s\bar{u}^{\circ}$ has been interpreted by some as a compound of su, but can scarcely have been felt as such in Vedic times; yet it is possible that the not infrequent \bar{u} in it may have been due to confusion with compounds of su, which as we saw (§552, cf §547) also appear with $s\bar{u}$:

sumnāya (VS. sū°) nūnam īmahe sakhibhyah RV SV VS TS MS. KS. SB Ksuš

dhīrā dereşu sumnayā (AV. °yau, VS sūmnayā) RV AV VS VSK TS MS KS ŠB

The word stūpa, of unknown origin, ordinarily appears in that form; but two variants show that the form stupa was fairly widespread:

vişno (°noh, °nos) stupo (TS. TB. ApŚ stūpo) 'sı VS. TS. MS KS ŚB TB ApŚ MŚ: vişnoh stupah MS. MŚ.

reșmanam stupena (MS stuo, but p p. stuo) VS MS

§564. The word ūrva, on which see last Neisser ZWbch d RV., s v, may be ultimately connected with uru—At any rate forms which look like derivatives of these two words vary with each other in a confused way which usually suggests textual corruption:

urvīm gavyām parisadam no akran AV: ūrvam gavyam parisadanto agman RV. KS See §46

urv (AS once urvy, once urvy) antariksam vihi MS KS SB Vait AS. (bis) ApS MS We might be tempted to see in urvy a phonetic lengthening before r + consonant (cf Wackernagel I §38), but it is probably only a misprint

ūrva (TB urva) iva paprathe kāmo asme RV †3 90 19c, TB N. Comm. on TB. urva iva, vādavāgnīr īva, connecting the word with aurva, a derivative of ūrna

rudrānām urvyāyām (ApŚ ūrmyāyām, ŚŚ omyāyām) . ŚB ŚŚ ApŚ See §228

§565. The word $kuly\bar{a}$ 'stream' is written $k\bar{u}ly\bar{a}$ certainly once, and probably twice, probably under the influence of $k\bar{u}la$ 'bank':

kulyābhyah (TS kū°) srāhā TS KSA. Here the TS comm. takes kūl° as a secondary adjective from lūla; but it is probably only an equivalent of kulyā, cf. next. Keith, 'to those of the pools'.

medasah (HG * ājyasya) l-ulyā (HG kū°) upa tān (AG upainān, SMB abhi tān) sravantu (HG. ApMB kṣarantu) VS AG SG Kaus SMB HG ApMB: medaso ghṛtasya kulyā abhinihsravantu MG. Cf also ghṛtasya kulyā(m)...in Conc, and prec Here there can be no question of the precise equivalence of kūlyā and ku°.

§566. The form $p\bar{u}rusa$ for purusa is familiar in all periods of the language, beginning with RV., but is almost if not quite restricted to positions where the first syllable must be metrically long, such as the following variant, where TA Poons ed reads $p\bar{u}^{\circ}$ with v. 1 pu° :

ato (AV. ArS ChU. tato) jyāyānš ca pūruṣah (TA. pu°) RV. AV. ArS VS. TA ChU.

§567. Twice the RV writes \$\tilde{u}gra\$ for \$ugra\$ According to Oldenberg, Noten on 1. 165 6, following an earlier suggestion of Haug's, the \$\tilde{u}\$ would be due to the fact that the syllable has \$kampa\$ (svaruta accent followed by an accented syllable; of Wackernagel I p 293 f) One might think of understanding the particle \$u\$ plus \$ugra\$, but p p \$hi\$, \$ugrah\$ Both pādas occur in the same hymn:

aham hy ugras (RV. \bar{u}^o) tavişas tuvişmän RV. MS. KS. TB. aham hy ugra (RV. \bar{u}^o) maruto vidānah RV MS. KS

§568. Other cases concerning different readings of what is apparently the same word or related words.

ūlena parimīdho 'si HG.: ulena pariṣīto 'si ApMB. Followed by. parimīdho 'sy ūlena HG.: pariṣīto 'sy ulena ApMB.: utūla parimīdho 'si PG. The meaning of ula or ūla is unknown. Cf. next.

ulo halikṣno (TS ūlo halī°)... VS TS. MS KSA. Cf. prec Here apparently some animal is meant

godhūmāš ca me masūrāš (TS and KapS masu") ca me VS. TS MS KS Both forms are otherwise known; masūra seems to be commoner

hotā redişad atthir duronasat (VS. dū°, but comm. du°) RV. VS VSK. TS MS. KS AB ŠB. TA. MahānU. KU. NrpU VaradapU. The word dūrona, for the usual durona 'house', seems to be otherwise unrecorded.

kurkuro nīlabandhanah HG: kūrkuro bālabandhanah (ApMB vāla^o) PG. ApMB The usual form is kurkura, perhaps of Wackernagel I §38 (lengthening before r + consonant). Cf. next kurkurah sukurkurah HG: kürkurah (ApMB °ras) sukürkurah PG.
ApMB Cf pree

kusmāndāh, °dānı, °dyah, and kuś°, kūs°, kūs°. See §290

prathamāya janusc bhūmanesihāh (AV bhuvane°, SS bhūma ne°) AV. AS. SS Different but related stems bhuvana and bhūma(n)

ā pūṣā civ ā rasu TS : ā puşļam eiv ā vasu AV.

āpura slā ŚŚ · āpūryā slhā . TS AŚ

atıkulram (VSK °külvam) cātılomasam ca VS VSK. kulva 'bald', regularly with short u

agnaye dhūūkṣnā (KSA °kṣā) TS KSA: dhuūkṣāgneyī (VSK °kṣvā° or °kṣyā°) VS VSK MS. Said to mean a sort of bird; original form and precise meaning unknown

uşo (PB ūṣā) dadrlse (PB dadrse) na punar yatīva RV. PB. Conc

suggests reading uşā in PB

pūlyāny (ApMB kulpāny) āvapantīkā AV. ApMB The latter is secondary if not corrupt (note metathesis of eonsonants) Cf. §151 §569. The rest eoneern lexically different words, and are all isolated, except that there are two cases of interchange between the stems ugra and ūrdhva.

ugro (HG ūrdhvo, MG. agne) vīrājann (MG °jam) apa (MG upa-) sedha (AV vīrāļsva) šatrān (MG šakram) AV. ApMB HG. MG.

ugradhanvā (TS MS KS. ūrdhvadha°) pratihitābhir astā RV AV. SV. VS TS MS KS

ud vanšam wa yemwe RV. SV TS KB'N ürdhvam kham iva menire Mbh

yad annam admı (PrānāgU agnır) bahudhā virūpam (PrānāgU virāddham, vv 11 virājam, viruddham) AV TA PrānāgU.

brahmādhıgupiah (ctc). · brahmābhıgūriam .., see §742

athā jīvah (KS adhā viṣitah, VS SB. athaitam, AV. adomadam) pitum (AV annam) addhi prasūtah (TS MS. KS pramuktah) AV VS. TS. MS KS SB .

aghnyau śūnam (AV. aghnyāv aśunam) āratānı RV. AV. śūna 'want': aśuna 'unprosperity'

suhutak tah siha AS subhūtak ta siha ApS

ulem (SV. ūtim) arbhe havāmahe RV. AV SV MS In RV etc uta-īm, in SV acc of ūti But the Samhitās contain no aetual variation in quantity of the u vowel, since in all it is fused with a preceding final u

sā brahmajāyā vi dunoti rāstram AV.: sā rāstram ava dhūnute brahmajyasya AV 'Burns up': 'shatters'. trīni padāni rūpo anv arohat AV.. pañca padāni rupo anv aroham RV Read rupo in AV, with many mss., comm, and Whitney's Transl udno (AV text ūdhno) divyasya no dehi (AV MS dhātah) AV. TS MS KS ūdhno is a false emendation, withdrawn in Whitney's note Cf §106

namo vah pıtarah suşmāya (VS ŚŚ sosāya, SMB GG KhG sūsāya) VS. VSK TS MS. KS TB AŚ ŚŚ SMB GG KhG See §720

CHAPTER XIII QUALITATIVE INTERCHANGES OF A, I, AND U VOWELS

1. Short a and 2

§570. The variations between a and i are numerous, but also rather miscellaneous. One large group stands out among them as concerning noun suffixes which differ only or chiefly in containing the vowels a and i respectively. These have little phonetic interest. At the opposite pole stands the only other considerable group which appears prommently in this section, namely a i in radical syllables which concern ablaut, or quasi-ablaut. That is, the i forms are, or have the aspect of being, reduced ablaut grades corresponding to full-grade forms in a, which vary with them. That is and is may appear historically in such relations to ar is recognized by all (cf. Wackernagel I §21). Whether the same is true of i in relation to short a (as distinguished from ā) before other consonants, is a disputed question. Cf. Wackernagel I §15 note, where this possibility is denied and the attempt is made to explain otherwise some of the seeming instances.

\$571. We shall content ourselves with recording the variants which seem to concern this real or supposed ablaut, it will of course be understood that we do not claim that they prove or disprove either side. We shall begin with one in which an otherwise unrecorded \$ikya\$ appears persistently for the common \$akya\$ (by which TA comm glosses \$ikya\$) One naturally thinks of comparing \$ikvan\$ and other forms of the sort with \$i\$ (\$ikman, \$ikvas\$); according to Wackernagel (l c, p 17) \$ikvan\$ would be etymologically unrelated to root \$ak\$, which seems to us doubtful. But the forms in \$i\$ might perhaps be influenced by \$ik\$; satām \$ikyah\$ (MahānU \$a^o, v l \$i^o\$) provācopanişat TA MahānU

A form of siks itself varies with one from sak in

lātum cec chilşān sa (TA chaknuvānsah, or °vān sa) svarga eva (TA eṣām) AV TA See §826

§572. Several variants concern the root or roots sam sim, which certainly are synonymous, but according to Wackernagel (p 18) ultimately unrelated In the variant padas VS uses only sam, TS KS only sim

śamībhih samyantu tvā VS śimībhih (KSA †śimi°) śimyantu tvā TS KSA kas te gātrāni šamyati (TS KSA simo) VS TS KSA.

māsā āchyantu samyantah VS: māsūs chyantu simyantah TS KSA

śimāh (KSA Conc śimām, ed with v l śimāh, VS simāh) kṛnvantu (VS * śamyantu) śimyantah (VS śamyantīh) VS TS KSA Note that VS denies consciousness of relation between the verb and the noun by reading simāh with s, not ś (comm interprets by sīmā rekhāh)

sūcībhih šamyantu (TS KSA sīm°, MS šamayantu) tvā VS TS MS KSA

§573. Next a few variants which either contain or have the aspect of containing ablaut between *ir* and *ar* (or *ri* and *ra*), of Wackernagel I §21, but most of the cases are obscure or dubious, only the first is a clearly genuine instance, and there too both forms are familiar, SV has merely substituted a more commonplace synonym (hari) for the old and rarer hiri

hırışmaşrum (SV hari°) nārvānanı (SV na varmanā) dhanarcam (SV °cım) RV SV

asyai nāryā upastare (ApMB °stire) AV ApMB Infinitive forms, Whitney emends to °stire with Ppp

śiśirāya mkakarān (KS †mkarān, ApŚ mkirān, vv 11 mkakarān, mkikirān) VS KS ApŚ. Name of an animal, of uncertain form, origin, and meaning

sugantuh karma karanah karayan JB . sugam tvah karmah karanah karah karasyuh LŚ With karasyu cf. the noun káras, RV?

rudra yat te krayī (VS KS krw, VSK kraw, MS MŚ gwi) param nāma VS VSK TS MS. KS ŚB TB ApŚ MŚ See §47, all the forms are unintelligible

§574. There is a sort of superficial resemblance to these cases in certain verb forms (e g the desideratives mentioned in §583), to be dealt with presently; and ablaut of a different kind (ay for e i) also appears among the verbal variants (§582) Here we shall append a number of variations between words which, while actually of independent origin, simulate the kind of ablaut relation here considered, being usually quasisynonyms and (but for the shift between a and i) nearly or quite homonyms

§575. First, cases in which r follows (cf §578) Here we find two cases in which pratara, that is pra-tara, a comparative from pra, varies with forms in pra-tir- (verbal or nominal), in which tir is connected with the root tr 'cross' The psychological affinity between this root as commonly used in Sanskrit and the comparative suffix is evident

drāghīya āyuh prataram (TA †pratarām, MG pratiram) dadhānāh (AV. *te dadhāmi) RV. AV. TA AG MG.: dīrgham āyuh pratirad bheşajām TB.: āyur dadhānāh prataram navīyah AV. Here pratirad is a verb-form (prakarṣena dadātu, comm), pratarām an adverb (comm. prakarṣena); pratīram, if correct, is the Rigvedic infinitive pratīram, but all but one of Knaucr's mss read prataram in MS

aganma yaira pratiranta (MG prataram na) āyuh RV. AV. MG

§576. Before other consonants than r (cf. §§570 ff); here might be mentioned, first, the three variants concerning the synonymous roots sam-vas and samvis, which are listed in §281 Formally even closer are two variants between ksan 'injure' and ksi 'destroy', also virtual synonyms.

ındra wārışio akşatah (AV. akşıtah) RV AV.

akşatam asy (SMB omits asy) arıştam SMB SG: akşıtam (akşıtır) ası .. (see §586).

prihivī darvir akşitāparimitānupadastā (ViDh akşatā) ...Kauś ViDh . yathāgnir akşito...ApMB HG

§577. Other near-synonyms:

yajñam devebhir anvitam (TS TB 1nv°) TS. MS ApS TB †1 4 4.5b 'Accompanied' (anu + 1) 'impelled'

sistle śrūge raksase (AV ruksobhyo) unnkse (KS unakse, AV. mss. "niksve) RV. AV. TS. MS KS niks 'pierce': naś (as if causative) 'destroy'. But no such form of naś is otherwise recorded, and the KS. form is questionable

pavamāno dašasyatī (SV. dīš°) RV. SV. Benfey would derive the SV form from stem dīšas = dīš (lex, and class in composition).

§578. Since it is impossible to draw a sharp line between these cases and other lexical variants, we shall add here other cases which seem to us purely lexical, concluding with some false-readings or corruptions First, there are a number that concern pronouns (the bases a and i) and particles (ha: hi, etc.):

ato (AV. MahānU. ito, TB tato) dharmāni dhārayan RV. AV. SV. VS. TB MahānU.

pūrvo ha (TA. MahānU. hi) jātah (JUB jajñe) sa u garbhe antah VS. TA. MahānU. ŠvetU. ŠirasU. JUB

rşır ha (§§ hı) dīrghasruttamah TS MS. KS TA AS. §§.

eşo (TA MahānU. eşa, SırasU. eko) ha (TA MahānU. hi) devah pradiso 'nu sarvāh VS TA MahānU SvetU SırasU.

visvam hi (KS ha) ripram pravahanti (MS °tu) devīh RV. AV VS MS. KS. SB.

agnıh sudaksah sutanur ha bhūtvā MS agne sadaksah satanur (KS† onūr) hi bhūtvā TS KS

śrestho ha (Savana, AV Introd p 5, hi) vedas tapaso 'dhijātah GB amuti abhūvād adha (AV adhi) yad yamasya AV, VS TS MS KS TAA anūdhā yadı jījanad (SV yad ajījanad) adhā ca nu (SV adhā cid ā) R.V. SV Two cases in the same pada.

vācā cil prayalam (AS ca prayutī) devahedanam TB AS ADS duras ca visvā avrnod apa svāh RV turas cid visvam arnavat tapasvān Aν

tāv ehi (AV 1ha, AB. eha, MG tā eva) AV AB AG SG PG MG Others, §888 chr contains the verb the, cha is probably corrupt (Weber, ISt 10 160), and eva is certainly secondary

anu manyasva suyarā yarāma (MŠ yaze hr. most mss yazeha) TS MŠ asūrte (TS MS KS °tā) sūrte (TS °tā) rayası (TS °so) nisatte (MS °tā, KS na sattā, TS vimāne) RV VS TS MS KS N

mā no agne 'va (MG vi) srjo aghāya RV AG MG sūryo apo vi (MG 'va) gāhate MS Ap\$ MG

Miscellaneous pronominal forms

āre asman (MS NilarU asmın) nı dhehı tam VS TS MS KS NilarU asmat 'from us'. asmin 'in it' or 'in him' MS has v l asman, and its p p asmat

prajāyai kam (AV kim) amṛlam nāoṛnīta RV AV Both forms are used as particles here

nad vā me apı (LS 'pı, Vait apa) gachatı AS Vait LS uo gā udājad apa (MS api) hi valanı (MS balanı) vah RV MS ahır jaghana (PG dadarsa) kanı (AG MG kim) cana AG PG ApMB

HG MG Here true pronoun forms, 'no one'. 'nothing' māmīsām kam canoc chisah RV SV VS marsām kam canoc chisah TS

TB ApS maisam uc chest Lim cana AV As in prec

§579. Remoter lexical variants

mā no vidad (KS vadhīd) abhibhā mo alastih AV KS TB ApS These forms are still quasi-synonyms, 'find' (in a hostile sense) 'injure'

dyulāno vānbhir yalah (SV hilah) RV SV 'Guided' 'placed' gāmm itrā (Poona ed gāmi mitrā) mā vivitsi lokān (Poona ed lokāt)

TA jämun rivä mäva paisi lokäi AV See §198

šukrām vayanty asuraya nu mjam RV Sukrā vi yanty asurāya minije SV.

vālajavair (HG. vālājirair)., see §268 anarsarātım (SV alarsırātım) tasudām upa stulu RV SV AV N See §292

- hrtsu kratum varuno (°nam) vikşv (apsv, dikşv) agnım, see §360.
- mıtrāvarunā šaradāhnām (MS. °nā) cıkıtnū (MS. cıkıttam, KS. jıgatnū, AS. cıkıtvam) TS. MS KS. AS See §45.
- tısro yahvasya (MS MŚ. 11hvasya) samidhah parıjmanah RV. MS. ApŚ. MŚ. See §192.
- višvakarman bhauvana mām didāsitha (ŚB manda āsitha) AB. ŚB. ŚŚ. See §840.
- abhi dyumnam (RV VS. sumnam) devabhaktam yarışlıla (MS KS devahıtam yarışlıla) RV VS. TS MS KS ApMB
- rāyah syāma rathyo vayasvatah (TB. wvasvatah) RV. MS TB. See §255. yaśo (AŚ diśo) yajñasya dakşınām (AŚ. °nāh) TB AŚ.
- agnıh pareşu (AS pratneşu, SV VS. SB. priyeşu) dhâmasu AV. SV. VS. SB. AS SS.
- hinvāno heirbhir yatah (SV. hitah) RV. SV
- alıvandāya svāhā KSA: ıluvardāya svāhā TB ApŚ. Followed by balıvardāya (KSA. °vandāya), which suggests that KSA has an assımılated form.
- sam padam magham trayīşine na kāmam (AA. rayışani na somah) SV. AA See §545.
- vasūni cārur (SMB cārye, ApMB. cāryo, HG cāyyo) vi bhajāsi (SMB bhrjāsi, HG. bhajā sa) jīvan AV. SMB HG. ApMB.
- mıham na väto vi ha väti bhūma RV.: mahī no vätā sha väntu bhūmau AV. Metathesis of a and s
 - §580. The following seem to be false readings:
- ahım (RVKh aham) dandenāgatam RVKh AV Both words make good sense; but Scheftelowitz (p. 62) reads ahım for RVKh with his ms.
- tādītnā (TB. Poona ed †tādīknā) šatrum (TB šatrūn) na kīlā vīvitse (TB vīvatse) RV. TB But Poona ed vīvitse, comm gloss na labhase
- gāvo bhago gāva indro me achān (AV. ma ichāt; TB with two AV. mss †achāt) RV AV KS TB achān is the only intelligible reading and is adopted by Whitney, see VV I p 130
- [añnsakthāya (KSA °sak°, Conc °sīk°) svāhā TS KSA]
- [namah saspiñjarāya (TS sasp°; Conc wrongly sisp° for MS) trisimate VS TS MS KS]
- [mā no vadhīh (Conc undhīh for TS, wrongly) pitaram RV. VS TS TAA MS]
- §581. In verbal inflexion there are a number of miscellaneous variants. Thus the reduplicating syllable contains variously a or i, included are some noun or adjective forms based on reduplicated stems:

- pra bhānavah sısrate (SV. sa°) nākam acha RV. AV SV VS. TS MS On this and the two next see VV I §272
- vrsāva cahradad (and odo) vanc RV · vrso acikradad vanc SV See prec tāh prācya (Vait. 'yah, MS. prācīr) ugugāhire (KS. 'īre, Vait samugaire) KS. Vant MS . prācis cojjagāhire ApS See prec two
- stotāram id didhiscya (SV dadhise) radāvaso RV AV SV. See VV I p 90
- haslagrābhasya didhişos (AV da°) tavedam (TA tvam etat) RV AV TA Manymss of AV dio, which Whitney would read. Cf however next
- vahā (TB N vaha) devatrā didhişo (MS da°) havīnsi MS KS TB N Cf nree The MS reading is not certain, several mss di.
 - \$582. In present formations of different classes.
- suvīrābhıs †tıratc (SV TS taratı).. RV. SV TS KS Note the following r (§573).
- anāgaso adham it samksayema TB anāgaso yathā sadam it samksiyema Vait 1st and 4th class presents; VV I p 125 In the latter y is epenthetic
- yac ca prānili (AV °atı) yac ca na AV SB † TB BrhU † 1st and 2d class presents. VV I p 123
- yah prāmiti (AV prāmati) ya īm smoty uktam RV AV Cf prec
- katı krivah pranalı capanatı ca (SB pranılı capa canıtı) GB SB prec two
- nı şianihı (AV abhı şiana) durıla badhamanah RV AV VS TS MS Cf prec three
- §583. The z of the following is of desiderative character, of Whitney §1030.
- na yac chūdresv alapsata (ŚŚ ali°) AB. ŚŚ An aorist in AB. See VV I
- sa bhilisamano (SV. bha") amriasya carunah RV. SV. Both bhilis (a sort of desiderative) and bhaks are derived from bhas, but function as quasi-independent roots
 - §584. In various miscellaneous verb forms.
- azīzapata (TS TB "repata) vanaspatayah TS MS TB MS D 192 Both are reduplicated (causative) acrists, the form with radical a is influenced by the vocalism of the causative, the other by that of the simple root
- grhā mā bibhīta mā vepadhvam (LS ApS HG vepidhvam) VS LS ApS SG. HG See VV I p 133
- nābhā samdāyı navyasī (SV °dāya navyase) RV SV. samdāyı is 3d sing passive aor, samdāya gerund (but awkward, with no finite verb)

yenā samatsu sāsahah (SV. °hnh, MŚ °hn) RV SV. VS. ApŚ. MŚ 'Whereby thou shalt conquer in battles', RV (perfect subj): 'whereby (thou shalt be) conqueror in battles' SV. (adjective). In MŚ the adjective is made neuter, agreeing with manas '(thy) mind' in prec

sam indra no (no) manasā neşt (AV ncşa) gobhih RV. AV. VS TS MS KS ŠB TB See VV I p 105 putā no bodhi (TA bodha) VS ŠB TA See VV I p 123.

a in noun formation

§586. We begin with the suffixes ta ti, and first with those in which the participles stay close to their original meaning, see also §599 below: yam akşıtam (SS N °tım) akşıtayah pibantı TS SS N : yam akşıtam akşıtā bhakşayantı AV · yathākşıtım akşıtayah pibantı (KS °yo madantı) MS KS 'Which imperishable one (imperishableness) the imperishablenesses (AV imperishable ones) drink (or the like)'

akşıtam ası mā pıtrnām (with variants) kşeşthā . ApG ApMB HG. BDh akşıtam ası mā me kşeşthāh TS: akşıtam asy akşıtam me bhūyāh MS. akşıtır asi mā me kşeşthā. . VSK AŠ ŠŠ KŠ And other variations

apā vrdhi parivrtam (TB Conc °vrtiim, Poona ed. text and comm °vrtim) na rādhah RV. TB 'Open up as it were hidden treasure':
'open up treasure, as it were a fence'

bradhnas cid atra (SV yasya) vāto na jūtah (SV. jūtam) RV. SV. jūtah 'speedy', adj with vāto, jūtim 'speed', with change of construction.

pra samrājo (SV °jam) asurasya prašastīm (SV. °tam) RV SV KB atirātram varşan pūrtīr āvīt (MS vavarşvān pūrta rāvat, KS vavīsvān pūta rāvat) svāhā TS MS KS.

§587. These are supported by other cases in which the participle is used as a noun, practically equivalent to the noun in ti

puşlapate cakşuşe MS puşlıpataye (AS °pate) puşlıs AS. ApS pro ayasıd ındur ındrasya nışkıtam RV SV PB. • pra va etindur ındrasya nıskıtım AV

nyañ (AV nı yan) nı yanty uparasya nışkrtam (AV. °tım) RV. AV KS. ākūtım (MS MS MG °tam) agnım prayuzam svāhā VS TS MS KS ŚB MŚ MG

vāco vidhriim (MS °tam) agnim prayujam svāhā VS TS MS KS ŚB In same passage with prec

sviştam (MŠ v 1 °tim) no 'bhi vasyo nayantu KS MŠ sviştim no abhi (KŠ 'bhi) vasiyo (AV. vasyo) nayantu AV. TS KŠ

kırnutam nah sınştım (MS KS °tam) VS TS MS KS

mayı puşlım (AV °lam) †puşlıpalır (AV puşla°, KS *puşlıpalnī) dadhātu (AG †dadātu) AV MS KS. (four times) TAA MahānU ApŠ AG SMB.

kuyavam ca me 'kşıtıs (VS 'kşıtam) ca me VS MS KS: akşıtıs ca me küyaväs ca me TS

[ādītyās te citim (KS Conc wrongly citam) āpūrayantu KS ApŠ]
punar brahmāņo (AV. brahmā) vasunītha (AV. °nītir, KS * °dhītam,
v 1 °dhītim, KS * [38 12b] † °nītha, KapS °dhītam or °tim, MS
°dhīte) yajnāth (AV MS KS * agne) AV VS TS MS. KS ŠB
°nītha is a variant for °nīta, see §93.

§588. Coming to variants between na and ni, we find in several cases that the i is apparently due to influence of the feminine ending \bar{i}

asapainā sapatnaghnī (ApMB onighnī) RV ApMB ApG Cf sapainī, for which sapatni is recorded in the Rāmāyana (BR)

gandharvāya janavide (ApMB janī°) svāhā ApMB MG Cf the stems janī and janī Here, strictly speaking, the z and the n are both radical, not suffixal (dissyllabic root jan)

somāya janıvide (MG jana°) svāhā ApMB MG Insame passage as prec teṣām yo aŋyānım (PG 'ŋyānım) ajītım āvahāt (SMB Conc ajījım āvahāh, but Jorgensen text and comm as others) TS SMB PG BDh teṣām aŋyānım (MŚ °nam) yatamo vahātı (KS MŚ na āvahāt) AV KS MŚ a-ŋyā-nı, 'non-oppression' a-ŋyā-na id, not recorded lexically, contains properly the suffix ana, which appears as na after ā.

hıranyapakşah sakunih HG.: hiranyaparna sakune PG : hıranyavarnah sakunah MU

pururūpam surelasam maghonam (TB °nım) VS TB maghonam may be taken either as an irregular acc sing of maghavan (cf. RV maghonas, nom plur) or as from an a-extension of the weak stem, maghonim (masc) can only be from an i-extension of the same TB comm annavantam; VS comm maghavantam dhanavantam

§589. Of the suffixes ra ri we have only noted one variant, of the word tittiri ^cra The usual form is ^cri, but ^cra occurs elsewhere; however in this passage the MS pp reads tittirih.

mandūko mūşikā tittiris (MS °ras) te sarpānām VS. MS Cf. §598, varsābhyas .

§590. The suffixes ka and ki exchange in patronymics; really the exchange is doubtless between a and i, since probably in all cases the primary noun contained k; all occur in the same passage.

Saunakam (SG $^{\circ}kim$) AG SG.

kaholanı kauşītakam (\$G °kım) AG \$G mahākauşītakam (\$G °kım) AG †\$G

§591. Next, a and i as finals in inflexion or composition of heteroclitic stems in an (weak grade a, always used in compounds, and tending to pass into the a-declension) and i, of the type asthan asthi. asthabhyah (KSA asthi) svāhā VS TS KSA.

ut izstha puruşa harıta pıñgala lohitākşı (MahānU puruşāharıtapıñgala lohitākşa) dehi dehi dadāpayıtā me sudhyantām TA TAA MahānU And extensions of such stems in suffixal ka (in compounds).

anaksıkāya (KSA °akāya) svāhā TS KSA.

anaslhıkaya (KSA °akaya) svāhā TS KSA

§592. A few cases of interchange between adjectives in z and participles (or quasi-participles, mahat) in at

dhruvas tışthāvıcācalıh (AV MS KS° calat) RV AV VS TS MS KS SB TB

parvala wāncācalsh (AV MS KS °calat) RV AV VS TS MS KS ŠB TB

dadhır (SV dadhad) yo dhāyı sa te (SV. sute) vayānsi RV SV.

enas cakrvān mahi baddha eṣām TS: eno mahac cakrvān baddha †eṣa MS §593. Variations between suffixal ana and in (ina)

tan nau samvananam kṛtam MG: tena samvanınau svake HG samvanana 'concord': samvanın 'concordant'.

manyoh krodhasya nāšanī PG·manyor mṛddhasya (ApMB mṛdhrasya) nāšīnī ApMB HG Feminītes of nāšana nāšīn

- mā no vidad (KS vydhad) vyjinā (KS TB ApŚ. °anā) dveşyā †yā AV KS TB. ApŚ Both words mean 'deceit', and seem to be otherwise unknown
- śunām agram suvīrınah (ApMB subīranah) ApMB. HG Cf next subīrana srja-srja śunaka ApMB · suvīrınah srja-srja HG Epithets of dogs, of unknown origin and menning
- §594. Variations between stems in in (in composition i) and stems in a or an (once an by sandhi for at)
- tasya te †vājipītasyopahūtasyopahūto (Vait vājipītasyopahūto, IŠ vājapītasyopahūta [text °hata] upahūtasya) bhakşayāmi AŠ IŠ Vait · tasya te vājibhir bhakşamkītasya vājibhih sutasya vājipītasya vājinasyopahūtasyopahūto bhakşayāmi ApŠ · vājy aham vājinasyopahūta upahūtasya bhakşayāmi VSK KŠ
- vājam tvāgne Vait : vāji tvā . ApŠ MŠ vājinam tvā vājin KS : vājinam tvā vājedhyāyai (sapatnasāham) VS VSK TS SB
- ava jyām (HG dyām) wa dhanvanah (HG dhanvnah) AV ApMB HG See §159.
- matsvā susipra (SV. °prin) harvas tad (SV. tam) īmahe RV. SV.
- bodhinmanā (SV. bodhan°) id astu nah RV. SV. In SV. pres pple, bodhat
- §595. Before feminine forms of the suffix ka, most commonly i replaces a, see Edgerton, JAOS 31 95 f:
- vidyutam kanīnikābhyām (VS kanīna°) VS MS, KSA. vidyutau kanānakābhyām TS
- vṛtrasyāsī (KS mītrasy°) kanīnikā (VS SB °akah) VS MS KS SB. MS MG : vṛtrasya kanīnikāsī (VSK °akāsī) VSK TS ApS
- agner akşnah kanīnakam (VSK °kām, TS MS KS °ıkām) VS VSK TS. MS. KS. SB.
- กา galgalīti dhārakā VS. SB · ni jalgulītı (KSA ms †jalgalūtı, em °โรเ) dhānikā TS. KSA
- masculine form, the i before ka is anomalous, it may be corrupt, or may be based on thought of a form *jihvin, with suffixal in
- §596. The rest are miscellaneous cases of $a \cdot i$ in suffixes and endings tasmin ma indro rucim \bar{a} dadhātu AV.: tasmin somo rucam \bar{a} dadhātu HG. ApMB. Stems ruci and ruc. Cf. next
- HG. ApMB Stems ruci and ruc Cf next hrrismosrum nārvānam dhanarcam RV harismasrum na varmanā dhanarcim SV. Stems rc and rc-1 (possibly with confused thought of arcis?).

- kuvayah (KSA °yıh, VS TS kvayıh) kuṭarur dātyauhas te vānnām (TS. KSA sınīvālyaı) VS TS MS KSA. A name of an unknown anımal, p p of MS also kuvayıh
- ndrah (SS °as) patis tunistamo (AA SS tavastamo) janesv ā (SS. janesu) AV AA SS Stems tavas and tunis- (the latter not used as a separate word)
- tılırılāstām (ed mısprınted tılva°, see Stenzler's Transl. p 83 n) ırāvatīm AG: tılırılā sthājırāvatī ŚG· tılırılā sthırāvatī MG† 2 11 12b tılırılā syād ırāvatī ApMB The word is otherwise tılırıla, probably MG is to be emended
- vı sloka etu (AV. etı, TS SvetU slokā yantı) pathyeva (KS. patheva) süreh (AV. MS † sürıh, TS. SvetU. sürāh, KS †sürah) RV AV. VS TS. MS KS SB SvetU.
- agne varcasvın (VSK °van) varcasvāns (SS °vī) tvam deveşv ası varcasvān (SS °vy) aham manuşyeşu bhūyāsam VS VSK SB SS
- pradakşının (AV. °nam) marutām stomam rdhyām (MS aśyām) RV. AV. MS TB The old adverb pradakşınıt, of anomalous appearance, is replaced by a more ordinary form in AV.
- mānasya patnı śaranā syonā AV \cdot mā nah sapatnah śaranah syonā HG harşamānāso dhṛṣtā (TB °atā) marutvah RV TB N. See §122 and VV I §86
- kīkalāsah (KSA kīkī°) pippakā šakunis (TS KSA šak° pī°) te šaravyāyai VS. TS MS KSA. Of uncertain origin; simulates a compound of a stem kīka- or kīki-.

2 Long ā and ī

- §597. These variants are few The most interesting group concerns \bar{a} varying with $\bar{\imath}$ as ending of the first part of a compound or seeming compound. We seem justified in thinking of the parallel feminine stem-endings $\bar{\imath}$ and \bar{a} in this connexion. These feminine endings exchange themselves a number of times, as we shall see in our volume on Noun Inflection, which we may anticipate here by quoting the following examples.
- samhıtāsı vıśvarūpā (VS ŚB ŚŚ ° $p\bar{\imath}$, TS ApŚ * ° $p\bar{\imath}h$) VS TS MS KS ŚB ŚŚ ApŚ (bis)
- upasthāvarābhyo dāśam VS upasthāvarībhyo †baindam (so Poona ed. text and comm) TB
- sukhā saptapadī (ApMB °padā) bhava AG. SG. Kauś SMB ApMB

śivā rulasya (TS. and v. l. of MS. rudrasya, VSK. śiva rlasya) bhesañ (MS. °iā) VS. VSK. TS. MS KS. See §684.

The compounds in question are, however, so obscure that it is hardly ever possible to be sure that they contain such feminine stems, or indeed even that they are really compounds (the last one certainly is not):

- ardhrah sitikaksī vārdhrānasas te divyāh (KSA, vārhī°, ed. em. vārdhrī°, te 'dituāh' TS KSA. The word (otherwise spelled with i) seems at least to be felt as a compound; cf. vārdhra?
- ustro ahrnīvān vārdhrīnasas (MS. ahrnāvān vārdhrāc) te matyai VS MS. Cf prec: p.p. of MS vardhrio. In ghro we have another animal name, of unknown meaning and apparently found only here
- ākhuh kašo mānthālas (MS. °thālavas, VSK. māndhālas) te pilīņām VS. VSK. MS: pāāktrah (KSA. †pāāktah; mss. of both pāmira-) kašo mānthīlavas (KSA. †man°) te pitrnām (KSA. †pitr) TS. KSA. See §77.
- yā te agne harisayā (VSK. harī°, MS MS harā°) tanūr... VS VSK. SB. (Pratīkas MS MS) harāśaya is doubtless influenced by haras
- vidinilam kanīnilābhyām (VS. kanīna°) VS. MS. KSA: vidyutau kanānakābhvām TS Certainly not a compound, but seems to belong psychologically here.

\$598. The other variations of a and ī are very miscellaneous; mostly they concern inflexional endings of some sort

agne tejasvin tejasvī tvam deveşu bhūyāh TS: agna āyuhkārāyuşmāns

tram tejasvān devesv edhi MS See also agne varcasvin etc., §596. ındrasyāham devayajyayendriyāvī (KS. °yāvān, MŚ °yavān) . . . TS KS.

śivā viśvāha (VS. °hā) bhesajī (TS. °habhesajī; MS. °jā) VS. TS. MS. KS. viśvacarşanih sahurih sahāvān (AV. sahīyān) RV. AV. MS

śrlpā raiśvadevīh (VS °vyah) VS MS : śrlpās trayo vaiśvadevāh TS. KSA. Fem and masc forms, nom plur.

samānī va ākūlih RV. AV. TB. AG : samānā vā (KS. va) ākūlāni MS. KS MG. i of fem. sing: ā of neut. plur.

varsābhyas titlirīn (MS °rān) VS. MS KSA. SB. ApS Acc plur of the words which vary in §589

dhıyā manolā prathamo manīşī (SV. °mā manīşā) RV. SV. 'The foremost intelligent one': ... intelligence'.

sā šamtāti (SV. °tā, TB ApŚ. °cī) mayas karad apa sridhah RV. SV. TB ApS. samtāti acc neut, and samtātā loc sing, from samtāti; on ŝantācī see \$156

angāni ca me 'sthānı (VS and v. l. of MS 'sthīnı) ca me VS. TS. MS. KS. Stems asthan asthi.

teşām sam hanmo akṣānı (AV sam dadhmo akṣīni) RV. AV. (Ppp has akṣānı) Stems akṣan akṣı.

bahu ha vā ayam avarṣīd... MS: bahu hāyam avrṣād (KS. °ṣad) ... TS. KS. See VV I p. 129

tisro ha prayā atyāyam āyan (JB $\bar{\imath}yuh$) AV. JB. Imperfect and perfect of i

In VV I p. 185 are collected some variations between strong and weak verb stems in $(n)\bar{a}$. $(n)\bar{i}$, which we shall not repeat here Add the following:

śrnīhi viśvatah prati RV.: †śrnāhi viśvatas pari SV.

§598a. There are a number of cases of interchange between gerunds in tvā and tvī. As was to be expected, the form in tvī is regularly the older: avād dhavyānī surabhīnī kṛtvā (RV. VS kṛtvī) RV. AV. VS TS. ApŚ. SMB.

kriyaışā padvatī bhūtvā (RV. °tvī) RV. AV. ApMB.

krtvī (AV. krtvā) devair nikilbisam RV. AV.

kṛtvī (AV. kṛtvā) savarnām adadur (AV adadhur) nvasvate RV. AV. N. pītvī (SV. TS pītvā) sipre avepayah RV. SV AV. VS TS. SB.

vayo ye bhūtvī (AV. °tvā) patayanti naktabhıh RV, AV.

svnnah snātvī (AV. °tvā, VS. SB snāto) malād wa AV. VS. MS. KS SB. TB

hıtvī (SV. hitvā) siro jihvaya vāvadac (SV. rārapac) carat RV. SV.

apālām indra (MG. °ras) trus (truh) pūtvī (AV pūtvā, ApMB. pūrtvī, MG. pūrty a-) RV AV. JB ApMB MG

3. a and t with shift of quantity

§599. Here are found only a few stray variants: too few to classify. Some of the variants in the preceding sections show shift of quantity as well as quality, these will not be repeated We begin with variants of \bar{a} and i, the first two belong with those of a and i in §586:

prācīm jīvātum aksītām (ŠŠ. ŠG °tīm) AV. TS. MS AŠ ŠŠ SG. AG † (Stenzler's Translation, p 36 n) ApMB. N

vyacasvatīsayantī subkūtih AŠ MS: višvavyacā isayantī subhūtih (KS °tā) TS KS. In the latter subhūtā is an adjective going with aditir in the next pāda

tan no durgā (TA °grḥ) pracodayāt TA MahānU. Durgi for Durgā seems to occur only here

śrtyo (AV. TB. °yam) vasānaś carati svarocth (TB °cāh) RV. AV. VS. KS. TB. āngūṣānām (SV angoṣīnam) avāvašanta vānīh RV SV. Different caseforms of a and in stems

adhı kşamı vışurūpam (ArS kşamā vıśva°) yad astı (ArS asya, MS† āsta) RV AV ArS MS TB

kara ād (SV 1d) arthayāsa 11 RV. SV.

anādhrstā . . VS MS KS SB anibhrstā . . TS See §176

§600. Between a and $\bar{\imath}$ the cases are even fewer and equally sporadic. $s\bar{\imath}r\bar{a}h$ (TS MS KS $sar\bar{a}h$, AV $sar\bar{a}$) patatrin $\bar{\imath}$ (TS MS KS $^{\circ}n\bar{\imath}h$) sthana (KS stha, AV. bhūtvā) RV AV VS TS MS KS Besides the synonymous $sar\bar{a}$ and $s\bar{\imath}r\bar{a}$, $sir\bar{a}$ is also found (RV) All are from root sr, cf §§570, 573

amṛlenāvṛtām puram (TA purīm) AV. TA Equivalent stems pur and (later) purī

yātudhānebhyah kanṭakīkārīm (TB kanṭakakāram) VS TB Both the stem of the first member, and the entire cpd, show shift in gender

nayanto garbham vanām dhıyam dhuh RV: nayantam girbhir vanā dhıyam dhāh SV Lexical

āsmınn (KS ā sīm) ugrā (MS ā samudrā) acucyavuļ TS MS KS ApŠ Lexical

vīrenyah kratur ındrah sušastıh RV . varenyakratūr (AV °tur, ApŚ īdenya°) aham RVKh AV. ApŚ See §§383, 554

4 Interchange of short a and u

§601. Under this head we find a clearly defined group of cases, which seems to have no parallel among the a i variants, in which a varies with u before a following v, the influence of which must be partly concerned in the shift. To be sure both forms can as a rule be explained historically, the av forms as full ablaut grade, the uv as weak grade forms, representing \bar{u} before a vowel, or—in the few forms concerning roots in short u—epenthesis of v between u and following vowel. Phonetic and morphological matters are no doubt blended here. But the occurrence of some forms which are morphologically anomalous confirms us in the belief that phonetics cannot be entirely excluded. The great majority of the forms concern roots in \bar{u} . There is to be observed a striking tendency to prefer the u forms in SV, and the like seems to be largely true of MS

§602. In VV I §23 we have already collected most of the verb forms which show this variation The following are those from \bar{u} roots. accidradat svapā iha bhuvat (Ppp bhavat, Barret, JAOS 30 244) AV.

Ppp Add to VVII c

tasma: devā adhi bravan (MS. KS TB † [Poona ed. text and comm] ApS. bruvan) VS. TS MS KS TB. ApS

tasmai somo adhi bravat (KS briwat) RV AV KS

yatra (SV yatrā) devā uti bravan (SV bruvan) RV. SV

pra bravāma (MS bruvāma, v 1 bra°) šaradah šatam VS. MS. TA ApMB. ApG HG. MG.

sammışlo aruşo bhava (SV. bhuvah) RV. SV.

uta trātā šwo bhavā (SV. bhuvo) varūthyah RV. SV. VS TS MS KS Kauś

nemiś cakram uābhavat (SV MS °bhuvat) RV SV. TS MS

yat some-soma ābhavah (SV. ābhuvah) RV SV.

yad düre sann ıhābhavah (SV. °bhuvah) RV. SV MS N.

tatra pūşābhavat (SV. °bhuvat) sacā RV SV. KS

asapainā kilābhuvam (ApMB. °bhavam) RV. ApMB: asapainah kilā-bhuvam RV.

samprıyah (TA °yanı prajayā) pasubhır bhava (TB TA ApŚ. bhuvat) MS TB TA. ApŚ

marutvantam sakhyāya havāmahe (SV. †huvemahı) RV. †1 101 1-7, SV. [stāvešo anamīvo bhavā (Conc wrongly bhuvā for ApMB) nah RV TS. MS SMB PG. ApMB]

\$603. From roots in short u the cases are much fewer:

abhi pra nonuvur (SV. nonavur) girah RV. SV. (It is not quite clear whether this is originally a short or long u root) Here SV. goes counter to its usual tendency, with av for RV. uv.

upa śravat (MS śruvat, p p. śra°) subhagā yazñe asmın RV. MS. On the anomalous and doubtful MS form cf. VV I p. 106

tad aham nihnave (\$\\$ onuve) tubhyam AB \$\\$ To be added to VV I \\$193, since it is a case of 1st and 2d class presents; the latter (hnute) is more regular.

nediya it sınyah pakvam a yavan (Ppp yuvan, Barret, JAOS 30 207) AV Ppp (Others, see Conc.) Add to VV II c

§604. The same shift is found in noun formation and declension, both \bar{u} stems (placed first in the list) and short u stems

abhibhuve (MS °bhve, KS °bhave) svāhā MS VS KS TB ApŚ And, in same passage:

vibhuve (MS. vibhve, KS †vibhave) svāhā, same texts

samudram na suhavam (suhuvam, subhuvas) , mahisam nah subhvam (subhavas) . . ., see §119

ındrah (SS. °as) patıs tuvıştamo (AA SS tavastamo) zaneşv ā (SS janeşu) AV AA SS Cf. §596 šitibhravo (MS. °bhruvo) vasūnām VS. MS

punsavanam punsavanam AG. punsuvanam ası ApMB The form in av is regular in the earlier language, but that in uv occurs first (in AV.)

tad viprāso vipanyavah (SV. "yuvah) RV. SV VS. NīpU VasuU SkandaU ArunU MuktiU.

tā vām gīrbhir vipanyavah (SV °yuvah) RV SV

sumnāyuvah (KS °yavas) sumnyāya sumnam (KS sumnyam) dhatta MS KS. MŠ

tasya prajā apsaraso bhīruvah (MS bhīravo nāma) TS MS

§605. Of other variations in radical syllables between a and u, analogous to the variations between a and i treated in §570 ff, we have noted surprisingly little. We might have expected to find a number of cases especially before r (cf. §573, and Wackernagel I §21), as in the two forms of the present stem karo kuru. The chief cases we have noted, however, concern adverbs and adjectives in par—pur—, which we shall list below in §615, along with other variations in adverbs and particles. Otherwise the only case we have noted—the first in the following list—is of very dubious character. In it and practically all the others in this section assimilation or dissimilation seems to have been at work.

sukarīrā svopašā (v l svau°) MS · sukurīrā svaupašā VS TS KS ŠB The usual form is kurīra, the etymology is unknown If MS is correct, it may have dissimilation to the preceding u (su)

avabhrtha nicumpuna (TS TB ApS nicaākuna, MS KS MS nicuākuna) VS TS MS KS SB. TB LS MS ApS N See §150 Here dissimilation seems highly likely as an explanation of the a form, despite the obscurity of the words

nucerur ası nucumpunah (TS TB nucañkuna, MS KS nucuñkunah) VS TS MS KS SB. TB. LS CH prec

samkasuko mkasukah AV. MS · samkusuko mkusukah TA Ap\$ The root is kas and the kus forms are certainly secondary, and apparently assimilated to the suffixal u which follows Cf next

asmın vayam samlasuke (ApS °kusule) AV ApS Cf prec nı nıvartana vartayendra nardabuda (KS nandabala) TS KS ApMB See §273. Note that the variant vowel is preceded by b, a labial consonant

etām samkrsya (MS MŠ °kasya, v 1 °kusya) juhudhi MS ApŠ MŠ Here the original form was neither a nor u, but r, see §631

tuce tanāya (SV Svidh tunāya) tat su nah RV SV Svidh The SV form is isolated, and probably due to the adjoining and synonymous tuce

Benfey tries to explain it independently, which seems to us highly improbable

§606. Next comes a rather interesting, if somewhat heterogeneous, group in which the a u is found in the second syllable of a word, yet is not clearly suffixal, assimilation or dissimilation may again explain some of the changes, but in one or two, at least, it seems that we are dealing with dissyllabic roots, or root-determinatives, in u, of the type karo, karu- (VV I p 116 f, and references there quoted). Most of the other words are obscure; often one is inclined to suspect that the variations in spelling point to a real uncertainty or ambiguity in the pronunciation of an unaccented vowel:

karanam (TS karunam) as TS AS SS Both words occur in the sense of 'religious work'; but karanam is much commoner, and is second-arily substituted for the rarer but original karunam in this variant.

varano vārayātai (and, vārayişyati) AV. varuno vārayāt TA The root vr, like kr, has dissyllabic forms in u It is unnecessary here to consider the old question whether Varuna is derived from it; the god's name (if the reading is correct, Poona ed has varano with v l varuno) is here used obviously with punning intent

So with the verb-forms vanale vanute and the like, on which see VV I p 121; whatever their grammatical classification (discussed l e), they seem ultimately to have a sort of root determinative u.

agnir no vanate (VSK vanute, SV. TS KS vansate) rayim RV. SV. VS. VSK. TS MS KS

tad agnır devo devebhyo vanate (MS SB SS vanutām) TS MS SB TB. AS SS

§607. The rest are more dubious in character:

pitvo (VS MS pidvo, KSA bidvo) nyaākuh kakkatas (MS kakuthas, TS KSA kašas) te 'numatyai (KSA 'yāh) VS TS MS KSA There may be assimilation in VS or dissimilation in MS, but the forms are wholly obsoure

tad vo astu sucetanam (JB °tunam, SS sajoşanam) AV. AB GB JB SS Here hoth a and u may perhaps he called suffixal; yet the var nt seems to belong in feeling to this group No uncompounded cetuna is found, but sucetuna is recorded later, and cf RV cetu

somasya rājāah kulumgah TS · somāya kuluāgah (MS kulaāgah) VS MS : somāya rājāe kuluāgah KSA The usual form is kuraāga, and the medial u is apparently due to assimilation to u of the first syllable. In both this and the next variant MS p p has kulu°; contrariwise VS comm reads in both kula°, glossing kuraāga.

sādhyebhyah kulungān (MS kulangān) VS MS Cf. prec.

yādase śābalyām (TB śābulyām) VS TB. parā dehi śāmulyam (ApMB śābalyam) RV AV. ApMB Popular etymology has confused two originally distinct words, śāmulya means a kind of woolen garment, and is not connected with śabala 'spotted' A derivative of the latter is concerned in VS TB, whose comms. interpret 'a woman with spotted skin', the u of TB. is either due to vague reminiscence of śāmulya, or to phonetic influence of the labial consonant b. ApMB is clearly thinking of śabala, and intends the meaning 'spotted garment', in RV AV ApMB reference is made to the bridal garment, spotted and impure after the wedding night. Cf §241

§608. Next we come to cases in which the variant vowels are more definitely suffixal, and matters of noun formation. First a group in which the common synonyms cakşas and cakşus interchange. Note the misreading cakşaşī sāmavedasya in GB Bibl. Ind. ed., which is a mere misprint for cakşuşī as shown by the following \$, Gaastra reads correctly cakşuşī. Cakşas is an older form, which later texts tend to replace by cakşus

namah samudrasya cakşase (PB cakşuşe) TS MS KS JB PB LŚ apo mahı vyayalı cakşase tamah RV. apo mahī vṛnute cakşuşā tamah SV āyuś ca prāyuś ca cakşaś ca vıcakşaś (ApŚ cakşuś ca vıcakşuś) ca MS ApŚ

§609. Other, miscellaneous cases of noun formation

tarakşuh (KSA † °kşah) krşnah TS KSA Both forms otherwise recorded; original unknown

sādhu (SV sādhah) krnvantam avase RV SV As the accent of sā'dhu shows (see Wackernagel II 1 p 20), it is a noun, not an adjective or adverb. It occurs only here, and is replaced in SV by the equally unknown sā'dhas

tā mandasānā manuşo durona ā RV ApMB sā mandasānā manasā sīvena AV Really a lexical variant, even the the words may be related prehistorically, but resembles the case of calşas calşus, §608, superficially

dawyā minānā manasā (VS manuşah) purutrā VS MS KS TB sugantuh karma karanah karişyan JB : sugam tvah karmah karanah karanah karasyuh LS Cf. §573

ārdrah prathasnur (MŠ †pṛthusnur, v 1 prathasnur) bhuwanasya gopāh TB ApŠ MŠ Knauer, note on MŠ, would understand prathasnu (TB comm. prathanašīlo) as dialectic by-form of pṛthusnu samsṛṣiam ubhayam kṛtam (KŚ. abhayam kṛatum) KS TB KŚ ApŚ Note metathesis of a: u in KŚ, which is poor and secondary; and cf next

punnkasthalā (KS † punniga") ca krtasthalā (VS ŚB kratu") cāpsarasau VS TS MS KS ŚB Proper names, compounded of krta kratu, of prec Really lexical, since the words are radically not related.

dhanasprtam (MS. dhanu°, but p p dhana°) śūśuvānsam sudakṣam RV MS dhanu° could only mean 'winning by the bow', instead of 'wealth-winning', it is doubtless a blunder, perhaps helped by assimilation to the u vowels of the following

§610. We have noted only one case concerning noun inflection, a shift between the genitive and vocative forms of the stem savitar ghriavatī savitar (MS KS °tur) ādhipatye (TS. °tyaih) TS MS KS AŚ

'In Savıtar's overlordship' or 'in (thru) thy overlordship, O Savitar'

§611. In verb inflexion, morphological change between a and u vowels is fairly common in shifts between imperative and injunctive (imperfect indicative) endings, $(n)tu^{\cdot}(n)ta$. The instances are gathered in VV I, mainly in §§136, 156, 159, and need not be repeated here, since phonetics are hardly concerned We add a few other stray cases

adārasīd bhavata (AV. °tu) deva soma AV. TB ApS. bhavata seems uninterpretable and may be a mechanical form-assimilation, see VV I p 283

ā pitaram vaišvānaram avase kah (PB kuh! comm akah, glossed kuru)
PB KS ApS MS kuh is impossible and, if not a misprint, must be a
gross corruption for kah ('kah), VV I p 283

§612. The remaining cases of a:u are purely lexical. A large group concerns the prefix sa and the particle su, which are practically synonyms as used in composition, and which exchange often with each other, also the pronoun sa, and other exchanges of the syllables sa:su, of various character, are included here

ye sajālāh samanasah (Kauś su°) TB ApŚ Kauś : ye samānāh samanasah VS MS KS ŚB. TB ApŚ MŚ

šatam jīvema šaradah sarvavīrāh (TB. savīrāh, ApŚ suvīrāh) AV. TB ApŚ

ā tvā vahantu harayah sucetasah (ApMB sa°) MS ApMB HG ādrtyāsah sumahasah (SV sa°) krnotana RV. SV

agnıh sudakşah sutanır ha bhūtvā MS agne sadakşah satanır (KS†°nūr) hı bhūtvā TS KS

namo vrddhāya ca savrdhe (TS samvrdhvane, KS savrdhvane, MS suvrdhvane) ca VS TS MS KS

sajātānām sraisthya ā dhehy enam AV TS.: sa° madhye sraisthyā ā dhehi mā MS: sujātānām sraisthya ā dhehy enam KS

tad vo astu sucelanam (JB. °tunam, SS. sajoşanam) AV. AB GB. JB SS

marutvān astu ganavān sajālavān (AS sujālash) TB AS

akah su (TS sa) lokam sukrtam prihuvyāh (VS SB °vyām) VS TS MS KS SB Here and in the next the pronoun sa exchanges with su

KS SB Here and in the next the pronoun sa exchanges with su ayam sa (SS su) vām asvinā bhāga ā gatam AV. AS SS

pra sumartyam (su mṛtyum) yuyotana SMB ApMB. pra sa mṛtyum yuyotana HG Here sa seems uninterpretable; Conc would read su

dadhad yo dhāyı sute vayānsı SV dadhır yo dhāyi sa te vayānsı RV Here and in the next the pronoun sa varies with a syllable su of different character, involving false divisions of words.

samsrasjā sa yudha ındro ganena RV. AV SV VS. TS KS: samsrsjāsu

yutsv ındro ganeşu MS

nṛcakṣāh (MS. sucakṣāh) soma uta suśrug (comm and Poona ed śuśrug, MS. sasrud) astu TB MS If Poona ed 18 right, TB has śu-, the reduplicating syllable See §145

§613. Similarly, the particle u varies with a- of the augment, or

with other a-

yajñah pratyaşihāt (v 1 praty u şihāt) KS yajñah praty u şihāt sumatau matīnām MŚ

tam ahve (SV. u huve) vājasātaye RV. SV. In VV I p 26 we have suggested here possible influence of the following v, separated from the vowel only by the aspirate

ırām u ha (AV aha) prasansatı AV SS AG.

§614. The particle nu varies with the negative na, or with other na, sometimes involving false division of words

tam te vi şyümy äyüşö na madhyāt (MS KS nu madhye) VS MS KS SB. idam te tad vi şyümy äyüşö na madhyāt TS

yanāyale vā pašuso na (MS nu) vājān RV MS KB

upānasah saparyan RV † upo nu sa saparyan SV

avasyuvātā bṛhatī (TS °tīr) na (TS nu, AS tu) šakvarī (TS °rīh) TS MS KS AS

mahān ındrah paraś ca nu (SV puraś ca nah) RV AV SV Metathesis

§615. Various adverbs and adjectives in pur-, par- interchange, this goes back to the same prehistoric phonetic relations dealt with in §605, q v Besides the last variant in §614, the following occur.

part paşā parastāt (AV pu°) RV AV

yasmāj jātā na parā nawa kim canāsa TA.: yasmāj jātam na purā kim canawa VS · yasmāj jāto na paro 'nyo (SS anyo) asti JB SS: yasmāt param nāparam asti kimcit TA. MahānU. N.: yasmād anyan na param kim canāsti Vait, yasmād anyo na paro asti jātah PB.: yasmān na jātah paro anyo asti (NṛpU, 'sti) VS. TB. ApS. MahānU. NṛpU

[ye devāh purahsado.. TS MS KS ApŚ MŚ BDh: ye devā agninetrāh purahsadas . VS. ŚB Conc quotes parahsado for TS] §616. Wiscellaneous variations involving other particles, adverbs, and light words, sometimes with false division of words

pra na (SV na) indo mahe tane (SV. tu nah) RV. SV.

sarve rādhyāh stha (ŠŠ "yās tu) putrāh AB ŠŠ

devānšo yasmaı tvede tat satyam uparıprutā (ApS aparıplutā) bhañgena (ApS bhañgyena) VS SB. ApS.

ugro (MG agne, HG ūrdhvo) virājann (MG virājam) apa (MG. upa-) sedha (AV vṛñkṣva) satrūn (MG. sakram) AV. ApMB. HG MG upasṛnvate (SS apa°, corrupt?) tvā AS SS

apa snehtir etc RV AV. SV KS upa stuhi etc TA. See §110.

töni brahmā tu (AV ApMB brahmota) sundhati (AV. sumbhati, ApMB sansatī) RV AV ApMB

§617. The same change occurs in other lexical variants, in words still fairly close in meaning to one another.

mitro yatra (AV no atra) varuno ayyamānah (AV yuyya°) RV. AV.

devebbir aktam (VS TS yuktam) adıtih sajoşāh VS TS MS KSA

vācā cit prayatam (AS ca prayutī) devahedanam TB AS Ap\$ pramade (TB °mude) kumārīputram VS TB

anu slomam mudīmahi (PB mademahi) RV. AV. PB

asmın goşihe karişinih (Kauś onah, MS purişinih) AV. MS Kauś. See §152, note p before u

sā samnaddhā sanuhi vājam emam (MŠ sunuhi bhāgadheyam) AV MG (Others, §52) ā-san: su, near-synonyms

añjanti suprayasam (Ppp yuñjanti suprajasam) pañca janāh RV AVPpp MS See §192

väyosävıtra (MS väyusavıtrbhyām) ägomugbhyām caruh (MS payah) TS MS KSA.

proināse agna riam āšuṣānāh (AV āśaśānāh) RV AV. VS TS ašīmahı (MS uś°) ivā MS TA

ā rašmīn (RV °mim) deva yamase (TB yuvase) svašvān (RV TB °vah) RV VS SB TB

nı galgaliti dhārakā VS SB · nı jalgulītı (KSA ms †jalgalūtı, ed em °lītı) dhānıkā TS KSA Onomstopoetic forms?

- ye pūrvāso ya uparāsa (AV ye apa°, some mss ya upa°, comm u. parāsah) īyuh RV AV VS TS MS
- [yaje samrādhanīm aham SB BrhU AS SMB ApMB yuje (but read yaje with most mss, Hillebrandt, p 250) †samardham īm aham SS · agnau samrādhanīm yaje HG.]
- §618. And finally, in words that are psychologically more remote pratipam pratisutvanam (AB "satvanam) AV AB SS Boehtlingk regards the reading "sutv" as a corruption of the other But the word is probably a proper name, and may as well contain sutvan as satvan
- svastı nah putrakrtheşu (MG pathyökrteşu, v. 1 as RV) yonışu RV AB MG
- vasışlhahanıh śıñgīnı kośyābhyām VS oşışlhahanam śıñgīnıkośyābhyām (TA °kośā°) TS TA
- yamasya loke adhırajjur äyat (TA äya, MS loke nıdhır azaräya) AV MS TA See §401
- adha syāma (MS athā syāta) surabhayo (ApŚ syām asur ubhayor) grheşu AV. MS KS ApŚ See §840.
- pratisrutkāyā artanam (TB rtulam) VS TB See §651.
- śumbhānas (stambho).., see §287
- vn no rāṣṭram unattu . .TB sam te rāṣṭram anaktu AV See §139 bhakṣīmahı (TS MS. KS Vair dhukṣ°) prayām ıṣam RV SV TS MS KS PB Vait
- rajani, rajjuni see §107
- îde agnım svavasam (AV svāvasum) namobhıh RV AV MS TB AS See §466
- ımau stām anupakşıtau (ApMB anapekş°) AV ApMB
- āšum jayantam anu (KS yā samjayantam adhı) yāsu vardhase RV VS TS. MS KS ŠB
- abhı sprdha usro vedim tatarda SS vy usridho asro adrir bibheda TB
 The TB looks generally secondary Comm asro nirasanakusalo
- prıyany anganı svadhıta parunşı (Vart anga sukrta purunı) TB Vart [hota yakşat tvaştaram acıştum (TB Conc °tam, Poona ed °tum, which certainly read) MS KS TB]
- [havir havişşu (SV havihşu) vandyah (SV. Cone wrongly 'yuh) RV. SV] [asmākam anšum maghavan puruspṛham SV Cone 'read anšam' for anšum; but cf. Benfey's Glossary, perhaps anšum is correct]
- [upa drava payasā godhug oşam (ŚŠ† oşum, AІ payasā goşam) AV AB AŠ ŚŚ Both AŚ and ŚŚ probably contain misprints, as suggested by Whitney on AV]

5. Other interchange of a and u vowels

§619. The variations between long \bar{a} and \bar{u} , and between a and u with shift of quantity, are negligibly few and scattering. We have noted only the following of \bar{a} and \bar{u} .

dwyo gandharvah ketapūh (VSK °pāh) ketam nah (MS KS omit nah) punātu VS VSK TS MS KS SB SMB, 'Purifying (protecting) the will', the verb punātu is cognate with -pūh of the original reading

pıtā devānām janıtā vibhūvasuh (ApŚ MŚ vibhā°) RV SV ApŚ MŚ drapsas caskanda pṛthivīm anu dyām (RV. prathamān anu dyūn) RV

AV VS. TS MS KS SB

aghadvıştā devajātā AV Kaus atharvyuştā devajūtāh ApS

yad annam admı (PrānāgU agnır) bahudhā virūpam (PrānāgU virāddham, vv 11 virājam, viruddham) AV. TA PrānāgU

§620. Besides the last, which also includes a form with short u, we find short u and \bar{a} varying in

sakhā suševo advayāh (Mahānāmnyah vyuh) RV. KS AA Mahānāmnyah Nom sing masc of as u stems

yo nah (AV mā) kadācid abhidāsats druhā (AV. druhuh) RV AV. druhā, instr sing of stem druh, druhuh, nom sing of adj druhu

sā prasūr (ŚG suprasūr) dhenukā (HG °gā) bhava AV ŚG ApMB HG Pronoun sā prefix su

pumānsam u (ŚG ā) dadhad (ŚG †dadhād) sha AV. ŚG Add to VV I §§167, 193

§621. Variants of a and \bar{u}

yad adya hotrvarye (\$\$ °vūrye) \$B \$\$ Ap\$ °vūrya is Rigvedic, its long ū seems anomalous For the u-vocalism of vurīta etc (VV I §10)

nahih (RV $n\bar{u}$ cit) sa dabhyate janah RV SV $n\bar{u} = nu$

druhah pāšān (TS KS pāšam) prati sa (KS. sū) mucīsļa RV TS MS KS See §612

utsam juşasva madhumantam ürva (KS MŠ ürmım, VS arvan, VSK sva satadhāram arvan) VS VSK TS KS ApŠ MŠ See §228

6 Interchanges of short i and u

 $\S622$. These variants are not numerous, and chiefly morphological or lexical Of phonetic interest is, however, a small but striking group of cases in which texts of the Taittiriya school show a tendency to substitute u for ι , in various formative syllables These are to be considered in connexion with the tendency of the same school to substitute suffixal

- v for y (§§247-8) The tendency seems to us undemable, even the in nearly every case one or another special consideration may have contributed to the change, so in
- pareywānsam (TA ApŚ pareyu°) pravato mahīr anu (AV $\imath ti$) RV AV MS TA AŚ N (Pratīkas, ŚŚ ApŚ Kauś Rvidh) This form of the perfect active participle of $par\bar{a} + \imath$ is certainly anomalous enough in appearance, possibly the u may be partly due to assimilation to the following v
- hlādika hlādikāvali (TA hlāduke hlādu^c) RV AV TA Here, too, another motive is discernible The word is felt as a kind of primary derivative of root hlād, 'cooling' This meaning in the Brāhmana language is expressed by the suffix uka, cf Edgerton, JAOS 31 104 ff But again the form appears only in a Tait text
- goşv asveşu subhrışu (TB °uşu) RV AV KS TB The stem subhru occurs only here, the surrounding u vowels may have assisted (assimilation)
- made-made hi no dadih (TB daduh) RV AV MS KS TB AS daduh can only be a noun form equal to dadih, and otherwise unknown (a 3d plural verb is not construable) The samhitā mss of MS have a different phonetic corruption, dadik, ed follows p p
- §623. In other texts ι and u occasionally interchange in formative elements of the same type, but in these the u forms are less anomalous acety agains cikituh (SV KS °(ih)) RV SV KS Perhaps assimilation in SV KS
- davvyā (AV dava) hotāro (TS °rā, AV °rah) vanuşanta (TS vanış°, KS † vanışan na, AV sanışan na) pūrve (AV KS etat) RV AV TS KS The ancient agrist vanuşanta is based on vanu-, the same element mentioned above in §606, end It is historically quite as justified as vanışanta, which is substituted for it in later texts (TS, contrary to its general trend¹) to bring it into a commoner type of agrist formation
- §624. In two other rather obscure words assimilation or dissimilation may be concerned
- rkşo jatūh susilīkā (MS susulūkā) ta itarajanānām VS MS (p p of MS susilīketi susi-līkā) See §279
- drse ca (MS drsā ca, RV abhīkhyā) bhāsā brhatā sušukvanīh (RV šušu°, KS °vabhīh, MS sušīkmanā) RV VS TS MS KS ŠB See §240 §625. In verb inflexion there are many cases of variation between indicative endings in i and imperatives in u They need not be listed here, see VV I, e g §116 Otherwise the remaining variants seem to be

- sporadic and purely lexical, so far as not corrupt, unless one make an exception of the following which shows two mere interjections, hun and (commoner) hum:
- paśūnām tvā himkārenābhijighrāiny (GG °mi, HG hum') asau . SMB GG ApMB HG
- -§626. In several variants forms of root \$\frac{\psi r}{1}\$ exchange with \$\frac{\psi r}{1}\$ or \$\rs ru\$; agne tran \$\rightarrow \lambda ktav\rightarrow as upa\(\rightarrow \text{u} \text{to}\) (SB AS SS *\(\frac{\psi}{1}\). TB upa\(\frac{\psi r}{1}\) divas
- (TB dwah) prthwyoh MS. SB TB AS SS upasrito dwah prthwyoh
- śavasā hy ası 'rutah (AV śritah) RV. AV But SPP srutah for AV, with many mss (other mss śrtah), and so Whitney's Transl
- ā tvā parısrutah (MG. °srtah, mss °tam; AG °śrtah) kumbhah (ApMB† °āh) AG PG ApMB MG And others; see §275
 - §627. The rest are sporadic
- prajāvatīh sūyavasau (AV. °se) rušantīh (RV. TB comm rīš°) RV AV. TB See Whitney's note on AV rūš° 'shining', the no doubt secondary to rīš° 'grazing', is not impossible of interpretation and is clearly the reading of AV. tradition
- priyo me hido (MS hito, v. 1 hito) 'si (MS †bhava) TS MS This, as between i and u, concerns of course only a textual corruption in the mss of MS
- svarvndo abhı gä adrım uşnan (SV ışnan) RV SV. See §401
- pāli priyam ripo (and, rupo) agram padam veh RV (both) pāty aguir vipo agram padam veh ApŠ Read rupo in both RV passages, cf. Ludwig ad loc, Bloomfield, JAOS 27 75, and RVRep 184
- apām tvā sadhīşī (MS† sadhīsīu) sādayāmī VS MS KS SB See \$353 The MS is mangled, is its ending felt as loc plur? (sadhīsī loc sing)
- upa yajñam asthita (MS astu no, AV comm astria) vaiśvadevī RV. Kh. AV ApS MS
- ā suse (SV āsise) rādhase mahe RV SV. The RV has a verb form from ā-svas 'I fan (instigate) you unto great bounty' In SV. we have an interesting case of assimilation ir sense to outward form. The ending e suggests a dative matching the following rādhase, hence āsise 'unto blessing', which leaves the sentence without a verb Benfey supplies 'we summon'
- riasyartena mām uta (TA 1ta) TB TA riasya tv enam āmutah (p p tú, enam, mā'm, utiám ma') MS (corrupt in both forms) TA comm takes ita as a verb form (= prāpnuta)
- mandāna ud vrsāyate (SV 1d vrsāyase) RV SV

şad ıd yamā (TA udyamā) rşayo devajā ıtı RV AV. TA N ud ıt te vasuvillamāh ApS ud u tye (MS MS ud-ut te) madhumattamāh

RV AV SV MS GB PB AS SS Vait MS

sarvān it tān anu vidur vasişthāh RV sarvam uktam anuvidur vasişthāh JB

vışvair devai rālibhih samrarānah (MG devair rtubhih samvidānah)

ApMB MG sugandhim (subandhim) . see §152

lokam (RV ulokam) u (ApŚ 1d) dvc upa jāmī (RV jāmim) īyatuh RV MS ApŚ

[vātāpe pīva id bhava RV KS †-Conc ud for KS id]

nādya satrum nanu (SB † na nu) purā vivitse (SB yuyutse) RV SV See \$255. and other interchanges of vivin \$805

alwandāva svāhā KSA ılwardāva svāhā TB Ap\$ See \$579

achidrā usijah padānu takşuh TS achidrosijah kavayah padānutakşişuh

(so text, em by Caland, ms† padāmtalsīsval) KS vratām (MS TB ApŠ vratā nu) bibhrad vratapā adabdhah (TB ŠŠ ApŠ ŠG adābhyah) MS AB TB AŠ ŠŠ ApŠ ŠG

7 Interchanges of long $\bar{\imath}$ and \bar{u} (u)

§628. Here are found only a few stray variants

ūrjam samsūdena (KSA °sīdena) TS KSA Parts of a horse's body, wholly obscure TS comm samsudam samtatal sarano nāsikādih visnur āprītapā āpyāyyamānah VS. apūtapā ādhūyamānah TS The

passages are rather low bathos

ahır na jūrnām (TB ahır ha jīrnām) atı sa patı wacam RV SV TB Both participles of the dissyllabic root jr The ī form is regular in Sanskrit, but the Yedic ū form survives in Prakrit (Edgerton, Ind Stud C R Lanman 27)

rkşo jatüh suşılikā (śuśulūkā) , see §624 sam im (SV u) rebhāso asvaran RV AV SV

dhūmrā babhrunīkāšāh. VS pitrbhyo barhişadbhyo dhūmrān babhrvanūkāšān ApS See §742

CHAPTER XIV VOCALIC LIQUIDS AND OTHER VOWELS

§629. With this chapter we once more enter definitely into the sphere of Prakritism. In a considerable number of cases the variations seem to be, in fact, strictly Prakritie. That is, a, i, or u vowels are historically secondary, and are derived from f (l) by phonetic changes as in the Prakrit dialects. These are flanked by cases of hyper-Sanskritism, in which an older a, i, or u, which is conceived (perhaps wrongly) as Prakritic, is replaced by f in a secondary text. These are not less interesting than the other eases from the phonetic standpoint, as helping to show the wide spread of Prakritism in Vedic times.

§630. We also find not a few variations between vocalic r and consonantal r with another vowel, especially when that other vowel is i or u, we are reminded of the later pronunciation of r as ri or ru. On the other hand the not infrequent variations between r and ra or ar are mainly matters of ablaut, in so far as they are not lexical. Perhaps the majority of variants in the entire chapter are indeed in some sense lexical, that is they concern, or at least may concern, lexically independent forms. But even then it is still perfectly possible, and indeed highly likely, that Prakritic influences have been influential in the shift, even the exact extent of that influence cannot be determined. Cf. our remarks in §20

1 r and a (one anomalous ease of \bar{a})

§631. We shall quote first the cases which can with most confidence be classed as purely phonetic (Prakritic), beginning with one in the Rigveda itself

ava sma durhanāyatah (SV. durhṛn°) RV SV The SV. has (secondarily, of course) restored Sanskritic vocalism in the Prakritized form of the RV. The root is originally hṛn, and this form continued to flourish by the side of the early Prakritism han

işām khṛgalyam śavam (ApŚ khagalyam śapham) MS ApŚ An uncertain part of a wagon is meant. The natural presumption of Prakritism arising from the juxtaposition of the two forms is supported by the form khṛgala, RV, if that word (of uncertain meaning) may be assumed to be related

paşthavād (MS prşthavād, p p paştavād) gaur vayo dadhuh VS MS KS

The p p form of MS suggests that its samhita form may be a hyper-Sanskritism, in any case it is hardly to be doubted that it gives the original form of the word

etām samkrsya (MS MŚ "kasya or "kusya) ruhudhi MS ApŚ. MŚ MS. MS, forms are not incapable of interpretation as lexically independent words. Boehtlingk chooses the form kusua But they are probably Prakritic after all

achalābhih (KSA °rābhih, MS [m]atsarābhih, VS rkşalābhih) kapinjalān VS TS MS KSA, See §184. The AV, knows rchara, probably r is older than a

8632. The following eases seem more or less clearly to contain hyper-Sanskritism in the forms with r.

sarvam tam masmasā (VS bhas°) kuru VS TS SB sarvāns tān masmasā (MS †mrsmrsā) kuru MS KS TA sarvān ni masmasākaram In this onomatopoetic word (cf Eng mash) there is no doubt that the a vowel is original. MS. pedantically tries to make it sound Sanskritte and 'hufalutun'

atirātram varsan pūrtir āvrt (MS vavarsvān pūrta rāvat, KS vavrsvān puta ravat) TS MS KS And various other formulas in the same passages, all containing the same exclamations Despite the lingual (in MS rāvai, which might be argued to point to an original 7, we believe with Keith that avrt is a mere hyper-Sanskritism, without real standing Cf §168

vanasade (MS vanarşade, KS vanışade) vet (TS MS vat) VS TS MS

KS SB See §650

vasūni cārur (SMB cārye, ApMB cāryo, HG cāyyo) vi bhajāsi (SMB bhrj°, HG bhajā sa) jīvan AV SMB ApMB HG The SMB form is certainly a hyper-Sanskritism if it is not corrupt, one ms bhajāsi, Stonner 'geniessen' (as if bhaj)

varuryuktam sāmabhir āklakham tvā (MS rhiahham tā, p p rkiakhám iti rkta-khám, tā [unaccented]) MS TA This is the only case of ā

varying with r, it is highly problematic See §365

§633. The remaining cases are more clearly lexical in character

In the first we have probably a mere textual error

jīvasūr devakāmā (HG vīrasūh) syonā ApMB HG prajāvatī †vīrasūr devrkāmā AV vīrasūr devakāmā (AV devr., SMB sūr nvasūr deva°, GG °sūr jīvasūr) syonā (AV omits, GG jīvapatnī) RV AV SMB. GG PG MG Most mss of AV read deva° both times, and this is doubtless the true AV reading, as Whitney observes Either reading would however make sense

andro nāma kruto grne (TB ApŠ gane) SV TB AS ŠS ApŠ grne is dubious, Benfey suggests taking it as 3d sing passive, gane is simple enough but may be a lect fac

jālena jālam atī sa pra sarsīte (TB atī sīt pra sīnsate) RV MS TB Comm on TB sīt prasītam, atī prasīnsate 'tīšayena prasītansayaty adhah karotī TB is evidently secondary

§634. In the other lexical changes the two forms are less close to each other in form, the vowel change being accompanied by other changes in the words We omit cases of brhat and mahat, of §241.

vadhūr jajāna (AV jīgāya, MS KS mīmāya) navagaj (ŚG. navalīj) janītrī AV TS MS KS ŚG ApMB See §46

jagdhā vitrstir (HG vicastir) ApMB HG. jagdho mašako jagdhā vitrstir (HG vicastir) ApMB HG. jagdho vyadhvaro jagdho mašako jagdhā vitrsti svāhā ApMB jagdho vyadhvaro jagdhā vicastir jagdho mašakah HG Sce §156.

ud usrıyāh srjate (TB sacate) sūryah sacā RV SV TB Sce §3

dadhrg (TA dadhad) vidhakşiyan (AV °kşan) paryañkhayāte (TA °tai, AV. parīūkhayātai) RV AV TA Sec \$145

ajantı (SV mrjantı) vahnım sadanāny (SV oneşr) acha RV. SV

savıtā bhrtyām (KS †manyām) TS KS Soms of KS, ed cm bhrtyām yad adya dugdham prihwīm asrpia (TB ApŚ asakia, MŚ abhakia) AB.

TB AS ApS MS See §152

salyanjasā drnhanā (MS durhrnā, KS †drhanā) yam nudethe TS MS KS · sacelasau druhvano yau nudethe AV See §305

somah sutah püyate ajyamānah (SV suta reyate püyamānah) RV SV. Sce §57.

rasena sam asrksmahı (RV agasmahı, KS LS aganmahı, AV. JB. aprlsmahı) RV AV. VS TS MS KS JB. SB TB LS ApMB

yāv (MS. KS yā) ālmanvad bibhīto (KS † °tho, AV višato) yau ca raksatah (AV KS † °thah) AV TS MS KS

deva purašcara saghyāsam (MS devapuraš carasa rdhyāsam) tvā MS TA. ApŠ MŠ But cf §838, it is doubtful if this belongs here.

ye bhakşayanto na vasūny ānṛdhuh (TS ānṛhuh, MS ānaśuh) AV TS MS

āsannısūn hrisvaso mayobhūn RV AV TS MS KSA N āsann esām apsuvāho mayobhūn SV See §820

2 rand r (once ī)

§635. Here most of the variants can be justified lexically in either form Perhaps the clearest cases of Prakritism are the two following

The first is striking because of the persistence with which the Prakritic form occurs, in three out of four texts, and even in the fourth a v l has it

tejo yasasın sthanıram samıddham (SG samıddham, v 1 samı°) SG PG. ApMB HG See Edgerton, Studies in Honor of Hermann Collitz 34, samıddham is pretty clearly for samıddham

dadhışa ehi ApS dadhışıy ehi MS The forms are voc sing fcm, and the first can hardly be anything but a Prakritic form of root dhṛṣ, so apparently Caland, who renders 'Kuhne'

To these may be appended another, in which however \imath for r seems to be a textual corruption

ayam satrūn jayatu jarhīsānah (AІ jarhīs°) VS VSK TS MS KS ŠB TB AŠ But elsewhere AŠ has the Vikūra aham sa° jayūmi jarhīsānah, indicating that jarhīs° is corrupt

§636. An interesting case, with a sort of lexical hyper-Sanskritism, is the next, gotrabhid is probably felt sophistically as 'supporting the gens', but is fundamentally hyper-Sanskritic (the true epithet of Indra can only be the familiar gotrabhid), of Edgerton, Studies in Honor of Hermann Collitz 34

puramdaro gotrabhid (MS °bhṛd, all mss , TB. maghavān) vajrabāhuh VS MS KS TB

§637. In words closely related in meaning, when the only or chief difference of form is the shift between i and f, it is fair to assume some degree of Prakritic influence, even if the forms are both historically correct.

jāmim rīvā māva patsi lokāt AV jāmim itvā mā vivitsi lokān TA The roots r and i are synonyms But Poona ed of TA jāmi mitvā ādityānām prasitir (MS °srīir) hetir ugrā MS TB TA 'Extension'

'progress' Cf. next two

prayatis ca me prasitis (MS. KS °srtis) ca me VS TS MS KS Cf prec and next

dīrghām anu prusitim (KS samrtim) āyuşe dhām (KS tvā) VS TS KS ŠB TB. dīrghām anu prasītim samspréethām MS Cf prec two

tām dhīrāso anudršya (VSK °dišya) yajante (KS. †anudršyāyajanta kavayah) VSK TS KS TB tām dhīrāsah kavayo 'nudišyāyajanta MS tām u dhīrāso anudišya yajante VS SB anu-diš 'assign'. anu-drš 'survey'.

tam ghed (MS. hed) agnir vrdhāvati (MS vrdh^o) RV TS MS In the original there are two words, vrdhā avati MS. is obscure and probably corrupt, p p vadhā (sic¹), avati

§638. To this same group belongs the single case involving long i; it is of doubtful validity, since most MS mss read "mrte with the rest, and probably this should be adopted in the text But the form as printed can be interpreted as a negative past participle of root mi 'change, alter'

tasmın sidamite pratitişiha (MS text sidamite pratitişihan) TB ApS. MS Add to VV I \$250

§639. Still pretty close to each other in meaning are the variants between hia (or dhia), participle of $dh\bar{a}$, in compounds, and bhrta (once hrta), from bhr (hr)

sa tvā rāsirāya subhrtam bibhartu (Ppp pipartu) AV. sa no rāsiresu sudhitam dadhātu TB

gandharvo dhāma vibhṛtam guhā sat VS ga° nāma nihitam guhāsu TA MahānU And others; §855

devair devīh samāhitāh RVKh (but Scheftelowitz °hrlāh) devīr devaih samāhrtāh (TB °bhrtāh) SV TB

yad agne pürvam prabhrtam (AS prahitam, MS nihitam) padam hi te TB AS ApS. MS

hiranye 'smın samāhıtāh (RVKh Scheftelowitz °hṛtāh, HG °bhṛtāh) RVKh ApMB HG

garbha wa (SV KU. [Poley's ed] wet) subhrto garbhinībhih (RV sudhito garbhinīşu) RV SV KU

sūryarasmım samābhītam TS TB sūryān (p p °yāt) sukram samībhītam MS. sūrye santam (KS TA sukram) samāhītam (KS TA samābhītam) VS KS SB. TA

§640. Rather remoter are the remaining lexical variants

priyo ma hido (MS hito, v 1 huto) 'sı (MS †bhava) TS MS.

ımā (MS ıdam) brahma pīpihi (MS pipīhi, v. 1 pipīhi) saubhagāya VS MS KS SB

vrşajūtir no 'vṛtah (SV. 'vɪtā) RV. SV. a-vṛ-tah av-ı-tā (nom. ag , root av). hotrāvīdah (RV 'vɪda, TB 'vṛdha) stomataṣṭāso arkaih RV AV. MS TB mā no vɪdad (KS vṛdhad) vṛṇnā (KS TB Ap\$ 'anā) dveṣyā † yā AV. KS TB Ap\$

ındrartublır brahmanā vāvrdhānah TB Ap\$ indra rbhublır brahmanā samvıdānah \$\$

āñjanena sarpışā sam visantu (AV spṛŝantām, TA. mṛŝantām) RV. AV TA

atrāha tad urugāyasya visnoh (RV. Nvrsnah) RV VS TS MS KS SB N $^{'}$ Visnu is meant even in RV , later texts substitute the name for the epithet

prāntar rṣaya sthāwrīr (SV prāntarıkṣāt sthāwrīs te) asrkṣata RV SV vācaspate hṛdvidhe nāman (MS MŚ hinvidhe) MS TA ŚŚ MŚ All mss and p p of MS agree on the strange form. Even hṛdwidhe is none too clear (TA comm hṛdayasya vidhātah cittaprerakety arthah)

vītrasyāsī (mītra°) see §235.

made-made hi no dadih (TB daduh, MS samh mss dadih) RV AV MS KS TB AS See §622

adrnhathāh śarkarābhis trimstapi (MS tribhrstibhih) KS ApS MS See §222

īśāno vi syā (= siyā, TS sījā) driim AV TS MS KS

upa yajñam asthita (AV comm astria, MŚ astu no) vaiśvadevī RV. Kh. AV ApŚ MŚ

dame-dame susiulyā (TS °tīr, MS ° tī, AŚ ŚŚ °tır) võurdhānā (AV °nuu, AŚ ŚŚ vām 1yānā) AV TS MS KS AŚ ŚŚ See §236 [eṣa 1ṣāya (AV Berlin ed rṣaye, emendation) māmahe AV ŚŚ Keep 1ṣāya with AV mss]

3 $r(\bar{r})$ and $u(\bar{u})$

§641. The not very numerous variants under this head seem to be prevailingly Prakritic in character. We should expect u for r especially in the vicinity of labial consonants, but except in the first variant (before m), we hardly find this to be the case, the only other instances with labials (e.g. bhr and $bh\bar{u}$) are lexical. The most clearly Prakritic cases are

tvaşirmantas (MS MS tvaşiri", ApS tvaşiu") tvā sapema VS MS KS SB KS ApS MS Cf tvaşirimatī (TS ApS and TA Poona ed tvaşit") te sapeya TS TA ApS The Taittiriya form is feminized

ut (Vart adhāma) sakthyā (ŚŚ Vart °yor) ava gudam (TS KSA ApŚ sakthyor grdam) dhehi VS TS KSA ŚB ŚŚ Vart ApŚ Altho grda seems not to be recorded elsewhere, it may be presumed to be the original form of guda

etām samkrīya (MS MŠ °kaşya or °kuşya) juhudhi MS ApŠ MŠ See 8631

rtaprajātā (MS uta pra°) bhaga id vah syāma TS MS This may be called a lexical variant, since MS makes sense, but it is doubtless fundamentally Prakritic

§642. Some variants are on their face hyper-Sahskritic, but probably both are mere textual errors or corruptions

sa nırudhyā nahuşo (TB Conc nahrşo) yahvo agnıh RV TB But Poona ed of TB text and comm nahuşo, the only possible reading

devam manah kuto (AV krto) adhi prajatam RV AV Altho all mss of AV apparently agree on krto (if we understand Whitney's meaning), it seems that we must read kuto, with Whitney.

made-made hi no dadih (daduh, dadrk), sce §§622, 640

§643. More purely lexical variants are-

priyo me hīdo (MŚ hito or huto) 'si (MŚ †bhava) TS MŚ See §640 agner (ApŚ devā) akīnvann (RV apunann) uśijo amītyave (RV. °vah, ApŚ amartyave) RV MS. ApŚ

vanisthor hrdayād (AV * udarād) adhi RV AV (both) ApMB.

upa yajñam asthita (astrta, astu no) . . , see §640

avımuktacakra (°rā) āsīran PG nvrttacakrā āsīnāh HG ApMB. Note labial consonants preceding r u

āyurdā deva (AV. agne) jarasam vṛnānah (ApMB. ApG HG gṛn°) AV MS KS MŚ ApMB HG ApG āyurdā (VS ŚB. āyuṣmān) agne havışo juṣānah (VS ŚB ŚG havıṣā vṛdhānah) VS TS ŚB TB TA AŚ ApŚ ŚG

§644. The only cases of long \bar{u} and r concern compounds of the roots $bh\bar{u}$ and bhr, which are practically synonyms here

adbhyah sambhrtah (TA MahānU ApS sambhūtah) prthwyar (MS KS†°vyā) rasāc ca (KS rasah) VS MS KS TA MahānU KS ApS PG

samvešāyopavešāya gāyatryai (PB ŠŚ KŚ also tristubhe and jagatyai; TS ApŚ gāyatriyās tristubho jagatyā anustubhah panktyā) chandase (TS ApŚ omit) 'bhibhūtaye (TS ApŚ abhibhūtyai, ŠŚ 'bhibhrtyai, KŚ 'bhibhūtyai) svāhā TS PB ŠŚ KŚ ApŚ aristyā avyathyai samvešāyopavešāya gāyatryā (also tristubho, jagatyā, anustubho, panktyā) abhibhūtyai svāhā ApŚ

Once \bar{r} is corruptly written \bar{u} in a single ms .

tāsām svasīr ajanayat (MS svar ajanan, KS ms † svasūr [ed em svasīr] ajanan) pañca-pañca TS MS KS

4 land u

§645. There are two cases, both concerning the same very interesting form. A perfect middle participle of root klp appears twice in ApS with u for l. There is no doubt whatever of the correct interpretation of the form, which is established by the KS variant, with correct Sanskrit vocalism. It is the clearest kind of Prakritism, but seems not to be recorded in any grammar or lexicon, nor in Whitney's Roots

- §649. In various participles and gerundives.
- atıralram varşan pürtir avrt (MS vavarşvan pürta ravat, KS vavrşvan püta ravat) svaha TS MS KS See VVI p 147.
- jāgarītāya (KSA jāgrtāya) svāhā TS KSA Both equivalent participles adhā te viņno viduņā cid ardhyah (TB rdhyah) RV TB Gerundives, cf Whitney §963b, 4
- dāma grīvāsv avımolyam yat (TS avıcartyam) AV TS pāśam grīvāsv avıcartyam (VS ŚB °crtyam) VS MS KS ŚB Cf. prec AVPpp according to Whitney has °crtyam
 - §650. In other noun and adjective formations
- §am methir (ApMB sam te methī) bhavatu sam yugasya tardma (ApMB trdma) AV ApMB No stem trdman is otherwise known
- atandrāso yuvatayo tvibhriram (TB vibhariram) RV TB Poons ed of TB text and comm bibhariram Agni is referred to, TB comm poşakam
- aprajaslām pautramṛtyum ApMB HG aprajasyam pautramartyam SMB Comm on SMB repeats the form, glossing putrasambandhimaranam
- pra sa (tead su?) mriyum yuyotana HG· pra sumariyam (ApMB su mriyum) yuyotana ApMB. SMB prathamam arlım yuyotu nah MG.
- agner (ApŚ devā) akṛnvann (RV apunann) uśijo amṛtyave (RV. °vah, ApŚ amartyave) RV MS ApŚ In ApŚ a blended stem -martyu (fused from marta, martya, and mṛtyu), cf prec
- jīvālave na mrtyave (PB martave) RV PB Infinitive in PB
- sarūpavarsā ehi MS . sarūpa vṛṣann ā gahi SV JB
- vanasade (MS. vanarṣade, KS vanṛṣade) vel (TS MS val) VS TS MS KS SB The stem vanar, equivalent to vana, is found in RV. in compounds It does not occur independently, and vanṛ is not recorded even in compounds except here. The next preceding phrase in KS is nṛṣade vel, the r of nṛ has perhaps been responsible for vanr°
- devāh pāntu yajamānam nyarthāi (AV. nurthāt) RV. AV TS. Synonyms, both meaning 'perdition', nurtha also Rigvedic
- [nışkartā (RV KŠ 15°, ApMB Conc wrongly nışkrtā) ınhrutam (PB TA. ApMB. ınhrtam) punah RV AV. SV MS PB TA KŠ ApMB]
 - §651. Miscellaneous and apparently unrelated words
- pratišrutkāyā arianam (TB riulam) VS TB arianam, comm. duhkhinam, BR. 'reviler', riulam, comm dešarājavārtākathanašīlam

 $sarn\bar{\imath}k\bar{a}ya$ $tv\bar{a}$ TS $srd\bar{\imath}k\bar{a}ya$ $tv\bar{a}$ MS Both words wholly obscure, said to mean 'water'

dvişas laradhyā (ApŚ ° yai) rnayā na īyase (SV. īrase) RV. SV KB AB ApŚ dvişas tad adhy arnaveneyase AV.

7 r and $\bar{a}r$

§652. Here we find only a few cases, in most of which $\bar{a}r$ shows the vriddhi of secondary derivation, varying with the primary word with r Once a form with prefixed preposition \bar{a} varies with the same form without \bar{a}

aprajāstvam mārtavatsam AV aprajastām pautramytyum ApMB HG Others, §650

ārtavā (MS KS rtavo) adhipataya (MS KS 'dhī') āsan VS MS KS SB ārtavo 'dhipatir āsīt TS

rtavo 'srjyanta VS TS ŚB ārtavā asrjyanta MS KS agnir grhapatīnām (MS KS gārhapatyānām) VS TS MS KS ŚB ārtyai (TB rtyai) janavādinam VS TB Stem rti, from r ārti, from ā + r

8 r and ir, ur, ūr

§653. Here are found only a handful of cases, almost all of which seem highly questionable or certainly corrupt. Even corruptions are interesting in such a case, however, as signs of phonetic tendencies in later times at least. As to r ir, we find just two cases in which the samhitā mass of MS (the same text each time!) read r for proper ir. In both cases the p p points to the reading ir. Von Schroeder inconsistently retains r in one case and emends to ir in the other, there is as much, or as little, justification in one as the other.

nama ānirhatebhyah (MS ānī, p p ānir) VS TS MS KS SB anuttam ā te maghavan nakir nu (MS mss nakīnu, ed cm nakir nu, p p nakīs, tu) RV VS MS KS

§654. Under r. ur we also find only a couple of eases, equally dubious again dvārā vy ravati RV TB Cone quotes uravati for TB; but Poona ed text and comm ra without v 1

satyaujasā druhanā (MS durhrnā, KS †drhanā) yam nudethe TS MS KS And others. see §305

nābhimṛśc (MS KS nābhidhṛṣc) taniā (TS tanurā) jarbhurānah (TS MS KS jarhṛṣānah) RV VS TS MS KS SB Might also be classed in §643

§655. Of r: $\bar{u}r$ we find only the following, in which the root r varies with the so-called 'root' $\bar{u}rnu$, really a form of vr.

tvesas te dhūma rovati (AV $\bar{u}rnotu$) RV AV SV. LS KS MS

9. r and ra, rā

§656. In so far as this variation is properly phonetic, it is mainly a matter of that form of ablaut which is called by modern westerners 'Samprasārana', with a misapplication of a term used differently in Hindu grammar. On this see Wackernagel I pp 69-71, and cf. the similar variations of ι and u with ya and va in the next chapter. There is one case, also, of r varying with ra which stands for ar before $\mathfrak p$ plus consonant, by the phonetic law formulated in Wackernagel I p 212 f. There are likewise a few variants which concern morphology (verb inflexion, and noun formation) and a few that are purely lexical, with some border-line cases which seem to be half-lexical, half-morphological

§657. The eases of so-called Samprasārana concern to some extent roots which are familiarly known in both forms (such as grah, grabh), to some extent rarer and more doubtful cases which are not recorded in Wackernagel's excellent treatment of the subject. They thus supplement our previous knowledge on the point. We begin with several variations of grabh, grbh, on which see especially VV I §281

agrbhīt VSK . agrabhīt VS AS SS

agrbhīşata VS · agrabhīşata KS

udgrābhenod agrabhīt (MS azigrabhat, KS azīgrabham, and azīgrbham) VS TS MS KS ŠB

agnaye tvā mahyam pratigrahītre (SS °grhnate) VS VSK MS SB SS prāno dātra edhi pratigrahītre (SS °grhnate) VS VSK SB SS The same with havo dātra.

Similarly ablaut grades of another root, in various verb forms. use usam aprithāh (aprāg apr) AV (both)

§658. In radical syllables of various noun formations the same change is familiarly known. Most of the following eases are sporadic and are not recorded in Wackernagel 1 c, some of the forms are so obscure that no theory of historic origin can be regarded as certain, and the phonetic shift may perhaps be secondary and analogical

hradam (MS hrdam) na hi tvā nyīsanty ūrmayah RV MS 'Like streams to a pool, flow down to thee (the hymns, brahmām)' The ultimate etymology of hrada is not clear, but surely hrda can be nothing but a phonetic variant for it, presumably samprasārana Cf next.

- namo nāveṣyāya (p p ni°) ca hṛdyāya ca MS · namo hṛadayyāya (VS. hṛdayyāya, KS hṛadavyāya) ca mṛveṣyāya (TS °ṣyyāya) ca VS TS KS See §248 The MS and VS forms simulate derivatives of hṛd and hṛdaya, but these can hardly be in place here; the adjoining word means 'whirlpool' and apparently we must think of the same form hṛda = hṛada found in MS in the preceding variant
- pṛkṣasya (ArS prakṣ°) vṛṣno aruṣasya nữ sahah (ArS mahah) RV ArS AB KB AS SS Svidh pṛkṣa is a name or epithet of a horse, its etymology is obscure, and pṛakṣa has not been recorded elsewhere
- numrado (ApŚ numrdo) 'sı MS KS ApŚ MŚ Apparently different grades of root mrd, Wackernagel p 71
- avātīratam brsayasya (TB prathayasya) šeşah RV TB See §69.
- bhrjas chandah MS bhrajas chandah VS TS SB bhrājas chandah KS† (but v l bhra) The word is said to mean 'fire', and apparently comes from the root bhrāj, which is not mentioned as such by Wackernagel l c but may be related to bhraj, Wackernagel p 69, cf also bhargas etc There is much confusion in the forms of this root or these roots Cf next
- kṣuro bhrajas (TS bhṛṇvāñ, MS bhrjas, VS. bhrājas, stigmatized by Cone as erroneous, hardly with justice) chandah VS TS MS KS SB Cf pree
- ārdrah prathasnur (MS †pṛthusnur, v l pratha*) bhuvanasya gopāh TB ApS MS See §609, and Wackernagel p. 71
- svasty apsu vrjane svarvati (MG tvrajane svarvatah) RV AB MG Really a lexical variant, vrajana 'nay' is suggested by pathyāsu of the preceding pāda But some MG mss read with RV
- [digbhyas cakravakah (KSA Cone cakrvo with the sole ms., ed em cakravo) TS KSA. This is probably a mere corruption, if genuine it would have to be a purely phonetic variant, for the meaning is certainly the same]
- §659. The roots rādh and rdh, the separated in the history of the language, and the often regarded as unrelated, are at least quite possibly of identical origin, and certainly the repeated variation between them belongs phonetically with this group Cf also §806
- rdhyāsam adya makhasya sīrah MS TA. Ap\$ · makhasya te 'dya sīro rādhyāsam devayajane pṛthīvyāh VS SB [The references to MS MS in Conc seem to be erroneous]
- tan me rādhyatām VS TS SB TB TA SS MS Kaus SMB tan me samṛdhyatām (Kaus samṛddham) TB SMB Kaus

harwato graham rdhyāsam KS: harwato harvyojanasya harwantam graham rādhyāsam MS

§660. The single case noted of r varying with ra for ar before s plus consonant (Wackernagel I p 212 f) is.

samsrṣṭāsu yulsv ındro ganeşu MS : samsraṣṭā (AV. v l samsrṣṭā) sa yudha ındro ganena RV AV SV VS TS. KS

§661. From the root δr , also quoted as $\delta r\bar{a}$ 'boil', are found the two participles δrta and $\delta r\bar{a}ta$, which exchange in the following, in which δrta happens to be secondary, but it is equally old otherwise subratam (AV subram) manye tad rtam navīyah RV AV.

 $\S662$. The remaining variants cannot be called purely phonetic In verb inflexion forms in r vary repeatedly with other forms in which a morphological a (thematic vowel, or part of a different personal ending) is added, producing ra.

āpo grheşu zāgrata HG · āpo zāgrta MS KS MS āpo havihşu zāgrta ApS āpo devesu zāgratha PG See VV I p 123

ye ca bhūteşu jāgrati (KS jāgrtha) AV. KS See VV I p 221

yajamānāya jāgrta ApŚ: saputrikāyām jāgratha PG See VV I p 96 te na ātmasu jāgrati (KS† jāgrta) AV KS

yat pasur māyum akrta TS ŠŠ. KŠ ApŠ. MŠ SMB GG·yad vasā māyum akrata Kaus See VV I p 257.

yatra-yatra vibhrto (KS bibhrato) jātavedāh AV KS Both forms are textually uncertain (for variants see VV I p 158), and obscure as to interpretation

§663. Similarly in noun formation, a stem in r varies with a derivative in suffixal a

hotrakānām (MS hotrk°, v. l hotrak°) camasādhvaryavah. ApS MS The words hotrka 'secondary hotr' and hotraka 'pertaining to the sacrifice (hotra)' are finally synonymous names for a certain priest See Caland on ApS 12 23 4

\$664. Finally, we find similar shifts in words which are lexically quite unrelated, notably three between the stem kratu and forms of the root kr. Both are important in the ritual, and the repeated interchange may well signify an association of them in the minds of the Vedic poets, by popular etymology

puñjikasthalā (KS †puñjiga°) ca kṛtasthalā (VS ŚB kratu°) cāpsarasau VS TS MS KS ŚB Proper names, and so naturally flexible samsṛṣṭam ubhayam krtam (KŚ abhayam kratum) KS TB ApŚ KŚ.

ındra kraivā (MS ındrah krivā) maruto yad vašāma RV MS KS The MS, which is certainly secondary and poor in ındrah, reads the

gerund krtvā for kratvā by a phonetically easy slip, which is banal to the point of senselessness

maınā arvā renukakā(ah prnak (MS † [v 1 prnak] KS pranak) MS. KS TB pra-nak, from nas, 'attain', with pra; prnak from prc

ındrāya tvā srmo 'dadāt (ŚG śramo dadat) MS MŚ ŚG SMB See §277 \$665. The other lexical variants are more remote from each other in sound, and the resemblance becomes very vague.

drapsaś caskunda prthivīm anu dyām (RV prathamān anu dyūn) RV.

AV VS TS MS. KS SB Vague assonance only

tam tvam višvebhyo devebhyah kratūn (KS °bhya rtūn) kalpaya KS ApŠ sā (read sa?) nah prajām pašūn pāhy aranīyamānah (pp aháh, ánī, yamanah!) MS . sa no rucam dhehu ahrniyamanah TA The MS is hopelessly corrupt, probably read ahrnīvamānah

atrā te bhadrā rasanā apasuam (KS bhadrā vrsanā agrbhnām) RV VS TS KS

ıdasman anu vastam ghrtena Ap\$ M\$: ıdavvasman (RVKh ılava vām) anu vastām vratena RVKh AV Scheftelowitz reads ghrtena in RVKh

ıdam aham sarpānām.. grathnāmı (MS mss krisnāmi) TS ApS MS. See §47. MS perhaps corruption for gratho

nadayor vıvratayoh süra ındrah RV na devo vrtah süra ındrah SV **§828**

vısvaır devai rätiblih samraranah (MG devair riublih samindanah) ApMB MG.

āvitte dyāvāpṛthivī ṛtāvṛdhau MS KS āvinne dyāvāpṛthivī dhṛtavrate TS TB. In this and the next, TS has interchanged the two old adjectives rtarrdh and dhriavrata (both RV)

āvrttau (TS āvrnnau) mitrāvarunau dhrtavratau (TS °nāv rtāvrdhau) VS TS MS KS SB Cf prec

10 r and ri, rī

§666. Since r and r have been pronounced alike for centuries by most Hindus, it follows on the one hand that such variations are especially open to the suspicion of corruption, and on the other that genuine variations of this sort may be expected to occur fairly early, as forerunners of the later change of r to m (which occurs, sporadically but not seldom, in the middle Indic dialects) On the whole subject see provisionally Wackernagel I pp 31 ff It is a well-known fact that Findu mss, including those of Vedic works, show much fluctuation in this regard As a single instance, which might be multiplied indefinitely,

we call attention to Whitney's note on AV. 5 14 3, apropos of the pādariśasyeva parīšāsam. So the Berlin ed prints it But Whitney informs us that most miss read rśasyeva, and observes that this is a common phenomenon in them. In this case Whitney advises adopting their reading into the text; we agree with him. Against most miss, but with some of them and with the comm, Whitney, would also read ršyapadīm vrṣadatīm in AV. 1 18 4a, where both editions have riśya.

§667. These AV cases do not differ in principle in the slightest degree from the following readings of MS, which presents trisu for trisu (adverb 'eagerly', from root tris) and traster for the god-name traster. We agree with Von Schroeder's judgment in keeping the readings of his mss, despite the unquestionable meaning of the words. In short, we believe that the Maitrayaniyas pronounced the words in this way, and that we are dealing with real phonetic (dialectic) variants, not 'corruptions' in any proper sense of that word:

trşu (MS trışu) yad annā vevişad vitişihase RV SV. MS ApS

tṛṣucyavaso (MS trıṣu°) juhvo nāgneh RV. MS

tvaşirmantas (MS MS tvaşiri°, ApS. tvaşiu°) tvā sapema VS. MS. KS SB KS ApS MS Others. see §641

§668. Similarly, but in a very much more wide-spread and insistent fashion, the word for 'worm' is frequently and in many texts written krimi, althouts original form seems to have been krimi (Wackernagel I p 33, Uhlenbeck, Etym Wbch, s v) Several variants show both forms of this common word.

hatas te atrınă krımıh (GG kr°) SMB. GG atrınă tvă krime hanmı TA ApS atrıvad vah krımayo hanmı AV.

hatāh krimayah (but Jörgensen text and comm kr°) sāšātikāh sanīlamakṣikāh SMB · āšātikāh kṛmaya (but Poona ed. krr°, v. 1 kr°) wa TA Note that different editions differ on both texts!

nīlamgoh (MS °gave) kṛmih (TS kri°) VS. TS MS KSA.

§669. So far we have mentioned only cases in which it appears that the regular or original form had r, not r. But the opposite is also not uncommon. It may be regarded as a kind of hyper-Sanskritism, or at least, it presupposes a tendency to pronounce r and r in a similar manner, at any rate in certain linguistic spheres. In some cases, to be sure, as in the preceding group, the tradition of the mss is confused and we may be confronted with late corruptions. But it would be very rash to make this assumption as a general explanation of the most of such cases. The fact seems to be that this pronunciation of r as r is much more ancient than has often been supposed, and must have had some

sort of existence in Vedic times, however limited geographically or socially

§670. Take for instance the proper name Trita, which is quite definitely established in that form as prehistoric (Avestan Thrita) Yet thrice in a single hymn of AV (6 113 1 and 3) it is spelled Trita, according to all mss known to both editions. In such cases we should not emend, as Shankar Pandit does, even tho the TB parallel for two of the pādas (the third is not recorded elsewhere) gives the usual and proper form Trita. In short, we feel no right to assume that the Atharvan tradition had any other form than that presented by all mss tria enam. (Tendenam, TB, trita etam), manuscreen manusco (TER, m5°)

tria enam (read enan, TB trita etan) manusyeşu mamrje (TB mā°)
AV TB

trte (TB trite) devā amrjataitad enah AV TB

§671 There is little doubt that the MS form $\bar{a}paprv\bar{a}n$, which evidently gave Whitney considerable trouble in his Roots, is simply a phonetic variant for $\bar{a}paprw\bar{a}n$ (perfect active participle to $pr\bar{a}$) instead of an independent participle of pr, as Whitney questioningly suggests The MS p p has pri

āpaprıvān (MS āpaprvān) rodasī antarıkşam RV VS TS MS KS ŠB

§672. The verb sredhati makes it clear that sridh is the proper form of the stem found in the next variant. In fact many AV mss read sridhah, which Whitney regards as the true AV reading at inho at sridhah (AV MS srdhah) AV VS TS MS KS

§673. In the next krivi is the only form known to RV, and so may perhaps be assumed as the original, both etymology and meaning of the word are unknown

ā va ındram krıvım (SV Svidh krvim) yathā RV. SV ŠŠ Svidh adha tvişīmān abhy ojasā krivim (SV krvim, v l krivim) yudhābhavat RV SV

§674. According to Wackernagel I §180b, r was regularly replaced by ri before y, by phonetic law, when r appears before y, as in the majority of texts in the next variant, it would then be due to analogy. In the second variant the original (AV) reading was pronounced $pitriy\bar{a}c$, and for this TA $pitry\bar{a}c$ is merely a phonetic variant, with r for proper ri vayam $r\bar{a}sitre j\bar{a}gry\bar{a}ma$ (MS † KS † $m\bar{a}$, TS and p p of MS $j\bar{a}griy\bar{a}ma$) $purohit\bar{a}h$ VS VSK TS MS KS §B

dyaur nah pitā pitryāc (TA pitryāc) cham bhavāti (TA bhavāsi) AV TA

Cf the next where the RVKh reading is doubtful.

āvvusam jāgrijād aham AV dvyusam jāgrijād aham RVKh Aufrecht:

but Scheftelowitz $\bar{a}vyuşam\ j\bar{a}gry\bar{a}m$ (em , for ms $^{\circ}y\bar{a}my$) aham Cf VVI p. 102.

§675. The epithet of Rudra concerned in the next is of wholly obscure origin and meaning, presumably MS is secondary

vikirida (KS °da, VS °dra, MS vyakrda) vilohita VS TS MS KS.

§676. Finally a few corruptions and false readings

ya tle (TA ApŚ ApMB yad tle, PB †yakşate) cıd abhıstışah RV AV SV PB TA KŚ ApŚ MŚ Kauś GG ApMB jarı cetīd (mss cetīd, p p cya iti it) abhısışah MS (grossly corrupt, cf §193)

sam tvā rinanti (Vait rnanti) LS KS Vait Note the anomalous sandhi in Vait, sam-r and sam-ri would be virtual synonyms, but a 9th class present from r is anomalous (allowed by the Dhātup, but not known in literature according to Whitney's Roots). The Vait reading is therefore doubly suspicious See §992

[mau te pakṣāv (°sā) ajarāu patatrīnau (VSK TS KS °nah, Conc wrongly quotes TS as patatrīnah) VS VSK TS MS. KS ŚB §677. Twice r varies with $r\bar{\imath}$, both forms are morphologically justifiable in both cases

śrtas tvam srto 'ham ApŚ śrītas tvam śrīto 'ham KS Participles of the root which appears somewhat confusedly as śr, śrā, śrī 'cook, mature'

adbhir visvasya bhariribhih ApMB adbhih sarvasya bhariribhih SG In ApMB a distinctively feminine stem bharir is used, to agree with adbhih, SG uses the stem bharir as of common gender

11 randru

§678. The shift between r and ru is only slightly less frequent than that between r and ri. There is equally good reason to regard it as having genuine phonetic bearings. In standard modern Marāthī the r of Sanskrit is regularly pronounced with an u coloring (practically ru, instead of ri as in most other vernaculars). That this tendency is very ancient is proved by RPr 14–12 (796), which states that some erroneously 'make the r-vowels like the labial vowels' (svarau kurvanty osthyambhau sarephau). There are, to be sure, not so many variants that seem to be purely phonetic in character as was found to be the case with r ri. They seem to tend to associate with neighboring labial consonants, and perhaps justify an assumption that the vocalic r in conjunction with labials was apt to have u coloring

§679. Among the clearest phonetic variants are

bhrmin (TB. bhrumin) dhamanto apa gā avrnata RV TB Note that the sound occurs between two labial consonants. The original bhrmi is not very clear, one of Sāyana's theories is that it means 'cloud', which is the meaning assigned to bhrumi by TB comm, who derives it from root bhram

druāsi VS. drbāsi KŚ drubāsi VSK An obscure word, note the following b There is no way of determining the original form §680. A clear case of hyper-Sanskritic r for original ru is the stem prsvā, found several times in Tait texts for regular prusvā, note the preceding p BR call prsvā a 'falsche Form', but it is too persistent to be thus lightly dismissed. TA comm explains by jalabinduh It seems clear that it was the established Tait school form of prusvā, tho there has been much confusion about it among interpreters, see e.g. Keith on TS 7 4 13 1

pruşvā aśrubhih VS MS · aśrubhih pruşvām (TS pṛṣ°) TS KSA pruşvābhyah (TS pṛṣ°, KSA ed pruṣṭābhyas, ms praṣṭā°, read probably pruṣvā°) svāhā VS TS KSA

śam u prsthäva (read with Poona ed text and comm prsväva) śiyatäm TA śam te prusväva śiyatäm AV

§681. Hyper-Sanskritic, again, is the r in the following cases; we do not venture to say whether the following labial bh (part of an inflexional ending) is concerned in the change. At least the r form seems quite well established in the Tait school, the MS is more seriously corrupt purā jatrubhya (TA ApMB jartrbhya, MS cakrbhyā, p p vaktrbhyah!) ātrdah (MS °da) RV AV SV MS PB TA KS ApMB

§682 The remaining variants contain at least a semblance of independent lexical interchange. Thus, the roots of and or are virtual synonyms, and their derivatives of and study both mean 'course, way' die study (VS KS SB BrhU KS of and so TB Cone, but Poona ed study) as fravam putram RV VS MS KS SB TB BrhU SS KS ApS MS. (Von Schroeder needlessly emends KS 38 2 to

srutī) namah srutyāya (KS srt°) ca paihyāya ca VS TS KS namah paihyāya

ca srutyāya ca MS Derivatives of the words concerned in the prec ā tvā parisrutah (AG "śritah, MG "sritah) kumbhah (ApMB † "āh) AG PG ApMB MG enam parisrutah kumbhyā ŚG emām parisrutah kumbhah AV pūrnān parisrutah kumbhān ŚB No form parisrt is otherwise recorded, despite the equivalence of the two roots, it is probable that MG (all mss) has a phonetic variant or corruption for parisrutah

htranyam astrtam (SB BrhU. GP asrutam) bhava SB. BrhU KBU AG SMB PG ApMB HG MG Here sru varies with str; 'indestructible' or 'unmolten' (gold)

Cf mṛgasya sṛtam (HG śṛtam, ApMB vv. 11 srutam, śrutam) akṣnayā ApMB HG Sec §278

§683. Similarly hr with v becomes a synonym of hru with v, the participles of both, exchanging twice, mean 'confounded, gone astray' or the like A third variation between hr and hru is merely a textual corruption

avinaşlan avıhrutan (AS °hrtan) MS KS AS ApS SG

- işlartā vihrutam punah RV KŚ · nişkartā (Conc wrongly °krtā for ApMB) vihrutam (PB TA ApMB vihrtam) punah AV. SV. MS PB TA ApMB In TA there is a v l vihrutam, adopted in the text in Poona ed, but the comm even there reads vihrtam, and glosses visesena bhagnam
- astonā (comm asronāh) angair ahrutāh svarge AV. astonāngair ahrtā svarge TA But Poona ed text and comm ahrutāh, v. l °tā, for TA, and this is the only possible reading. The simple hr is not a synonym of hru, ahrta would make no sense, comm kauṭit-yarahītāh (=ahrutāh).
 - §684. Miscellaneous cases, largely suspicious:
- ruvad dhokṣā (TB nṛvadbhyo 'kṣā) paprathānebhir evaih RV MS KB TB The original has ruvad dha-ukṣā 'the bull roared' This is misunderstood and corrupted in TB
- śwā rutasya (VSK śwa rtasya, TS and v l of MS śwā rutrasya) bheşajī (MS °jā) VS VSK TS MS KS. Original is certainly rutasya. 'healer of what is injured' Rutrasya, 'Rudra's healer', is an obvious lect fac, and rtasya, 'healer of the rta' or 'the rta's healer', while formally intelligible, is clearly a stupid change conditioned by the phonetic relations between r and ru
- satyaujasā drnhanā (MS durhrnā, KS †drhanā) yam nudethe TS MS KS.. sacetasau druhvano yau nudethe AV Multiple confusion, see §305, etc
- mayobhūh samtamā yad dhrudo (comm dhrdo) 'sı TB So Conc, but Poona ed text with comm dhrdo.

CHAPTER XV. THE I AND U DIPHTHONGS AND SAMPRASĀRANA

§685. In most of the variants collected in this chapter, phonetics can be said to be only an ancillary motive in the shift That is, nearly all of them present interchanges between forms both of which can be justified by recognized principles of morphology or levicography They mostly concern ablaut, in radical or suffixal or inflectional syllables, or various details of the inflection of nouns, pronouns, or verbs, with a sprinkling of purely lexical variants Yet in some parts of the chapter, dialectic (Prakritic) phonology is certainly suggested as a contributing This is especially true as regards the exchanges of the short and long diphthongs, e at and o. au, and the interchange between e and aya, o and ava, and the like Altho some sort of independent interpretation of both the forms is regularly possible, their number is too large to make it reasonable to ignore the corresponding (the purely phonetic) shifts between Sanskrit and the Middle Indic dialects, in view of the now well established fact that Prakritic phonology played a large rôle in the speech of Vedic times

1 2 · e

§686. The not very numerous cases collected here are mostly matters of ablaut in the radical syllables of nouns and verbs, or of different case-endings of the same or related noun stems, with a residuum of lexical variants. We begin with those which present different ablaut grades in the radical syllables of the same or related nouns and adjectives.

aira (ŚB airā) jahīmo 'śwā ye asan VS ŚB airā jahāma (AV jahīta) ye asann aśevāh (AV *aśwāh, *asan durevāh) RV AV. TA The meter properly requires aśevāh if the word be final (VS ŚB transpose)

yā sarasvatī višobhagīnā (MS ApŠ * veša*, KS vešabhagīnī) . . . MS KS ApŠ višo- 1s gen sing of viš

dıvyah kosah samukşıtah MS davyah kosah (AV SırasU. devakosah) samubjıtah AV TS KS SırasU

divo jyote (KS *jyotir) vivasva (MS devajūte vivasvann). .MS KS invasvān aditir devajūtis TS

devya (ApŚ dwyā, v 1 devyā) āpo nannamyadhvam .. PB KŚ ApŚ

sūryo dīvo (TS KS * devo) dīviṣadbhyah (TS KS. °bhyo . . .) TS. KS * MS

punse putrāya rettarai (SB BrhU vittaye) SB TB BrhU ApMB ApS HG.

pra suvānāso (SV. svā°) brhaddīvesu (SV. °devesu) harayah RV SV.

lekah salekah .. TS salilah saligah . MS KS See §49

§687. Of different origin and only superficially resembling these cases is the numeral adverb $tredh\bar{a}$, which is originally trissyllabic and therefore probably to be regarded as representing a contraction of something like * $trayadh\bar{a}$ (cf. §§744 ff below, Wackernagel I p 53, III p 347).

tridhā (MS tredhā) baddho vīsabho roravīti RV VS MS KS GB TA ApS. MahānU. N

§688. In the stem-syllable of verbal forms

maişām uc cheşi kim cana AV: maişām kam canoc chişah TS TB Ap\$ · māmīşām kam canoc chişah RV. SV VS.

yah prānato nīmīsataš (v 1 KS nīmēs°) ca rājā MS KS yah prānato nīmīsato (VS. nīmēs°) mahītvā RV. AV VS TS KSA Present participles for 6th and 1st elass present stems of nī-mīs, the 1st elass stem seems not to be otherwise recorded Add to VV I §197.

rāmī te samdrši višvam reto dhişīya (MS dhe°).. MS KS. višvasya te vāmīr anu samdrši višvā retānsi dhişīya TS Cf next The form dheşīya seems to be established in the Maitr school. It can hardly be interpreted except as an aorist of dhā 'place', yet is highly anomalous if so understood (as if the root were dhi, with guna dhe! perhaps by confusion with root dhī?) See VV I p 186

somasyāham devayajyayā suretā (MŚ viśvam) reto dhişīya (MŚ dhe°) TS ApŚ MŚ

§689. In inflectional endings of verbs i and e exchange very commonly as between active and middle-passive forms and elsewhere See VV I §§39-79 and 82 et passim.

§690. Coming to noun case forms, we find first a little group of datable plur forms in *ibhyas:* ebhyas, from stems in i(n) a

dwācarebhyo (MG, °cārībhyo) bhūtebhyah (sc namah) MG. ViDh · ahaścarebhyah (sc namah) ŚG

naklamcarebhyah SG V1Dh: naklamcārībhyo bhūlebhyah MG marudbhyo grhamedhībhyo (MS °dhebhyo) 'nubrūhī SB. MS

marudbhyo grhamedhibhyo (MS °dhebhyo) başlıhān (MS. vaş°, ApS bāşkān) VS MS ApS

svāheştibhyah (Kauś 'tebhyah svāhā) KS Kauś ıştebhyah svāhā vaşad anıştebhyah svāhā TB ApŚ §691. The others are miscellaneous case-forms, since they are of slight interest here we shall content ourselves with a few examples, referring to our volume on Noun Inflection for full lists

pūṣne śarase (MS†°si) svāhā MS TA ApS. svāhā pūṣne śarase VS. SB KS The majority reading (dat) is certainly not easily intelligible (labored and worthless explanations in the comms.); but the loc of MS is also difficult and may be only an attempt to rationalize an unintelligent passage

hrranyapakşah sakunıh HG hrranyaparna sakune PG. Nom: voc pra vo mahe mahividhe (SV PB mahevidhe) bharadhvam RV SV AV. PB AS SS The SV seems to have a mechanical form-assimilation to the surrounding datives (note especially the identical form mahe preceding)

vı sloka etu (AV. etı, TS SvetU slokā yanti) pathyeva (KS patheva) süreh (AV MS.† sürıh, TS SvetU sürāh, KS † sürah) RV. AV VS TS MS KS SB SvetU Nom gen.

agnır hotā vetv agnır (AS agner) hotram vetu (vettu) . TB. AS SS: agnır hotā vetv agner hotram vetu . SB Nom gen.

kratvā varīstham vara āmurīm uta RV AV : kratve vare sthemany āmurīm uta SV

§692. Oddities of noun stems.

agner agneyāny (KS agnī) ası (MS v. l and p p agner agner yāny ası)
MS KS devānām agneyāny ası TS agner yāny ası TS MS. KS
ApS MS See §357, and cf vāyosāvītra ., §716

śrudhi śruta śraddhivam (AV śraddheyam) te vadāmi RV AV See §248, both forms have the force of gerundives

§693. The remaining variants are lexical, but in the first we have a shift which simulates ablaut, as in §688

sa idhāno (KS cdh°) vasuş (MS vasuh) kavıh RV SV. VS TS MS KS The roots idh and edh are quite independent, but superficially the change looks like a change from nil-grade to guna

ā yāhi (and, ā no yāhi) tapasā janeşu (SS °şv ā, MS janişva) MS AB AS SS ApS The MS form could be interpreted as a 2d sing impv from jan but for the accent (jánişva), which seems to call for emendation

ıno (AV enā) višvasya bhuvanasya gopāh RV. AV N ıno, nom of stem ına, enā, adverbial pronominal form.

utem (SV ūtim) arbhe havāmahe RV AV SV MS uta-īm ace sing

krīdī ca lākī cojjeşī (ApŚ sālī tcorjişī ca) VS VSK ApŚ See §407.

āsannışūn h_ītsvaso mayobhūn RV. AV. TS MS. KSA. N: āsann eşām apsuvāho mayobhūn SV. See §820

[vācā mendriyāviša TS. KS MŚ. Conc. vācam indr° for KS., so ed. reads at 4 14, but at 31. 15 (p 18, n 1) it is corrected]

§694. Several times a word beginning in \imath varies with the same word preceded by \bar{a} :

ındram (SV. endram) agnım ca vodhave RV SV

iha (MS AS SS eha) gatır vāmasya TS MS TB SB AS SS †1 14 19 tve ışah (KS. vıśve; MS. tva eşah) samdadhur bhūrıvarpasah (TS † bhūrıretasah) RV. SV VS TS MS KS SB See Von Schroeder's note If correct, MS must intend tve, ā, ışah, but the p p reads tve iti tve, ışah.

tāv (tā) ehr (eha, eva, AV. rha) . , see §§578. 888

rnan no narnam ertsamanah AV nen na rnan rnaw it samanah TA See §180

ādītyānām patvānv (PB °mānv) ihi (KSA †chi) VS. TS. MS KSA PB ŚB TB MŚ ApMB.

2 7: e

§695. Here the variants are few and scattering, except for a considerable group concerning case-endings of the same or related nouns and adjectives. Often the stems presupposed by the case-forms involved are slightly different.

višo yantre (KS yantrī) nudamāne arātim KS TB ApŠ Duals from stems yantrā and yantrī

samgayī (MS. SB "gavī, TB "gaye) jīradānū (SB. jīva") MS SB TB. AS SS. Also feminine duals.

vairājī (KSA†°je) puruṣī (so KSA†) TS KSA. Also fem duals; there seems no reason to emend KSA as von Schroeder would do. rālri (TB. °rī, KS v l °rih) stomam na jigyuṣe (KS†TB °ṣī) RV. KS. TB

mahī vispatnī sadane (KS °nī) riasya KS. TB ApS MS Here sadane is loc sing. '(come) to the seat of the ria' KS makes sadanī fem dual, 'as two seats of the ria' (addressed to the aranis), the other reading is simpler and most likely original

vaisvānarāya matir navyasī (ArS "se) sucih RV ArS Nom. sing fem . dat sing masc (with agnaye in next pāda).

nābhā samdāyı navyasī (SV. °dāya navyase) RV SV. As prec.

rāyas poşam cıkıtuşe (AV °şī) dadhātu (ŠŚ dadātu) AV. TS MS KS ŠŚ As prec

lālīlāya (MahānU lāle°) dhīmahı TAA † (not TA.) MahānU. Names of Agnı, of unknown origin Hardly to be classed as ablaut The two comms have different and equally ridiculous explanations. aṣādhāya sahamānāya vedhase (TB. mīdhuṣe) RV. TB. N Lexical

In the reduplicating syllable

andrah prāno ange-ange nu dīdhyat (TS nu dedhyat, VSK nudhītah) VS-VSK TS MS KS SB The reduplicating syllable with e should mark an intensive, and probably the isolated form of TS is felt as such, cf VV I pp 149, 160

§697. Cases concerning verb inflection. An aor and varies with a present opt. But the KS ed reads as ApS, with v l as Conc..

grāvāvādīd (Ap\$ grāvā vaded) . KS Ap\$ VV I p 86

anu slomam mudīmahi (PB made") RV AV PB. Optatives of different verbs

mā tvāgnīr dhvanayīd (TS "yīd, KSA. "yed, MS dhanayīd) . . . RV VS. TS. MS KSA

§698. Twice the presence or absence of the preposition \bar{a} is responsible for the variant, cf §694.

vāmam pitrbhyo ya idam samerire (AV samī°) RV. AV. ApMB.

rnān no narnam ertsamānah AV nem na rnān rnavān īpsamānah MS. See §180

3 1. ar

§699. Nearly all the variants noted here concern derivative noun and adjective stems with the vriddh of secondary derivation, varying with primary or secondary formations without the vriddhi

varśvānara uta vrśvadāvyah AV KS: yo varśvānara uta tvrśvadāvyah (ApŚ varśvadevyah) MS ApŚ Whitney's Transl. adopts for AV vrśvadevyah, which he states is the reading of Ppp, but this is an error, Ppp (Barret, JAOS 32 358) has °davyah, intending °dāvyah Only ApŚ has a derivative of vrśvadeva.

dıvyah kośah samukşıtah MS. daivyah kośah (AV ŚırasU devakośah) samubjıtah AV TS KS ŚirasU.

achınno dıvyas (KS ApŚ davyas) tantur mā mānuşaš (KS ApŚ. manuşaš) chedi MS KS ApŚ

brhanto dawāh (VS dwyāh) VS MS Ap\$

nırbādhyena (AV naır°, Ppp nır° according to Whitney) havışā AV TB ApS

bṛhatā tvā rathamtarena tranṣṭubhyā (KS truṣṭubhā) vartanyā ... MS KS : bṛhadrathamtarayos tvā stomena truṣṭubho vartanyā TS.

aghorena cakşuşā mitriyena (ApMB. maitreņa, KS ApS. calşuşāham bivena) AV KS ApS ApMB

ındrasya vaımırdhasyaham (KS ındrasyaham vimırdhasya) devayayyayasapatno (ApS. but not †MS adds viryavan) bhüyasam KS ApS MS

kapola (MS °lā) ulūkah takas te unrītyai (TS. KSA. nairītāh) VS TS MS KSA.

nırriyaı svähā MS: naırriyaı (sc dise) svähā VāDh

vihāyaso (PG. vaih") 'dhi bhūmyām HG. PG vi°, abl of vihāyas, vai°, nom of adj vaihāyasa.

ındrasya suşmam trayann apasyubhıh RV. SV.: aındrah suşmo visvarûpo na ağan AV.

vaivasvato (AV vivasvān) no abhayam krnotu AY. TB TAA SS ApS SMB. PG HG vai°, of course, means Manu

harranyanābhah (SS. hir') Lausalyah SB SS

indropānasyakchamanaso (MŚ aindro°). ApŚ MŚ The formula is so obscure, that emendation of MŚ to indro°, while tempting, is hardly safe

§700. Otherwise we find only miscellaneous cases, two concerning noun inflection

endrādhipatih (MS KS °patyaih) piprtād ato nah TS MS KS AŚ 'O Indra, as overlord (by overlordships)' etc

tam (MS. tan) mã devā avantu śobhāyan (MS °yı) TS MS TA The form in yaı is dat of stem śobhā, 'unto splendor' The yı form would seem to be acc neut. of a stem śobhāyın (cf §247), perhaps used adverbially

Two concerning agrist verb forms

āpo malam wa prānaskṣtt (ApS prānsjan) AV ApS See VV I p 129 pstur wa nāmāgrabhssam (ApMB °bhassam) ApMB HG See VV I pp 139, 186

And one in which ai contains the augment yam aichāma (ApŚ ichāmi) manasā so 'yam āgāt RV ApŚ

4 ī nr

§701. Most of the few variants noted here concern interchange between instr plur, and nom-acc plur (fem) forms. indrena devīr (MŚ devair) vīrudhah samvidānāh TS MŚ devīr devīr (ApŚ devair) abhi mā nivarladhvam MS ApŚ MŚ sapla ca rārunīr (PG "nair) imāh AG PG ŚG MG sapla ca mānuşīr imāh ApMB HG Followed in all by

- tısras ca rājabandhavīh (HG °vaıh) HG ApMB prajāh (this word belongs to prec pāda) sarvās ca rājabāndhavaıh (MG °vyah) PG. MG sarvās ca rājabāndhavīh (SG†°bāndhavaıh) AG SG
- ā dadhnah kalaśair (ApMB °śīr, MG °śani) aguh (AG ApMB ayan, SG. gaman, PG upa, HG ayann iva, MG airayam) AV AG SG PG ApMB HG MG
- §702. There are three cases of vriddhi of the first syllable, the first two (especially the second) anomalous, and one agent verb form, also anomalous
- straışüyam anyatra dadhat AV . strīşüyam anyān sv (read anyāsv) ā dadnat ŚG
- madhvā yajāan nakṣatı (VS TS nakṣase) prīnānah (AV prai) AV VS.

 TS MS. KS In the pres mid pple the vriddhi is quite out of place, 'blundering corruption', Whitney
- yad adīvyann (MS davyam) rnam aham babhūva (AV. krnom) AV. MS.

 TA BDh adīvvyann rnam yad aham cakāra TB The original is
 adīvvyan 'not gambling', MS has a stupid lect fac Add to VV I
 §231
- undra enam (TB ApS enam) parāšarīt AV TB ApS cf. undro vo'dya parāšarait AV. But for the last SPP. with most mss and Ppp. Sarīt, the regular form See VV I p 186

5 e: at

- §703. Altho both forms can be defended morphologically in most of these variants, it seems to us very clear that the Prakritic change of at to e must be largely concerned in them. They are fairly numerous, the great majority fall into three classes, to wit: dative (or locative) forms in e ai, forms with e ai in the root syllable, in which ai is generally the vriddhi of secondary derivation, and verb forms, chiefly indicative and subjunctive endings
- §704. First, there is a large group of interchanges between the pronominal forms asme (dat or loc) 'for, to, inus', and asmar'for him, it'. asmar (TB asme) dyāsāprthivī bhūri vāmam (Conc divides AV before vāmam) AV TB asme is secondary
- asme devāso vapuşe cikitsata TS ApŠ : śrad asmai naro vacase dadhā'ana VS KŠ Kerth assumes that TS intends asmai
- asmaı (MS asme) rāstrāya mahı sarma yachatam TS. MS AS asmaı 18 certainly simpler
- suppppalā oşadhīh kartanāsme (AV kartam asman, VSK kartam asme) AV VS VSK MS 'For him' 'for us', equally possible

- savitrā prasavitrā . indrenāsme (VSK °smai). VS VSK As prec asme (AV. asmai) dhārayatam (MS °tām) rayım RV AV. MS Different contexts, both possible
- asme (AV. asmaı) dhatta vasavo vasūnı AV VS TS MS KS SB N Equally possible
- asme (KBU asmai) prayandlı maghavanın rjişin RV KBU AG PG N asme räşlranı dhāraya (KS rāşlram adhısraya) MS KS asme kşatrānı dhārayer anu dyūn RV TS MS KS asmın rāşlram adhı sraya TS·asmai kşatrānı dhārayantam agne AV. Kaus Different contexts
- asmaı (MS asme) karmane jālah MS ApŠ 'For our rite' 'for this rite'. Probably lect fac in ApŠ
- asme (AS asmai) indrābīhaspatī RV. TS MS KS AS Probably misprint in AS.
 - §705. Other dative forms in e^-ai , including infinitives
- tā (VS ŚB yā, TS te) te (RV KS N vām) dhāmāny (RV. KS N vāstūny) uśması gamadhya: (TS "ye) RV VS TS MS KS ŚB N The TS form is anomalous, cf Keith's note and Whitney, Grammar §976a Infinitives
- havyāyāsmai vodhave (KS °vai) jālavedah TS MS KS Kaus Infinitives
- sugam meşāya meşya
ı (RV °ye) RV VSK TS MS KS LŚ \cdot sukham meşāya meşya
ı VS ŚB
- agne samrād 13e tāye (ApŠ rayyai) AŠ ApŠ 15e tāye. . VS MS SB TB Cf §396
- ābhış (vāham . . sūtave (HG °vai) HG ApMB
- kuhvai (KSA kuhve, ed em °vai) trayo 'runaitāh TS KSA
- punse putrāya vettavai (SB BrhU vittaye, KS †kartave, MG kartavai, v 1 °ve) KS SB TB BrhU. ApS ApMB HG MG
- šakrāya sunavar (JB °ve) tvā RV JB
- śriyai (MG śriye) putrāya vettavai (MG vedhavai) ApMB MG śam tokāya tanuve (SMB tanvai) syonah TS TB ApŚ SMB PG
- parıdhāsyai yasodhāsyai PG paridhāsye yaso dhāsye MG·cf parīdam
 - vāso adhīthāh (HG °dhāh, ApMB adhī dhā) svastaye AV. ApMB HG These forms are taken as datives by the PG comm, followed by Stenzler and Oldenberg It is uncertain whether this is correct, or whether they are verb forms, see VV I p 112
- §706. Another stray case or two concerning noun endings (loc sing and instr pl).
- ghrtavatī savitar (MS KS "tur) ādhipatye (TS "yaih) TS MS KS AS

avyo (SV avyā) vāre (SV.* vāraih) parī prīyah (and, prīyam) RV SV. punar brahmāno (brahmā). . . yajñaih (agne), see §339

§707. When e and ai vary in radical syllables of nouns, it is generally a matter of secondary formations with vriddhi varying with other related forms without vriddhi.

dawīm (VS devīm) nāvam svarstrām anāgasam (AV. °sah) RV. AV. VS. TS MS KS

devih (AV dai°) şad urvir uru nah (TS ApMB nah, and so Whitney for AV with most mss) krnota RV. AV. TS ApMB

dawībhyas (KS. devebhyas) tanūbhyah (KS °yas) svāhā KS TB. ApS. Kaus

brhaspatır devānām (SS dawo) brahmāham manuşyānām (SS mānuşah) VSK TB SS KS ApS MS

devān mā bhayād iti SMB daivān mā bhayāt pāhi SS.

ımā yā devīh pradišaš catasrah AV yā dawīš catasrah pradišah TB. ${\tt ApMB\ HG}$

sam devena savıtrā TA: sam daivena (and, daivyena) savıtrā VS ŠB dıvyah kosah samuhşıtah MS · daivyah kosah (AV. ŚirasU. devakosah) samuhjıtah AV TS KS SirasU

vācā tvā hotrā pañcabhır davyar (MS devair) ytvıgbhır uddharāmi ApS MS

mā devānām (TA davyas) tantus chedi mā manuşyānām (TA manusyah) MS KS TA ŠŠ

ındro jyeşthānām (MS KS jyaişthyānām, VS ŠB jyaişthyāya) VS. TS. MS KS ŠB PG

vaiśvānaram kşaitrajityāya (TB kşetra°) devāh VS TB

somaindrā (KSA †saumendrā) babhrulalāmās tūparāh TS. KSA

adhvanām adhvapate śreşthah svastyasyādhvanah (ApMB śreşthasyādhvanah, MG śraɪṣṭhyasya svastasyādhvanah, read svastya° with most mss) pāram aśīya AŚ ApMB MG

meghyā (VS. maighīr) vidyuto vācah VS TS MS KSA

§708. A couple of cases with e ai in the first syllable of nouns seem to differ from the preceding, it is very questionable whether the ai form has secondary yieldin or is in any morphological way different from the form with e. In short, it is at least likely that these are pure phonetic variants

avārāya kevarlam VS pāryāya kawarlam TB. The usual form is kai° , evidently of non-Aryan origin, and it is, to say the least, very possible that ke° is a Prakritism

vešantābhyo dāšam TB vaišantābhyo baindam VS Here again we have

a word probably of foreign origin, but this time the usual form is ve° Perhaps hyper-Sanskritism in VS

§709. Several cases are complicated by the possibility that the form e, where ai seems to be expected, may be due to elision instead of contraction of final a (Wackernagel I §269c). The same phenomenon occurs with o for au, §731. Wackernagel, I c (small print), thinks of the possibility of influence of the Prakritic change of ai, au to e, o, besides this, it should be remembered that in Pāli and Prakrit any final vowel may be elided before any initial vowel, without regard to the quality of either. Thus there are two different tendencies of Middle Indic phonology which may possibly have been at work here. But furthermore, in some of the cases independent lexical or morphological explanations are conceivable for the e form

adhi na indraişām (VS indreşām) RV VS Here there can be no doubt that the intention of VS is indra-eṣām. This is the most certain case.

neva manse na pibasi AV nawa mansena pivari PG The AV pp reads na, wa, according to Barret JAOS 26 205, Ppp also reads neva (contrary to Whitney's note) Yet it is possible that AV really intended nawa, which certainly is a more natural reading

jagatyanam (AS 'tyenam) vikşv ā veśayāmah (MS KS 'mi, AS 'ni)
TS MS KS AS In VV I p 75 we have sigmatized jagatyenam as erroneous, which is unnecessarily harsh, to be sure the edition of AS inspires little confidence But it may be a phonetic variant of the sort here considered, or even—possibly—a real morphological change (voc jagaty instead of instr jagatyā)

enāhnedam ahar ašīya svāhā KS (prec by -mānā, actual text, -mānar-nāhne^o) the MS version quoted in Conc as idāhna id āharam ašīya is Knauer's emend of corrupt mss which begin [-mān]-enāhned-, doubtless intending the same as KS

See also anāmayaidhi etc. §344

§710. In verb inflection there are a number of cases in which indicative or subjunctive endings in e vary with subjunctives in ai, see VV I p 28

vi sakhyāni sijāmahe (SS °hai, MS visijāvahai) AS SS Vait ApS MS PG

yam zīvam ašnavāmahai (MS °he) RV AV VS TS MS KS devān yazīvyān iha yān yazīmahai (TS havāmahe) TS MS KS rayım yena vanāmahai (SV °he) RV SV sacāvahe (MS °hai, p p °he) yad avīkam purā cit RV MS brahmāham antaram kṛṇve (KŠ. karave, read "vai) AV. KŠ. (? the proper subjunctive form would be "vai, "ve either corruption or purely phonetic variant).

anu nau śūra mansate (TS. ctar) RV TS. KSA.

yā na ūrū uśatī viśrayāte (AV °tı, ApMB. HG. visrayātaı) RV AV. ApMB HG

parı şvajāte (AV. ctai) libujeva urksam RV AV. N.

pra yaḥ satrācā (TB. sa vācā) manasā yajāte (TB star, text and comm. In Poona ed.) RV TB.

dadhad vidhaksyan paryañkhayātai TA: dadhṛg vidhakṣyan paryañ-khayāta (AV. vidhakṣan parīnkhayāta) RV. AV.

manaı (MS manve) nu babhrūnām aham RV. VS. MS. KS. \pm B. Nyayā gā ākarāmahe (SV. °haī) RV. SV.

varuneti ŝapāmahe (MS†°hai; AV. yad ūcima, LŠ †ṣayāmahe) AV. VS. TS MS KS. SB. TB AS SS LS.

§711. There are a few cases in which the ai is due to the preposition ā preceding e, cf. §§694, 698; or, in the first two cases, to the augment: mṛtyoh padam (MG. padānī) yopayanto (AV sta, MG. lopayante) yad (AV. omits) eta (RV. aita, TA. aɪma) RV. AV. TA. MG.

vācaspate 'chidrayā...hotrām airayat (KŠ. 'yant, TA. erayasva, ŠŠ. airayasva) svāhā ŠB TA. KŠ. ŠŠ Augmented forms in ŠB. KŠ.; the ŠŠ. is uninterpretable.

ā te garbho yonım etu (AG. aitu) AG. ApMB. HG: ā te yonım garbha etu AV SG. ā yonim garbha etu te AV: ā garbho yonim etu te ApMB HG. The preceding ā proves AG. secondary

aışu (AS eşu) dyumnam svar yarnat AV AS. SS Perhaps misprint in AS, as Whitney on AV. suggests.

etat te agne rādha artı (MS. KS. etr) somacyutam TS. MS KS.

grhān armı (LŚ. HG emi) . . AV. VS. LŚ. ApŚ. ŚG. HG.

abhyaitı (SV. abhyetı) na ojasā spardhamānā RVKh. SV. VS

§712. Miscellaneous cases:

he lavo he lavo SB.: hailo hailo SBK. Interjections.

mā bheh VS. TS. SB. TB KS. ApS.. mā bhath MS KS. MS. Aorist verb forms, see VV I p 129, and next.

mā bher mā .. VS. VSK. TS. SB: mā bhar mā ... MS KS. See prec. uṣnena vāya (ApMB. vāyav) udakenehi (SMB. GG anadhi, MG. vāyur udakenet) AV. AG. SMB GG. PG. ApMB. MG. See §122; and on the MG. form, VV I p 87.

uttamam nākam (VS. MS. KS ŠB uttame nāke) adhi rohayemam (VS. MS. KS. ŠB. "yarnam, TA. "rohemam) AV. VS. TS. MS. KS ŠB. TA. Pronouns imam: enam

tatra rayışıhām anu sambharaıtam (MŚ °retām, AŚ. °bhavatām) TB AŚ ApŚ MŚ. In TB ApŚ fusion of sambhara and etam, in the others dual verb forms

satruhanam amıfrahanam (KS satru^o ası satruhanam) bhrātryyahanam asurahanam tvaındram (ApŚ text tvendram) vajram sādayāmı KS ApŚ Here tvendram, if not a corruption or misprint, can only be a phonetic reduction of tvaındram (tvā + aındram)

[endram (TB, aindram, but comm and Poons ed text endram) acucuavuh TB ApS]

6 u o

- §713. The variants under this head are relatively not numerous, and quite miscellaneous in character. A fair number have to do with ablaut in stem syllables, thus, in nouns and adjectives

namo vah pitarah suşmāya (VS ŠŠ sosāya, SMB GG KhG sūsāya) VS VSK TS MS KS TB AS ŠŠ SMB GG KhG See §720

matyaı śrutāya (mahe śrotrāya) cakşase AV (both)

ā mā stutasya stutam gamyāt (Vart gamet) TS Vart ā mā stotrasya stotram gamyāt PB

duścyavanah prianāṣād (°ṣāl) ayudhyah (AV MS ayodhyah) RV AV †19 13 7c, SV VS VSK TS MS KS Gerundives

deva gharma rucitas tvam deveşv ā MS rocitas tvam deva gharma deveşv ası TA Causative and simple participles Cf next

rileito gharmah MS KB SB TA etc rocito gharmo ruciya TA Cf

ānandā modāh pramudah AV.: ānando modah pramodah TB modah pramoda ānandah TB. mudah pramuda āsate RV Stems (pra)mud and (pra)moda

drunā (SV drone) sadhastham ašnuse (and āsadat) RV SV Stems

714. With these may be grouped certain other cases which are really lexical, and partly involve different word divisions, but which in their external form simulate ablaut relations.

dyumnī šlokī (KS šuklī) sa somyah (TB sau°) RV AV SV MS KS TB sukevam somapītsaru (TS, sumatītsaru) VS TS MS KS ŠB VāDh sukīmam somasatsaru AV See §180

sumitrah soma no (Kauś sumano) bhava RV TS MS KS SB KŚ Kauś An obvious leet fac in Kauś

§715. Ablaut relations also occur in the inflection of the verb Variations between no and nu as strong and weak stems of 5th and 8th class

presents have been collected in VV I p. 185, and need not be repeated In the radical syllable different Ablaut grades are found in perfects, and are especially frequent in agrists

yan me mātā pralulubhe (ApMB HG pralulobha) ŚG ApMB. HG. MDh

sūryasya cakşur āruham (VS āroha) VS TS MS KS SB ApS. MS. Aorist and present, see VV I p 82.

ādutya (AV also sūrya) nāvam ārulşah (SMB. ārokşam) AV SMB See VV I p 130

amocı (AV amulthā) yakşmād durıtād avartyaı (AV. avadyāt) AV. TB. ApMB

mā bher mā roń (VSK mo rơň, TS māro) mo ca nah (TS. mo eṣām) kim canāmamat VS VSK TS ŚB: mā bhair mā ruň mo ca (KS. rauň mā) nah kim canāmamat MS KS See VV I p. 129.

mā dyāvāpṛthwī abhī śocīh (TS śūśucah, KS śucah, MS. hīnsīḥ) VS. TS MS KS SB. See ibid p 128

devasya (°syāham) savītuh.. ruheyam (GB. roh") VS. VSK. TS. MS KS SB. TB GB Vait MS ApS LS See ibid p 132

sa yathā tvam rucyā rucṣṣ̄ya (MS rocṣṣ̄ya) AV MS. See VV I p 186 On the following form see VV I p 281, the MG form is quite uninterpretable by regular grammar, and must be understood as a phonetic variant or corruption for tisthatu.

anias tışihatu (MG °to) me mano 'mriasya ketuh SMB. HG. MG.

§716. In several cases, the o pertains to the genitive ending of noun stems in u, either as independent words or in composition.

vasuh (TS ApMB vasoh) sūnuh sahaso apsu rājā RV. VS TS MS. KS ApMB. Nom and gen forms, the former an adjective, the latter a noun ('son of Vasu, of Strength' etc.)

dyumattamā supratīkasya sūnoh (AV °tīkah sasūnuh) AV. VS. TS. MS KS SB See §189

āyuşkrie (Ap\$ āyoş°) svāhā KS. Ap\$ Both 'maker of life'.

vāyosāvitra (TS p.p. °trah, MS vāyusavitrbhyām) āgomugbhyām caruh (MS payah) TS MS KSA TPr 6. 8 explains vāyo° by vāyusavitrbhyām, it is a secondary adj. in suffix a, and evidently the o is due to influence of the genitive form vāyos, cf agner agneyāny etc., §692

uror ā no (VS SB LS pururāvņo) deva rīşas pāhī VS TS MS KS. SB TB LS See §371a

madhu reto (TS madhor ato, KS † madhur ato) mādhavah pātv asmān TS MS KS AŠ See §837 §717 The stem puru in composition varies with puro, for puras, cf below, §721

samdhālā samdhīm (MS °dhīr) maghavā purūvasuh (TA ApMB MS pp puro°, MS text puru°) RV. AV SV MS PB TA KŚ ApMB puru viśvām jūrvan RV puro rakṣānsī mijūrvan AV

§718. Twice the o is due to a prefixed \bar{a} , cf §§694, 698, 711

obhe prnäsi (TS ubhe prnalsi) rodasī RV TS MS. prnalsi rodasī ubhe RV SV VS KS SB

ā yā dyām (MS divam) bhāsy ā pṛthivīm orv (KS urv) antarikṣam VS TS MS KS SB

§719. The remaining variants are miscellaneous, and certainly for the most part lexical. The first may be some sort of phonetic variant sajūr devair vayonādhaih (MS MŚ vayu°) VS TS MS KS. ŚB MŚ vayunā-dha is certainly a compound of vayuna, vayo° is ordinarily taken as a cpd of vayas with a derivative of nah, which seems highly improbable. The form is difficult and may be based on vayuna- with a phonetic alteration, perhaps due to some obscure analogy.

ye devā manojātā (MS KS MŚ manu°) manoyujah (KS manu°, V1Dh manujuşah) VS TS MS KS ŚB BDh V1Dh ApŚ Stems manas and manu

agnır havyānumanyatām (MS havyā no man°) TB ApS MS

pra nu (TA. ApMB HG nu, Kaus no with all mss but one, and the two paddhatis, but probably read nu) vocam cilituse janāya RV TA SMB Kaus GG ApMB HG MG

pra nu vocam (ArS no vaco) vidathā jātavedasah (ArS °se) RV ArS yas te stanah śaśayo (AV ° yur) yo mayobhūh RV AV VS MS AB SB TA BrhU AS Equivalent stems, śaśaya °vu

yā codītā yā ca nodītā (TA yā cānudītā) MS TA na-udītā an-udītā yatheyam strī pautram agham na rodāt SMB PG ApMB HG yathedam strīpautram aganma rudrīyāya MG See §801

agnaye tvā mahyam . āyur (MS mayo) dātra VS VSK MS ŠB

SS Near-synonyms rudrānām urvyāyām (ApS ūrmyāyām, SS omyāyām) SB SS ApS See \$228

sīdanto vanuşo yathā RV SV LS · sīdantu manuşo yathā RV See §227 larma kṛnvantu (MŚ °to) mānuṣāh AV MŚ The MŚ form can only be construed as a participle hanging in the air, without finite verb It is really a phonetic variation

[ato (TB tato) no rudrā uta vā †nv (Conc no, TB nuw, Poona ed 'nw, comm anu) asga RV TB]

7 11 0

- §720. The majority of variants in this group concern forms which resemble shifts of ablaut, but only partially are the forms in question really related to each other in this way. Some, such as yots and $y\overline{u}t$, are quite unrelated words but quasi-synonyms. Others are wholly obscure, and while the change of vowel is probably due to some sort of phonetic consideration, the precise nature of it is problematic. One is tempted to think of the fact that in some Prakrit dialects u is a phonetic shortening of o, implying that the relation of o to u is not far from the same as that of \overline{u} to u (cf. Pischel, Gram d Pkt Sprachen §84)
- abhı tyam devam savıtāram onyoh (TS ünyoh) kavıkratum AV SV VS TS MS KS KB AB SB AdB AS SS The isolated TS stem ün must mean the same as the regular oni
- namo vah pıtarah suşmāya (VS ŠŠ soşāya, SMB GG KhG sūşāya) VS VSK TS MS KS T.s AS. ŠŠ SMB GG KhG Comm on SMB süşa ıtı balanāma
- sam pūṣā (ApŚ. adds sam dhātā, MS.* poṣā) sam bṛhaspatīh (KS dhātā) AV MS (bis) KS ApŚ poṣā is either a textual corruption or due to the analogy of guna forms of root puş. The mantra is repeated in fragments in a Brāhmana passage immediately following its quotation with poṣā, and in the Brāhmana pūṣā is read Cf next.
- apı (PG. 1ha) pūsā nı şīdatu (AV ŠŠ*°ti) AV ŠŠ (bis) LŠ SMB PG HG rāyas poşo nı şīdatu ApMB ApŠ Cf prec; rāyas poşo is here evidently secondary, but sensible
- kukūnanānām (KS kūtanānām, MS pūtanānām) tvā . VS MS KS SB kotanāsu TS Wholly obscure words
- yamasya pātūrah (KSA pāţo°) TS KSA. yamyaı pāţūrah TS yamyāh pāţorah KSA Uncertain part of the horse's body
- angoşınam (RV angüşanam) avavasanta vanih RV SV Cf §490 and next
- angoşinanı (RV angūsyam) pavamanam sakhāyah RV SV Cf prec. mano jyotir (VS SB LS jūtir) juşatām ājyasya (TS TB Vext ājyam, AS ājyam me) VS VSK TS MS. KS SB TB AS Vext LS.
- KŠ ApŠ MŠ Unrelated words but quasi-synonyms divo jyote (KS **tir) invasva (MS devajūte invasvann) MS KS vivasvān addir devajūtis TS
- §721. The stem $pur\bar{u}$, for puru in composition, varies with puro for puras, in the first variant quoted in §717, q v, and also in $tam \ sakh\bar{a}yah \ purorucam$ (SV $pur\bar{u}^o$) RY SV

§722. The o is due to a prefixed \bar{a} , cf. §718 etc.:

yat kım canıtam odima (TA üdima) MS TA

yad vācānītam odima (TB TA ūdima) MS TB TA

devatrā havyam ūhise (RV ohise and ohire) RV. SV. TB. A complicated case, on which see RVRep 131 f, VVI p 237 f.

§723. The rest are miscellaneous

amo 'ham asmı sā (AB sa) tvam AV KS AB. ŚB BrhU. JUB AG ŚG Kauś PG MG amūham asmi sā tvam TB ApŚ ApMB HG: sā (AB sa) tvam asy amo 'ham (ŚB BrhU. PG. aham, ApMB amūham, MG asy āpy amo 'ham) KS AB JUB ŚB BrhU. AG ŚG PG. ApMB MG. amo, for amas, stem ama; amūham, peculiar sandlu connecting some form of stem amu (amū? amus, amūs?) and aham; see Winternitz, Introduction to ApMB, p xxvii

aūghrinā vişno (KS vişnū, twice; ms once vişnu) mā tvāva (KS vām ava) kramişam VS KS ŠB: agnāvişnū mā vām ava kramişam TS TB ApŠ See Von Schroeder on KS 1 12 and Keith on TS 1 12 1 vişno, voc sing; -vişnū in TS devatādvandva, in KS elliptic dual (note vām in KS.); but note also the phonetic resemblance between aūghrinā and agnā of TS

tapūnsy (MS tapobhir) agne juhvā patamgān RV. VS TS MS. KS. Different case forms of related stems tapus and tapas.

tanūpā ye nas tanvas tanūjāh AV.: tanūpāvānas tanvas tapojāh AB. AS sa tū (SV. sato) dhanam kārine na pra yansat RV. SV.

mā mā yūnarvā hāsīt (JB yono vām hārasīh) PB JB. LS Both forms obscure

S. u au

§724. Nearly all the few variants recorded here seem to conce.n the vriddhi of secondary derivation as regards their au forms; but one or two of them are strange forms. (For the soust forms ruk, rok, rauk, see §715, mā bher etc.)

suślokyāya (ApMB. sau°) srastaye ApMB. AG PG. MG.

māham pautram (KBU. putryam) agham rudam (AG. miyām, read nigām, with SMB *; SMB *nugām, *riṣam) AG. SMB ApMB HG. KBU.

ulūkhalā (ApMB aul°) grāvāņo ghoşam akrata (MG. akurrata) ApMB HG. MG: aulūkhalāh sampravadantı grāvāņah SMB.

udbhinnam (ApS audbhidyam) rājnah MS ApS

asīr na (nā, ma) ūrjam ula suprajāstvam (AV. sau°) AV. TS MS. KS

KS Whitney rightly calls the AV. form 'anomalous'.

kumbhīnasah (KSA Laum°) puşkarasādo lohitāhis te tvāṣṭrāh TS. KSA. Here, as in the last, it is hard to account for the vriddhi, the meaning seems to be the same as that of the primary noun

vāce krauācah (VS kruācah) VS TS. MS KSA Again the two forms are apparently synonyms. In this case the form with vriddhi is commoner, at least in the later language. The origin and primary form of the word are unknown

dyusamantasya ta ādıtyo 'nukhyātā BDh : dyauh samā tasyādıtya upadrastā . . HG See §833

vyam eva sā yā prathamā vyauchat (SG vyuchat) AV TS. MS KS TB. ApS SG HG ApMB Augmented and augmentless forms. vy uchā (and, aucho) duhitar dwah RV SV (both in each). As prec.

9 û au

§725. Here we find, first, a number of cases concerning vriddhi of secondary derivation

tandrāsūrāh šyetalalāmās (KSA tandrāsaurāh tsyāmalalāmās) tūparāh TS KSA

pauşno (VSK püşä) vışpandamāne (se mahāvīrah) VS VSK. svarmaurdhnyāya svāhā KS. svarmūrdhā vaiyašano vyašyann.. MS. dhruvāya bhūmāya (PG bhau°) svāhā TA MahānU.PG. ūrvaih ŠŠ Vait aurvaih LŠ With both se pitrbhih

§726. There are several variants of the participles dhūta and dhauta, from roots dhu(dhū) and dhāv 'rinse', which are no doubt related in origin tho they are kept distinct in the history of the language nybhu dhūtah (SV dhautah) suto asvarh RV SV.

nībhir dhūto (SV. dhauto) vicakşanah RV SV.

apsu dhautasya (AS SS dhū°) $\,$ TS MS KS PB AS SS. ApS. MS. , apsu dhūto (SV dhautam) nrbhih sutah (SV. sutam) RV. SV

§727. In one case the au is due to prefixing of the augment. praty auhatām (MS 'āh') aświnā mṛṭyum asmāt (AV. asmat) AV. TS VS. MS. KS TAA.

10 o au

§728. Here again the largest group concerns the widdhi of secondary derivation

dyumnī ślokī (KS śukli) sa somyah (TB sau°) RV AV SV MS KS TB namo mauñjyāyormyāya vasuvindāya GDh namo mauñjyāyaurmyāya Syidh`

yat somyasyāndhaso (ApMB sau°) bubodhatı RV. ApMB. Juşantām somyam (TB sau°) madhu VS MS TB. somaindrā (KSA †saumendrā) babhrulalāmās tūparāh TS KSA somāpauṣnāh (KSA sau°) syāmalalāmās tūparāh TS KSA yadı somasyāsı rūjāah somāt Kaus yadı sauny ası somāt AG

Rvidh yady ası saumī somāya GG

caurasyānnam (TAA BDh cor°) navasrāddham TAA MahūnU VıDh. BDh

[tvam rauhinam (AV misquoted roho in Cone) vyäsyah AV SS]

§729. Several times the two diphthongs interchange in the radical syllable of aorist stems

mā (VS SB add vayam) rāyaspoşena vi yauşma VS MS SB māham rāy° vi yoşam TS. KS TA ApS.

ıhaıva slam mā vı yauşlam (ApMB yoşlam) RV AV ApMB mā bher mā etc., see §715

§730. Once the au form is due to prefixed a, cf §722 etc

ā no (VS SB mā) goşu visatv ā tanūşu (TS auşadhīşu, MS oşadhīşu) VS TS MS KS SB

§731. A few cases, not all textually certain, concern the clision of a before o instead of fusion These are parallel to the similar cases of e ai, §709, q v

upayāmam adharenauşļhena (TS °noşthena, KSA adharoşthena) VS TS

MS KSA Sec TPr 10 14

saha ojah (VS sahaujah, VSK sahojah) VS VSK AB GB AS Vait Adverb saha plus ojah in VS VSK, the latter with irregular sandhi, the other texts sahas + ojah

ya ävvveśoşadhīr (MS °śauşadhīr) yo vanaspatīn AV MS There is a v 1 °auşadhīr in AV , which Whitney adopts in the text

[sukurīrā svaupašā VS TS KS SB sukarīrā svopašā MS But several mss and p p of MS svaup°, which should probably be read in the text The second part of the epd is certainly opaša, and the first probably sva, tho it is sometimes assumed to be su, doubtless this was Von Schroeder's assumption when he printed svopašā in MS] §732. Miscellaneous

asthur nau (nau, no, no) etc , sec §950 Dual and plural pronouns nau and no (nas)

[ye ke cobhayādatah (TA cau°, Poona ed correctly co°) RV VS TA ye ca ke cobhayādatah AV]

anupauhvad (ApMB anu po 'hvad) anupahvayet (ApMB anuhvayah)

HG ApMB The ApMB surely means po for vo, comm says p
is 'chāndasa' for v, ef Winternitz, p xxi The HG seems to
intend a form containing upa, but it is corrupt and obscure

devī dvārau (Vait devīr dvāro) mā mā samtāplam TS AS Vait The dual verb shows that the plural of Vait is impossible

sūryo rūpam kṛnute dyor (MS dyaur) upasthe RV AV VS MS TB Only a gen can be construed here On dyauh as abl-gen see Wackernagel, III p 224, 111fra

yaırādhi sūra udito vibhāti (TS uditau vyeti) RV VS VSK TS Others, §63

mā tvā nı kran pūrvacıto (AV °cıttā, MS °cıttau) nıkārınah AV VS TS MS KS See §399

ımau (Kauś yau) te pakṣāv (VSK MS KS °ṣā) ajarau patatrınau (VSK TS† KS °no—so all texts, before following sonant) VS VSK. TS MS KS SB Kauś Nom dual gen sing

11 'Samprasārana', ı(ī) ya, yā, and the like

§733. We have already referred in §8656 ff to the phenomena of so-called samprasārana as they concern r in variation with ra, $r\bar{a}$ Similar exchanges occur between i and ya, but in almost every case they concern morphologically or lexically independent forms. There is hardly a trace among them of the genuine ablaut relations that exist in such roots as ya_1 i_1 , etc. The phonetic importance of these variants is therefore secondary and contributory. They show that fluctuation occurred between such sounds or sound-groups, and so tend to support the ablaut relations of i ya as a live factor in the language. Indeed so live was this factor that it was capable of producing secondary and analogical developments where it did not belong historically, as in the following case, which is the most interesting of all these variants from the phonetic standpoint

agne yat te tejas tena tam prati titigdhi (KS tityagdhi, AV tam atejasam kṛnu) AV MS KS ApŠ For the 'adventurous' tityagdhi, irom root tij but apparently influenced in form by thought of tyaj or the like, see VV I p 191

§734. All our other variants are morphologically or lexically quite independent, except possibly the following

prapīnam (MŚ v l °tam, TS ApŚ prapyātam) agne sarırasya (MŚ sahlasya) madhye VS TS KS ApŚ MŚ The 'roots' pī and pyā are ultimately one

yatrāsate sukrto yatra te yayuh (AV ta īyuh) RV AV VS SB TA 'Roots' yā and i, the latter form here metrically poor

vikirida (KS. °da, VS °dra, MS vyakrda) vilohita VS TS MS KS It is barely possible that the first syllable of this obscure epithet of

Rudra may show a variation which properly belongs here; but nothing is really known of the word

agne devānām ava heda vyakşva (KS ıkşva) KS ApŚ vyakşva is a desiderative from yaj; possibly for metrical reasons, KS presents a sort of contraction of it, which in VV I p 123 we have doubtfully classed as a root present

dhanāni šakro dhanyah (AŚ. dhanāh) surādhāh TB AŚ The reduction of the commonplace adjective dhanyah to the monstrous dhanāh can only be a phonetic corruption or blunder (or should we read dhanā, from dhanin?).

§735. Of the lexical variants, several concern monosyllabic forms like id, im, varying with yad, yam; or the like.

apām payasvad it (KS yat) payah RV KS -apām payaso yat payah AV. TS. TB MS

gomān ıd (SV. yad) ındra te sakhā RV SV

muşkāv 1d (VSK °kā 1d, IS °kau yad) asyā ejatah AV. VS VSK SS IS

mitram na yam (TB īm) simyā goşu gavyavah (TB °vat) RV TB samyak (TS MS TAA ApŚ * MŚ sam it, KS * sarit, all mss) sravanti sarito (TAA. °tā, Poona ed °to) na dhenāh RV VS TS MS KS * ŚB TAA KŚ ApŚ * MŚ

yadı tvam atra (Vait tvam tatra) manasā jagantha VS AS SS Vait . yad-yat tvam atra manasānuvettha LS

iti cid dhi (AV. *yadi cin nu) tvā dhanā jayantām RV AV (both)

§736. In others the variation is accounted for by the presence or absence of the augment or a particle or the preposition \bar{a} before a verb form or derivative noun, and after a preposition ending in ι .

mā dhenur atyāsārīnī (HG atīsā°) HG ApMB. The true reading is manifestly that of ApMB, HG has a phonetic reduction (it should mean 'having diarrhea!')

yajña pratitişiha sumatau suševāh TB ApŠ yajñah pratyaşihāt (v 1 praty u şihāt) KS yajñah praty u şihāt sumatau matīnām MŠ

toyena jīvān tvīsasarja (TA. text vya ca sarja, comm v 1 vyasasarja) bhūmyām TA MahānU The only possible reading in TA is vyasasarja, which is itself anomalous enough, see VV I p 140

abhyaşıkşı rājābhūm (ApŚ °bhūvam) MS ApŚ abhısıkşa rājābhuvam (v 1 °bhūvam) MŚ

§737. Stems or endings in i varying with extensions in (y)a agnir grhapatīnām (MS KS gārhapatyānām) VS TS MS KS SB sūpasthā asi vānaspatyah MS sūpasthā devo vanaspatih TS ye 'anayah purīsyāh (purīsinah), and others, see §907

- antimitras (IS antyam°) düre-amitras (MS 'mitras) ca ganah VS. TS. MS KS. Both probably mean 'having near friends', anti and adj antya. Weber and Keith follow the comm on TS in dividing anty-amitras, 'with foes within,' which is less plausible
- agnır havyam (RV KS. havıh) samıtā südayātı (AV svadayatu) RV AV. VS. TS MS. KS
- ahāh śarīram (TB ahāc char°) payasā sametı (TB °tya) TB Vart (also AVPpp) The correct reading is doubtless the gerund sametya; the 3d sing sameti may almost be considered a case of genuine 'Saripprasārana'. Cf VV I p 164
- kım it te vişno parıcakşyam bhūt (SV parıcakşı nāma) RV SV TS MS N. The SV form is scarcely interpretable (see Benfey's Glossar for two suggestions), and is probably a sort of phonetic corruption of the other.
- tāh prācya (°yah, prācīr)..., see §387. Equivalent case-forms; others will be found in the volume on Noun Inflection
 - §738. Remoter lexical variants and corruptions
- satyam vadanty anv 1cha (KS anu yacha) etat TS KS PG anu-15 'seek after': anu-yam 'follow'
- yebhir viśvam (SV. vy aśvam) arrayah RV. SV Vy aśvam doubtless a corruption, favored by this sort of phonetic shift Benfey takes aśva as a proper name
- anyām icha pitrsadam vyaktām (ApMB vittām) RV ApMB. jāmim icha pitrsadam nyaktam (read otām) AV vittām is certainly secondary. Note that in jāmim anyām we also have a kind of samprasāraņa in the final syllable
- acittapājā (TA acyuta) agnīt MS TA. SS. Also. acittamanā (TA acyuta) upavaktā, same texts Here yu: 1 vary, cf the second variant in §736, and next
- bhujyuh (MS. bhujī) suparno yajño gandharvah VS TS MS KS SB. yu: ī, cf prec
- pāhi mā didyoh (TS. TB mādya divah) VS. TS SB. TB.
- ayam yo'sı (MS. yo asya) yasya ta idam sırah KS ApS MS. The latter certainly secondary
- yena bhūyas ca rātryām (ApMB. carāty ayam, MG caraty ayam, PG bhūris carā divam) AG PG. ApMB MG See §61
 - 12 Samprasārana $u(\bar{u})$ va, $v\bar{a}$, and the like.
- §739. Here, as in the preceding division, there are very few purely phonetic variants, almost all of them involve lexical or morphological divergences. The most clearly phonetic cases are

svar (KhG. sur) abhwyakhyam KS ApŚ GG KhG: svar abhwyakhyam (MS MŚ °kśam) jyotir vasśvānaram MS KS MŚ sur is certamly for star, cf the Dhātupāṭha root sur 'shine'

kati dhāmāni kati ye vivāsāh MS. Lo asyā dhāma katidhā vyustīh AV. Different ablaut grades of the root vas 'shine'

agnir havyam (RV. KS havih) śamitā sūdayāti (AV. svadayatu) RV. AV VS TS MS KS The roots sūd and svad are distinct historically, but no doubt related prehistorically

agnır havyanı sışıadat RV . agnır havya suşüdatı RV.

ayā no yajāam vahāsi KŠ ayasā havyam ūhişe ApŠ ApMB HG And others; see §502 Related roots vah and ūh

And similarly in suffixal elements.

vidyullekheva bhāstarā (MahānU bhāstarā, v I bhāstarā) TA MahānU Both these stems are familiar adjectives

madhuntamānām (VSK madhrant°, MS madughānām) tvā patmann ādhūnomi VS VSK SB MS The VS form is a kind of superlative to madhu, modeled upon madin-lama, which occurs in the preceding formula The VSK. form is a variation on the other, suggested by suffixal forms in van(t)

sugantuh karma karanah karisyan JB.. sugam tvah karmah karanah karah karasyuh LS So the printed ed of LS, BR read sugantvah 'leicht gangbar', but no *gantva is recorded The text is evidently

very corrupt.

§740. Several times the AV. presents the word abhisastipā(h), 'protector against imprecation', followed by the particle u, while other texts read abhisastipāvā, as nom of a suffixal form in -van; cf Lanman's note in Whitney on AV 19 24 5, which suggests that AV. is secondary bhavā kṛṣṭīnām (AV. gṛ°) abhisastipāvā (AV °pā u) AV. PG ApMB HG. abhūr gṛṣṭīnām (AV *vaśānām in text, mss v āpīnām, HG āpīnām,

ApMB āpīnām) abhisastipāvā (AV. °pā u) AV HG. ApMB

rşīnām pulvo abhisastipāvā (AV. °pā u) AV. VS SB

And similarly, the particles $v\bar{a}$ and u interchange once.

yad vā (RVKh u) detī sarasvatī AV RVKh

§741. The prefix su exchanges a number of times with the stem sva in composition, just as both of them exchange with su-(§§364, 612) nāraš caranti svasīca iyānāh VS TS ŠB.: nāvo viyanti susīco na tānāh

MS. KS ımam yajñanı sıudhayā ye yajanle (KS dadanle) KS AŚ·ımam ca yajñanı sudhayā dadanle MS·ya ımam yajñanı svadhayā dadanle

(SS bhazante) VS. TS SS

sugā (TS ApŚ svagā) vo devāh sadanā (TS N. sadanam) akarma (MS kṛnomī, KŚ Kauś ApŚ sadanānī santu, KS devās sadanedam astu) AV VS. TS MS. KS ŚB KŚ Kauś ApŚ N

sunītī svayašastaram (SV su°) RV. SV.

avabhrthas ca svagākāras (KS su°) ca MS KS. So the one ms of KS; but ed em svagā°, no doubt rightly; cf. ava° ca me svugā° ca me, in Conc

ekayā ca dašabhīš ca svabhūte (AV cā suhūte) AV. VS MS ŠB TA AŠ. ŠŠ See §119

prıyany anganı svadhıta parûnşı (Vast anga sukrla purûnı) TB. Vast §742. The rest are sporadic lexical variants

urudrapso višvarūpa induh TS ApŠ: purudasmo visurūpa (KS °dasmavad višvarūpam) induh VS KS. ŠB KŠ Other cases of visu višva in §291

dhūmrā babhrunīkāśāh pilīnām somavatām VS: pitrbhyo barhişadbhyo dhūmrān babhrvanīkāśān ApS babhru + nikāśa (anūkāśa)

brahmādhguptah (PG brahmābhr°) svārā kşarānı (PG surakşıtah syām) svāhā AG PG brahmābhyūrtam svarākşānah (most mss svarārakṣānah) MG For AG Stenzler says: 'moge 1ch Lieder ergiessen'.

asmān (MS KS asmān) u devā avatā haveşu (MS KS bhareşv ā) RV. SV. VS TS MS KS asmān devāso †'vatā haveşu AV

svādhyo (TB °dhiyo) vidathe apsu zījanan (TB apsv az°) RV. TB

purutrā te manutām (AV vanvalām, comm vanutām) visthitam jagat RV AV. VS TS MS KSA N Sing. plur; see VV I p 266

ındrah (SS. °as) patih tuvışlamo (AA. SS tavaslamo) zaneşv ā (SS zaneşu) AV AA SS

ā yāhi (and, ā no yāhi) tapasā janeşu (SS.° şv ā, MS janışva) MS. AB AS. SS See §§693, 826

§743. A number of times, in lexical or morphological variants, vi or $v\bar{i}$ is found varying with u or \bar{u}

vidyutām (PG MG udyatām) wa sūryah SS AG. PG MG

adyā krnuhi vītaye (SV. °hy ūtaye) RV. SV.: nīvat krnuhi vītaye (SV. °hy ūtaye) RV SV The variation may also be considered one between yū and vī (§805)

achidrām pārayiṣnum (SMB °yiṣnvīm) TS SMB Fem acc of u stem dṛśāno rukma urvyā (RV. KS urnyā, MS uruyā) vy adyaut (MS vi bhāti) RV VS TS MS. KS SB. ApMB Cf. §791, and next variant The form uruyā seems to be characteristic of MS

cakşur ma urvyā (KS urvyā, MS uruyā) vi bhāhi VS TS MS KS ŚB Cf. prec. dhışane vidü (vidvi) . . , and others, see §169

yatrādhi sūra udito nibhāti (TS uditau vyeti) RV VS. VSK TS: yasminn adhi vitatah sūra eti MS KS: yasyāsau sūro vitato mahitrā AV See §63

13 ayar e and the like

§744. On this general subject see Bloomfield, AJP 5. 27 ff; Wackernagel I p 53 f It is clearly Prakritic in character. The variants are few, and mostly capable of different lexical or morphological explanations. Perhaps the only purely phonetic variant is the following, the MS form is not otherwise recorded and is reasonably supposed to be merely a dialectic form of the other

namah kınsılāya ca kşayanāya (MS kşenāya) ca VS TS MS KS Epithet of land

§745. In several verb forms we find the same variation, where the aya forms may (with more or less forcing) be explained as causatives, or as 1st class presents, the alternative forms being derived from the non-causative, or from root-class presents, but undoubtedly the phonetic tendency in question is involved in them:

arejetām (TB arejayatām) rodasī pājasā garā RV TB Cf VVI p. 154; a sort of hyper-Sanskritism in TB., which spoils the meter

uttamam nākam (VS MS KS ŠB uttame nāke) adhī rohayemam (VS MS. KS ŠB ^oyainam, TA rohemam) AV VS TS MS KS ŠB TA See VV I p 152 The contracted form of TA is unmetrical

sed u rājā kṣayatı (TB kṣeti) carṣanīnām RV. MS TB The contracted form is again unmetrical Cf VV I p 123

agnır (also väyur, prajāpatir etc.) dīkşıtah...dīkşayatu (JB dīkşeta) JB. Ap\$ See VV I §160

§746. Otherwise we find a few miscellaneous cases, concerning noun inflection or particles:

pībāt somam mamadad (AŠ ŠŠ. °mam amadann) enam ışle (AŠ. ŠŠ ıstayah) AV. AŠ ŠŠ See VV I p 88

tasyed (AV tasya yad) āhuh prppalam svādv agre RV AV The AV expansion is hypermetric, according to Whitney, Ppp agrees with RV

§747. As showing analogous tendencies, we append a miscellaneous group of cases of variation between e(ai) and avi, ayi, iye, iya, \bar{a} - $y\bar{a}$ For e: ya, $y\bar{a}$, see §803.

samsrāvabhāgā (VS SB. samsrava°, MS °gāh, KS. Kauś °gās) stheşā (Kauś tanṣā) brhantah VS. TS MS. KS. SB. Kauś. See §96

TS. pp stha, ıṣāh; and accordingly Keith, 'well-nourished'; but this is implausible. The original doubtless means stha iṣā 'ye are great by food'; Kauś, 'by strength'.

tebhyo ghrtasya kulyantu (TA dhārayntum) AV. TA. The AV. form intends kulyā-etu; TA suggests dhārantu (dhārā-etu) as an intermediate stage between AV and its secondary reading

āruroha tve sacā (KS tvayy api) KS TB AS. Vait ApS MS

revati predhā yajñapatım ā viša MS. KS.: revati yajamāne priyam dhā ā viša VS. SB: revatīr yajñapatım priyadhāvišata TS. ApŚ. The old adverb predhā (doubtless original), 'kindly', becomes priyadhā in TS, and this is further broken up into priyam dhāh, 'establish the pleasant', in VS

vi dhūmam agne aruşam miyedhya (MS medhya) RV VS TS. MS SB. TA miyedha and medha, both RV, are synonyms, it is a disputed question whether there is any ultimate relation between them. agnir developah sundatriyebhyah (TA sundatrebhyah) RV AV TA N.

In the original form odatryebhyah stands for odatryebhyah (suffix ya).

pratiravebhyah (TA pratirebhyah) svāhā MS TA. The correct reading is certainly that of MS; pratirava in the some ritual means the oecho-hole, otherwise called uparava. TA comm pratirebhya bhividahhetubhyah prānadevebhyah (as if pra-tira oextending' [life]).

ā yāta (SMB GG ViDh eta) pitarah somyāsah (HG somyāh) AV SMB

GG HG ViDh ā-yā and ā-1, synonyms

Compare the interesting case agnim (SV agnim u) śresihaśocisam RV SV, see §843

14. ava: o and the like

 $\S748$. See the references quoted in $\S744$ The variants are even fewer than those concerning aya and e The most clearly phonetic instance shows the peculiar pronominal genitive form to (Wackernagel p 54)

to-to (MS KS MŚ tava-tava, TS ApŚ to-te) rāyah VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB KŚ ApŚ MŚ

§749. Other stray cases which involve the same phonetic tendency. yatra yanti srotyās (KS sravatyas) taj nitam te AV. TS MS. KS The fuller form of KS improves the meter RV. knows the stems srotyā (found here) and sravantī = KS sravatī, both meaning 'stream' But note that several mss of KS read sravatyās, which points to a hyper-Sanskritic form based on srotyās.

sā nah priyā supratūrtir maghonī TS.: sā nah supratūrtih priyā nah

suhār naḥ priyavanir maghavanir antā ehi MS In TS the regular fem of maghavan, based on the weak stem maghon-, in MS an i-extension of the strong stem

svāhā tvā subhava (VSK TS ApŚ °vah, KS subho) sūryāya VS VSK TS MS KS KB ŚB ApŚ The KS probably has really a phonetic contraction, but may be understood as from stem su-bhu (-bhū), parallel to -bhava(s)

anābho mṛda dhūrte (read °ta with some mss of MS and all of MS) MS MS anārbhava mṛda KS ApS Cf p w 5 Nachtrāge, s v Possibly here also forms of root bhū may be involved, as in the last, but the readings are very obscure Epithets of Rudra KS ms reads anānbhava, KapS anār°

§750. We append a stray lexical variant of ava and \bar{u} ,

avamaıs ta ūrvaıs te kāvyaıs te pıtrbhır bhakşayāmı PB IS · ūmaih pıtrbhır bhakşayāmı AB SS Vait It is possible that the latter form intends avama 'nether', instead of ūma 'helper', which does not fit pıtrbhıh so well We should then have a sort of Prakıtıc reduction Caland does not translate the word in Vait

For o va, vā, see §804

CHAPTER XVI INSERTION OR EXPULSION OF VOWELS

1 EPENTHESIS OF VOWEL BETWEEN TWO CONSONANTS

§751. In this chapter we shall consider mainly two kinds of variation One, the more extensive, is the writing of $\imath y$ for y and $\imath v$ for v, it is, as we shall see, primarily a matter of orthography, since it occurs almost exclusively where y and v have vocahe function. The other, which we shall take up first, is epenthesis of a vowel (usually \imath) between two consonants. It is dealt with in Wackernagel I §\$49-53, also, in so far as it concerns agrist verb forms containing $-\tau s$ - or $-\tau s$ -, in VV I pp 189-191. As Wackernagel says (p. 57), this epenthesis is clearly related to the Prakritic tendency to avoid a succession of dissimilar consonants by a similar epenthesis.

§752. In the variants it is almost always a matter of genuine epenthesis, that is insertion of a vowel which was originally absent. The older form of the variant is regularly that which lacks the vowel, and moreover in most cases the history of the word justifies the assumption that the original form of the word lacked it

§753. Perhaps the only two cases in which beyond any question an original vowel is expelled in one form of the variant are the following, on which see VV I pp 190-1, and Wackernagel I p 60 As Wackernagel observes, the forms without the vowels are hyper-Sanskritic. They show a straining to avoid what is felt as dialectic and incorrect, carried to the point of dropping vowels which properly belong in the words pra na (MS nā, SV PB na) āyūnşi tārişat (VS*TS*KS*ŠŠ N*tārişah, Kauś tārsat) RV AV SV VS*TS*MS KS*PB. TB

TA AŚ ŚŚ ApŚ Kauś N* The Kauś form is bad metrically. āchettā te (TB ApŚ*vo) mā rişam (KS rişat, MS and all mss of MŚ mārsam) TS MS KS TB ApŚ MŚ Since the root is riş, the Maitr form (to be read also in MŚ) is formally impossible, except as a purely phonetic (hyper-Sanskritic) variant for mā rişam

§754. In the next group of variants, acrists of the root car, both forms with and without i are otherwise known, but at least in two of the three cases the older forms of these particular variants show forms without i, so that they may also be counted as hyper-Sanskritisms

apo (RV AŚ āpo) adyānv (TS TB JB ApŚ anv, AV duvyā) acārişam (JB † acārṣam, AV acāyiṣam) RV AV VS TS MS KS ŚB TB

JB AS. LS ApS. MS. ApMB ApG MG Add to VV I §286a, p. 190. Note that JB. 18 unmetrical

agne vratapate vratam acārişam (MS MŚ. v. l. acārşam), VS. TS MS. KS.† ŚB ŚŚ. ApŚ MŚ HG

vratānām vratapate (Kauś ^opatayo) vratam acārīsam (MS. acārsam) MS. TA. Kauś

§755. The original form of parasu or parsu is uncertain; Wackernagel §51 believes that it was parsu, but parasu seems commoner and is apparently supported by Greek πέλεκυς. In the variant which follows the meter is indeterminate (reading suastih, the form parsur can be made to fit metrically); but note that in TS. both forms of the word occur in the same pāda, which makes parsu suspicious:

parasur (TS parsur) vedih parasur nah svasti (TS. °tih) AV. TS

§756. There are other cases in which double forms, with and without the vowel, are more or less familiar in the language generally. But it appears that in most if not all the other variants, these particular formulas originally contained the form without the vowel, so that the form with epenthesis may be regarded as secondary at least in the context considered.

§757. The vowel inserted is regularly ι , seldom a or u. It is found commonly before or after a liquid, generally r, and most frequently of all between r and a sibilant or h. In addition there are a number of cases in which the epenthetic vowel ι seems to be inserted before a labial consonant, especially v, this principle is not recognized in Wackernagel, nor, so far as we know, elsewhere. The insertion is as a rule injurious to the meter, to make the text metrical it has to be omitted

§758. First, between r and sibilants: the only certain cases except that mentioned in §755 are a rist forms. We have mentioned above those in which the vowel ι is certainly or probably original. Those in which it is secondary are (see on them all VV I, l. c.).

yad rātryā (MahānU TA v l rātryā) pāpam akārşam (TA v l akārsam) TA. MahānU

diteh putrānām aditer akārşam (MS akārişam) AV MS tan nah parşad (MS parişad) ati dvişah TS MS

daksam te bhadram ābhārşam (AV ta ugram ā bhārışam) RV AV

§759. The only other case is probably no genuine variant, since the Poona ed of TB. text and comm reads dhūrṣadam. It is therefore probably to be deleted in Wackernagel I p 56, likewise delete there the form dhūruṣāh-, which is supported by only one ms in TS 1 2 8 2; the other mss. all read dhūrṣāh-.

ghṛtapratīkam va (TB ca) ṛtasya dhūrṣadam (TB. Bibl Ind. dhūruṣadam) RV TB. ApŚ.

§760. There is one variant vowel between l and a sibilant; most mss of MS (in three occurrences) and of MS. (in two) read with epenthesis -valisā, which should no doubt be read in all the Maitr. passages, altho Von Schroeder, for no apparent reason, reads twice -valsā and only once -valsā:

sahasravalšā (MS * MŚ v l °valsšā) vī vayam ruhema RV. VS. TS MS * KS ŚB TB. ApŚ MŚ The epenthetic ī is bad metrically.

§761. Between r and h, there are two instances of the same word. The variation is really lexical $(sp\bar{a}rha^-sv\bar{a}ruha)$, but is certainly helped along by the tendency we are considering:

spārhā (TB svāruhā) yasya śrzyo drśe RV KS TB

spārho (TB svāruho) deva negutvatā RV SV VS TB.

§762. A single instance between l and h:

etad brahmann upa valhāması (AŚ apa°, LŚ upabalıhāmahe) tvā VS AŚ. ŚŚ LŚ

§763. Likewise one between h and r.

dahram (v 1 daharam) vipāpmavaravešmabhūtam (TA Poona ed vipāpam [v 1 vipāpma] vara", MahānU. vipāpmam varam [v. 1. vara-] vešma") TA MahānU Both dahara and dahra are known; the latter is required by the meter here.

§764. Before labial consonants, generally v.

puru tvā dāśvān (SV. dāśvān) voce RV SV The inserted i in SV is doubtless meant to improve the meter. In RV dāśvān was trissyllabic (probably dāśuān, Oldenberg)

sutah sudakşa dhanva (SV dhanva) RV. SV. Read dhanua in RV the i of SV is to be explained as in the prec

asının gharmam patam hardvanam (TA. harddıvanam, read with Poona ed hardi') VS SB TA. SS And others, see §267

varşmā (VS varşmā) ca me drāghmā (TS drāghuyā, MS drāghmā, KS drāghvā) ca me VS TS MS KS The 1-forms of VS are exceptional Interesting is the TS form, which suggests a middle stage *drāghivā (blend of KS drāghvā and VS drāghimā), which has suffered metathesis of vowel and semi-vowel (1v uy)

Here we may also mention the common forms $prthv\bar{v}$ and $prthv\bar{v}$. In the one variant noted, the meter requires the shorter form. It is a disputed question which is the original; Wackernagel thinks $prthv\bar{v}$ (I p 58), but there is something to be said on the other side (cf. e.g. Avestan $prothw\bar{v}$):

pṛthvī (VaradotU pṛthwī) suvarcā yuvatıh sajoşāh TB. VaradotU. §765. Finally, an isolated corruption

yad asyā anhubhedyāh (LS anuhodbhyāh) AV VS GB. SB AS SS. Vait LS The LS form is an uninterpretable corruption. The word anu doubtless floated before the mind of whoever first spoke or wrote it.

2 WRITING OF 1y FOR y AND UV FOR V

§766. The fullest previous account of this subject is found in Wackernagel I §181a, note, a briefer statement in Whitney 129d. The Prātisākhyas seem to take no note of it, not even the TPr, although resolution is peculiarly characteristic of TS, and other Tait texts. In the commentary on TPr 2 25 Whitney believed he detected a reference to it in the term sphurita, but the passage is by no means clear

\$767. The arbitrary and capricious nature of the Vedic tradition comes out nowhere more clearly than here Certain broad general tendencies appear, the most striking is the tendency just mentioned of all Taittiriva texts to prefer the spellings zu and uv Yet even this is cut across by counter-currents in individual cases The participle of the root kst, which in all non-Tait texts beginning with RV itself is regularly snelled kswant with resolution, in Tait texts alone keeps or rather restores the historically 'regular' spelling ksyant, in defiance of meter which shows that even there it must have been pronounced kewant (§795) In some other cases where resolution is regular, Tait texts perversely show the unresolved form, thus going counter to their general practice. For instance, in two variant formulas (§797) they read promvätham (this time with VSK) against promuvo of all other texts, which is the regular form in the present of the fifth class when the present-sign nu is preceded by a consonant (Whitney 697a) the word which in most texts is written kuvala seems to have in the Tait school the definitely established form kvdla (§782), nor can this be explained as due to metrical considerations, since it is found in prose Brāhmana passages Similarly the adverb urviyā 'so RV. always) is spelled urvyā in TS (also in VS, §791), and kuvayı or 'ya of MS KS is written kvayn in TS and VS A Tait text (TA) even contains one of the three cases (nyemur, for ni-yemur) in which the final vowel (i or u) of a preposition is suppressed before the related semi-vowel (u or v) which follows it, thus leaning over backward to avoid even the semblance of the resolution of which the Tait school is otherwise so fond (§770) 8768. Nor is the Tait, school the only one which displays this capriclous character. KS. in general does not favor vy for y or uv for v. Yet in the case of the single word which all other texts write tryan, KS in three different variants shows the invariable spelling triyan (§776) The RV itself is guilty of one strange anomaly the pres mid participle of the root su 'press', is always written suvana, despite the fact that, as the meter shows, it was always pronounced svāna; the SV in the case of this word writes always svāna, in accord with the accual pronunciation (§794)

§769. Generally speaking, this matter is one which concerns orthographic convention alone, not phonetics in a proper sense. This is proved by the fact that in practically all metrical passages the y or v was syllabic. Thus the writing vy or uv represents the actual pronunciation of all texts better than the other writing. Nevertheless it is almost invariably secondary. In nearly every case the older version writes vy or v, and a secondary text (generally of the Tait school) substitutes vy or vv

§770. To such an extent was y or v felt as a proper way of writing the actual sounds v or v that in three variant texts we find an original v or v, as final vowel of a preposition, suppressed in certain texts before a following initial y or v Cf. Wackernagel I p 59 These three cases are curious enough to be worth special mention. They are

mā tvā ke cin ni (AV ke cid †n) yaman vim (SV ke cin ni yemur in, TA ke cin niyemur in) na pāśinah RV. AV. SV VS TA The TA form, which defies meter as well as etymology, can only be interpreted as standing for ni yemur; so the comm There is, to be sure, a v. l. ni yemur, but niyemur is well attested and appears to have been the actual reading of TA

graha viśvajanīna niyantar (KS nyantar) . MS KS. This and the next passage are prose KS can only intend ni-yantar.

anvāsi PB: anuvāsi . TS KS (not GB. Vait, see §255) anuvāya MS Here PB can only have in mind anu-vā.

§771. In a handful of cases this resolution is attended by false divisions which lead to real lexical variations in secondary texts, as when apsv \bar{a} is resolved to apsuv' \bar{a} which is then read apsu $v\bar{a}$ in TS ('§778), or when an original $nya\bar{n}$ (from $nya\bar{n}c$) is broken up into nv yan (thru the middle stage $nvya\bar{n}$) in a secondary reading of AV (§778) Again the adjective apy \bar{a} is made into the two words api y \bar{a} in SV (§785), and the RV abhvam (two syllables, not *abhvam) is revamped by TB into ab-bhvam, thinking of ap 'water' (§790) Other variants which have lexical bearings are $svv\bar{a}\bar{n}$ · $sv\bar{a}n(a)$, §778, nv for nv varying

with 'nv for anu (wrongly printed nuw in TB Bibl. Ind ed, §778); and the few cases in which suffixal forms in iya(n), with i, vary with forms in ya(n), the i proving that we are not dealing with mere resolution of y to iy (§786). With these exceptions, all the cases listed here are purely phonetic, or rather orthographic

§772. The variants fall into five clearly defined groups First, i or u final (either absolutely or in the seam of compounds), written iy or us as well as y or v before an initial vowel; most commonly after more than one consonant. Second, non-final y and v in radical (initial) syllables; chiefly the one word svar (suvar) and its compounds, plus several words beginning in k- (in which the iy or uv form seems to be more primary). Third, the suffix ya pronounced iya, and written so in secondary texts; in practically all cases after more than one consonant Fourth, the stem-final of noun stems in long or short i or u, before inflectional endings beginning with a vowel; again the y or v, even when not written iy or uv, is regularly pronounced syllabically, but written so only in secondary texts. Fifth, a few miscellaneous verb-forms, either finite verbs or participles

§773. In all of these groups except the last, the writing iy or iw is secondary to y or v, but accords with the actual pronunciation as shown by the almost unvarying testimony of the meter. Again in all except the last, it is regularly Tait texts which show this secondary writing. Typical is their treatment of the word svar, which they practically always write suvar; the few exceptions are mostly instances in which ancillary texts of the Tait school have borrowed formulas from other, non-Tait texts (such as KS., from which ApS frequently quotes), and have retained the characteristic spelling of those other texts. It would not be unreasonable to see in the writing of iy and iv an attempt to represent the actual pronunciation. The same tendency may be noted occasionally in other schools, and in the reverse change, as when SV always writes svana, in accord with the meter, for the unmetrical RV suvana (§794). Yet, as we saw above, changes in both directions are sometimes introduced in defiance of meter.

A. uv and vy for v (u) and y final before vowels

§774. Most of the variants are metrical, and of course the y or v is always syllabic. We begin with the particle u, which in the RV etc is always written not v but u before a following vowel when it is preceded by a word ending in a vowel (or in y for final i), but v when preceded by a consonant (Wackernagel I §270a).

ghrie śrito ghriam v (TA. w) asya dhāma RV. VS. TA AŚ MŚ. praty u (TB. w) adarśy (TB †adrśy) āyatī RV. SV. TB ŚŚ. AŚ.

na vā u (TS TB. ApŠ uv) etan mrīyase na rīşyasī RV. VS TS. KSA. SB. TB ApŠ

sa u (TS uv) ekavınsavartanıh TS MS Prose

§775. The spelling uv was regular from RV times in the word suvita (svita). It is therefore not surprising to find it not limited to Tait. texts: sarad dhemantah suvite dadhāta (MŠ °tu) KS MŠ. Sarad varṣāh svite (TS. SMB suvitam) no dadhāta (TS. SMB astu) AV TS. SMB. The meter requires uv, but even with that is poor in TS SMB. because of their change to astu

sunte mā dhāh TS MS KS ŠŚ LŚ ŚG. N.: sinte etc VS. GB. ŚB AŚ. Vait. Prose

§776. The word tryan, so spelled in nearly all texts, is thrice spelled triyan in KS, altho this text rarely resolves y to iy, and altho Tait. texts write this word tryan(!) Two of the variants are prose, the other requires syllabic y or iy.

tryavır (KS triyavır) gaur vayo dadhuh VS MS KS TB.

tryanr (KS. triya°) vayah VS. TS MS KS. SB. ApS Prose

tryans (KS triya°) ca me tryan (KS triya°) ca me (MS MS omit me twice) VS TS MS KS MS Prose

§777. The rest are sporadic

suludrı stomam sacatā paruşny (TA °nıy) ā RV. TA MahānU N. In a jagatī stanza, RV. certainly pronounced °nıy-ā asıkny (TB °nıy) asy oşadhe AV. TB.

dhārāvarā maruto dhṛṣnvojasah (TB dhṛṣnuvo°) RV AB. KB TB

§778. False divisions resulting in lexical variations or corruptions are found in the following:

yad oşadhīşv apsv \bar{a} (TS apsu $v\bar{a}$) yajatra RV VS TS SB apsu $v\bar{a}$ clearly based upon the intermediate stage apsuv \bar{a} As a matter of fact, this may be what TS really intends, but p p divides apsu $v\bar{a}$, and so Weber and Keith

nyañ (AV. ni yan) ni yanty uparasya nişkrtam (AV. °tim) RV. AV. KS.

The AV. has a corruption based upon niyañ for nyañ

svāna bhrājā°.. VS TS ŠB KŠ ApŠ svān nabhrād KS.. svāna bhrāṭ .TA . suvāñ nabhrād .. MS MŠ In the latter su-vāk (vāc) 18 meant

[ato no rudrā uta vā †nv asya RV . tato no rudrā uta vā nuv (but Poona ed 'nv, and comm anu) asya TB We assume that the Poona ed is right, so that the variant does not belong here]

We have listed above (§770) the three variants in which just the reverse tendency occurs, namely, a final i or u is suppressed before an initial y or v

B Non-final y(v), in radical (initial) syllables

§779. These mostly concern the one word svar and its compounds Numerous variant padas begin with this word itself. They can be got so easily from the Concordance, and show so little interest individually, that we have not taken the space to copy them out here. It will be seen that the form suvar is practically limited to Tait texts, but that in them it is nearly universal. The rare cases in which Tait texts write svar are generally due to quotations (in such texts as ApS) from non-Tait sources, retaining the non-Tait spelling. We note that in the variant s(u)varge loke samprornvathām TS KSA TB, the true reading of KSA is †svarge loke †samprornwathām, correct Conc

§780. In addition to formulas beginning with svar we find for example

(the list is far from complete)

parı lokān parı dısah parı svah (TA MahānU suvah) VS. TA MahānU duvı mürdhānam dadhışe svarşām (TS TB suv°) RV VS. TS. MS KS

hıranyaväsīr ışırah svarşāh (TB. suv°) RV TB —The compound stem svarsā occurs also once initially, viz

svarṣām (TB suv°) apeām (TB Poona ed twice †apsvām, text and

comm) vrjanasya gopām RV VS MS TB

§781. There is, finally, at least one variant in which a Tait text (TB) reads svar contrary to metrical requirements, if it was quoted from some other text, that text has not been discovered. The later texts of the same Tait school, TA and MahānU, write suvar.

tapasarşayah (MahānU °rşayah) suvar (TB svar) anvanndan TB TA MahānU

§782. Next we come to three words, all etymologically obscure, in which an apparently older or more regular form in vy or v (always preceded by k, is this accidental?), is replaced by y or v alone. Most curious of all, in each case a Tait text has the secondary reading with y or v alone, and in the first of the three this form seems to be known only in the Tait school and to be regularly used there in this particular word—despite the obvious inconsiste v with the usual Tait tendency Meter evidently has nothing to do with any of these variations v pakṣmāni v godhūmanh v kuvalair (TB v kvalair) v MS KS TB

Here, to be sure, the form kvalair makes better meter But this

cannot account for the change, since the word seems regularly to appear as krdle in the Tait school, and is so written e.g. in a prose Brāhmana passage, TS. 2, 5 3 5 — The same word in

ajo dhūmro na godhūmaih kuvalair (TB. kvalair) bheşajam VS MS. TB. kiyāmbr atra rohatu RV : kyāmbūr atra rohatu (TA jāyatām) AV TA

Here the later texts go counter to the meter by expelling a kuvayah (KSA and pp of MS 'yıh) MS KSA · kvayıh . . VS TS

§783. Of the remaining cases under this heading one concerns the somewhat doubtful participle samdhurānā, which TS substitutes (in defiance of meter) for samdhvānā of other texts We take it to be merely a phonetic or orthographic variant for samdhvānā, differing from Whitney, Roots, who quotes it under root dhu (dhū).

samdhrānā (TS. °dhurānā) rātā abhi no grnantu TS MS KS. AŠ

The other presents a lexical variation involving false word division. see §832; the word bhiyah 'from fear', is evolved out of the case-ending -bhyah (KS, or -bhih AV.).

risvā amīrāh pramuncan mānusībhih (KS. sebhyah) AV KS: visvā āśāh pramuñcan mānusīr bhiyah VS. TS., vy amīvāh pramuñcan mānusānām MS

C. Suffixal y in noun formations, pronounced and sometimes written w

§784. Here we include chiefly nouns and adjectives in suffixal ya, but also a few forms in (1) yañc, (1) yac, where the y is treated in the same way. In all genuine instances of this variation, the y follows two consonants, and was pronounced as a vowel in all texts (the cases listed §786 are different in character). In practically every case the writing iya, the in accord with metrical requirements, is obviously second-It occurs almost exclusively in Tait texts. The following are the metrical padas concerned, beginning with the few (1)yañc stems asmadryak (TS °drayak) sam mumīhi śravānsı RV. TS. MS KS asmadryag (TS TB °drıyag) vövidhe viryaya RV. VS TS MS KS.

SB. TB.

te pāyavah sadhryañco (TS sadhrıyañco) nışadya RV TS MS KS mā te mano visvadryag (TS "driyag) vi cārīt RV TS MS KS rı mucyadhvam aghnyā (TA ApS aghnyā) devayānāh VS MS KS. SB

TA ApS MS. vājam arvaisu payo aghnyāsu (TS aghniyāsu) TS KS.

payo grheşu payo aghnyāyām (TB Ap\$ aghnıyāsu) AB TB A\$ Ap\$ yad āpo aghnyā (TS. TB aghnıyā) ıtı (omitted in TS TB MS KS LS.) AV. VS. TS MS. KS SB TB. AS SS. LS: yad āhur aghnyā iti VS. SB.

ni vīram (TS. vīravad) gavyam ašvyam (TS. ašviyam) ca rādhah RV. TS MS KS. Several mss. of MS ašviyam

sugavyam no vāji svašvyam (TS "vyam) RV. VS. TS. KSA AS

parā duşvapnyam (TB TA Ap\$ MahānU. °niyam) suva RV. SV. TB. TA. Ap\$ Kaus. MahānU.

achā devān ūcişe dhişnyā (TS dhişniyā) ye RV. VS. TS MS. KS. SB. sa budhnyā (TS TB. TA budhnyā) upamā asya vişļhāh AV. SV VS TS MS. KS. SB TB. AS. SS. TA

pra budhnyā (TS. °niyā) va īrate (TS īrate vo) mahānsi RV. TS MS KS AS. SS.

ahim budhnyam (TS. oniyam) anu rīyamānāh (MS KS anv īyamānāh, TS. anu samearantīh) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

svāyām tanū (ApMB.†MG †tanūn) rivrye (RV.† rivye) nādhamānām (ApMB nātha°, MG. bādha°) RV ApMB, MG.

sa yo vṛṣā vṛṣṇyebhiḥ (TB °niyebhiḥ) samolāḥ RV. AB. KB. TB tam sadhrīcīr ūtayo vṛṣṇyāni (TB vṛṣṇiyāni) RV. MS KS. TB.

bihat sāma kşatrabhrd viddhavişnyam (MS °nam, see §315; TS °niyam) TS. MS KS. AŠ

§785. There is one case of a false division resulting in a lexical variant (cf. §771):

ya usriyā apyā (SV. apı yā) antar asmanah (SV. °ni) RV. SV The adjective apyā, pronounced apiyā, is falsely divided in SV

§786. In several variants suffixed y, of various kinds, varies with $\bar{\imath}y$; that is, the epenthetic vowel is long. The forms concern secondary noun formations in $(\bar{\imath})ya$ sometimes; the rest are either comparatives in yans $\bar{\imath}yans$, or denominative participles. In some cases the form in $\bar{\imath}y$ is shown by the meter as well as by text history to be original, that in plain y secondary; note that, most curiously, one of these secondary forms without $\bar{\imath}$ occurs in TS!

apo rmānah pavate kavīyan (SV.† °yān, TS kavyan) RV. SV. TS KSA In SV. nom. of a comparative stem; in the others, of denominative participles

turīyādītya (VSK turyā°) savanam (RV. hav°) ta indriyam RV VS VSK TS. MS KS SB.

But in others the longer form is secondary, at times even unmetrical, and is twice found in Tait texts alone.

tam trā grnāmi tarasam atavyān (TS °rīyān) RV. SV. TS MS KS. N. Comparatives

sanım gäyatran navyānsam (TA. navīyānsam) RV. SV. MS TA. Comparatives In the next case the meter is ambiguous:

derā devebhyo adhvaryanto (KS adhvarīyanto) asthuḥ VS. TS KS. ŚB. sviṣṭim (°ṭam) no abhi ('bhi) vasyo (TS KŚ. vasīyo) nayantu AV. TS. KS KŚ. MŚ. Here the meter shows that y was vocalic, tho the spelling vasyo seems older.

yathā no rasyasas (TS "sah, L\$. vasīyasas) karat VS. TS. MS. KS \$B L\$.

unnelar rasīyo (KS. vasyo) . . . MS. KS. Ap\$. Prose.

namo dundubhyāya cāhananyāya. (MS. dundubhaye cāhananīyāya) ca VS. TS MS. KS. Prose.

pāra īkṣavo 'vāryebhyah (KSA.† 'vārīye') pakṣmabhyaḥ svāhā TS. KSA.: avāra īkṣavaḥ pāryebhyaḥ (KSA pārīye') TS. KSA Prose

§787. The following are the prose variants of ya and (short) iya. etām te aghniye (PB. 'ghnye) nāmāni TS PB.: etā te aghniye nāmāni VS SB. MS. In the latter form quasi-meter.

 \bar{a} pyāyadhvam aghnyā (TS. TB. ApŚ. aghn
ıyā) . . . VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB ApŚ. MŚ.

yāsyā aputryā (SG. °triyā) tanūs . . . SG. SMB

ahir asi budhnyah (TS. Ap\$ budhnyah) VS. TS MS. KS. PB. \$\$ Ap\$ ahirbudhnya mantram me pāhi M\$. ahe budhniya mantram me gapāya TB. Ap\$.

ahir budhnyo (TS. oniyo) devotā TS MS KS.

namo jaghanyāya ca budhnyāya (TS °nıyāya) ca VS. TS. MS: namo budhnyāya ca jaghanyāya ca KS.

namo agriyāya (VS. KS. 'gryāya, MS 'grīyāya) ... VS. TS. MS. KS. namo rālyāya ca reşmyāya (TS. °mıyāya) ca VS. TS. KS.

namo vīdhryāya (MS °riyāya, p.p. °ryāya; TS. nama īdhriyāya) cālapyāya ca VS. TS MS. KS.

namah sīghryāya (TS. °rıyāya) ca sībhyāya ca VS. TS.: namah sībhāya ca sīghrāya ca MS. KS.

sumitrā (VS SB. MahānU. SS KS. °triyā, AS. LS. sumitryā) . . . VS. TS. MS. KS. SB TB. TA MahānU. AS. SS. LS. BDh. ApS. KS MS. And similarly durmitrās etc., see §315.

asvibhyām tiroahniyānām (MS. tırohnyānām) . . . ApS. MS. tiroahniyān (MS. asvibhyām tırohnyān) somān . . . ApS. MS.

D. Stem-final of nouns in 2 or u, long or short

§788. Here again the meter shows that the y or v was in nearly every case pronounced as a vowel, so that the resolution to iy or w is in

accord with the pronunciation Yet it is always secondary and is practically limited to Tait texts The variants fall naturally into four groups First, monosyllabic (radical) $\bar{\imath}$ and \bar{u} stems. In these we expect regularly iy and uv before vocalic endings in the uncompounded stems, and in compounds after two consonants (Wackernagel III §§91a, 100a); consequently there is opportunity for this variation only in compounds after a single consonant, where the regular forms show y, v, but Tait texts (and rarely others) show iy, uv. Second, derivative $\bar{\imath}$ stems of the $dev\bar{\imath}$ type, and very rarely \bar{u} stems in forms that imitate the $dev\bar{\imath}$ declension (see Wackernagel III §97d; only one such variant has been noted). Here the only cases that occur show the variation after two consonants. Third, genitive-locative duals of short i and u stems (see §792). Fourth, \bar{u} stems of the $vrk\bar{\imath}s$ type; the variants are practically limited to the one word $tan\bar{u}$

§789. Monosyllabic (radical) stems in $\bar{\imath}$, $\bar{\imath}$ Most of the variants are metrical; we call attention specifically to the prose ones. They nearly all concern compounds of the stems $dh\bar{\imath}$, $bh\bar{\imath}$, and $p\bar{\imath}$ svādhyam (TS °dhiyam) janayat sūdayac ca RV. VS TS MS svādhyo (TB. °dhiyo) manasā devayantah RV. MS KS AB TB. PG svādhyo (TB. °dhiyo) vidathe apsu jījanan (TB. apsu ajī °) RV TB. tam tvā vayam sudhyo (TB. sudhiyo) navyam agne RV. MS. KS TB pāhi mām yajāanyam (TS TB. °niyam) VS TS MS. KS ŠB TB. ŠŚ vaneşu citram vibhvam (TS vibhuvam) više više RV VS TS MS KS ŠB vibhuve (MS vibhve, KS † vibhave) svāhā VS MS KS TB ApŚ Prose abhibhuve (MS abhibhve, KS abhibhave) svāhā VS MS KS TB ApŚ

Prose.

śałam yasya subhvaḥ (SV. subhuvah) sākam īrate RV SV

mahişam nah subhvam (AVPpp ms subhavas, Barret JAOS 35 46 subhuvas) tasthıvānsam AVPpp MS samudram na subhvah svā abhışlayah RV.: samudram na subhuvas tasthıvānsam AV. Others, see §119

ghriena no (MS KS. mā) ghriapvah (TS. °puvah) punantu RV. AV VS TS MS KS SB. According to Roth, AVPpp also °puvah

deras írā savitā punātu vasoh pavitrena . . supvā (ApŠ supuvā) VS ŠB ApŠ . deras tvā savitotpunātu . . . supvotpunāmi Kauš Prose.

§790. A peculiar case which may involve lexical reinterpretation of

the variant word is the following.

arhann idam dayase visvam abhvam (TA abbhuiam) RV TA. The pada occurs in a tristubh verse, and abhvam was undoubtedly a dissyllable in RV. In TA it is reinterpreted as ab-bh(u)vam 'originating in water', according to the comm, see §392

§791. Derivative $\bar{\imath}$ and \bar{u} stems of the $dev\bar{\imath}$ type The stem-final is here always preceded by two consonants, and the y or v has vocalic function in nearly all metrical cases. The first is the only case of an \bar{u} stem

samrājāī śvasrvām (ApMB °ruvām) bhava RV SMB ApMB On this form of Wackernagel III p 189, 1 1

asıknyā (TA °nıyā) marudvīdhe vitaslayā RV TA MahānU N sūro rathasya naptyah (ArS naptryah, TB °triyah) RV. AV ArS KS TB

ubhayor ārtnyor (TS "niyor) jyām VS TS MS KS

devyo vamryo (VSK vamriyo) VS VSK SB KS Prose

drsāno rukma urvyā (RV KS urviyā, MS uruyā) vy adyaut (MS vi bhāti) RV VS TS MS KS ŠB. ApMB This adverb is always spelled urviyā in RV, the spelling uruyā (§743) seems to be peculiar to MS, cf next

calşur ma urvyā (MS uruyā, KS urvıyā) vı bhāhı VS TS MS KS SB Prose Cf prec

apīparo mā rātriyā (MŚ rātryā) ahno mā pāhi TA ApŚ MŚ Also apī° māhno rātriyai (rātryai) etc , same texts

yad rātriyā (MahānU and v. 1 of TA rātryā) pāpam akārşam (TA v. 1 akārişam) TA MahānU yad rātriyāt kurute pāpam TAA Here by exception the meter favors the unresolved form

rātryai (TB °triyai) kṛṣṇam piñgākṣam VS TB

rātryai (TS rātriyai) tvā TS KS PB Vait

rātryai (TA ApŚ rātriyai) mā pāhi TA ApŚ MŚ

rātryaı (TS TB rātrıyaı) svāhā TS MS KS KSA TB

vršvapsnyā (TS °psnıyā) vršvatas parı SV VS. TS MS KS Kauś Here, by exception, the meter favors the unresolved form

samvešāyopavešāya gāyalryai (TS ApŚ °triyās).. TS KS PB. ŚŚ KŚ. ApŚ

sa gāyatryā (TS TB °trıyā) trış[ubhā. VS TS MS KS SB TB AS Kauś

gāyatryai (TS °triyai, MS KS °tryā) gāyatram VS TS MS KS ŚB mano gāyatryai (TB ApŚ. °triyai) VSK TB. KŚ ApŚ

§791a. The following case is peculiar

viliptī yā (vilipiyā) bihaspate AV (both) In two nearly adjoining stanzas, 12 4 44 and 46, which except for this change are practically identical Whitney would emend viliptyā to viliptī yā, but this is unnecessary, viliptyās would be a correct genitive form, depending on ašnīyāt of pāda c. 'of the viliptī (cow) the non-brahman shall not eat'

§792. Genitive-locative duals of short \imath and u stems. On these cf. Wackernagel III §22b, which is not quite accurate in stating that all texts write -yoh and -voh (rather than -iyoh and -woh) 'durchweg'; the occurrence of the Tart spellings in the following variants, at least, seems to have been overlooked. As Wackernagel observes, the y and u in these forms is regularly vocalic in RV..

indrāgnyor (TS. ApŚ °gnzyor) (prose formulas, see Conc.) VS TS.

MS KS ŚB KŚ ApŚ MŚ

ayād agnir indrāgniyos TB ayād indrāgnyos . MS

bāhuvor balam TS TAA bahu bāhvor balam AV bāhvor balam Vait MS PG

bāhvos (TS bāhuvos) tava hetayah VS TS hetayas tava bāhvoh MS KS patāti didyun naryasya bāhvoh (TS bāhuvoh) RV TS MS KS ūrvor (TS TAA ūruvor) ojah AV. TS TAA Vait MŚ PG

§793. The stem $tan\bar{u}$ and its type The only form from another stem than $tan\bar{u}$ itself is the fem accus sing sudrvam (from * $sudr\bar{u}$, fem to su-dru), which is of course pronounced sudruvam and is so written in SV —The very numerous cases in which uv for v is written in forms of $tan\bar{u}$ in Tait texts alone are not listed in full

nemim tasteva sudrvam (SV sudruvam) RV SV

yasyaı bahvīs tanuvo vīlapṛṣṭhāh TB . yasyā bahvyas tanvo vīlapṛṣṭhāh MS

na dhvasmānas tanvī (TS tanuvī) repa \bar{a} dhuh RV. TS

tanūs tanvā (TS TAA tanuvā) me saha AV TS TAA PG Vart tanūr me tanvā saha MS The AV mss read ome sahed antāh or the like, the vulgate presents a violent emendation, abandoned by Whitney in his Trans! Properly speaking this passage is cadenced prose, rather than verse

śam tokāya tanuve (SMB tanvar) syonah TS TB ApŚ SMB PG Note that PG has the characteristic spelling of TS from which it

here quotes (there is a v I tanvai).

tayā nas tanvā (TS ŠvetU tanuvā) šamtamayā VS TS MS KS ŠvetU NīlarU Here the meter is intended for anustubh, and the resolution makes it even worse than the original form

tanıam (TS Ap\$ ApMB HG tanıvam) me pāhi VS TS MS KS AB \$B JB \$\$ Ap\$ PG HG ApMB Prose

E Verbal forms

§794. The materials here are scattering and miscellaneous. A large group contains the participle suvāna, from su 'press', which is always

written thus in RV altho pronounced svāna, SV. changes the spelling to match the pronunciation:

pra suvānāso (SV. svā°) brhaddīveşu (SV. °deveşu) harayah RV. SV.

brhat somo vävrdhe suvana induh (SV svano adrih) RV. SV.

soma u şuvānah (SV. PB svā°) sotrbhih RV SV PB.

mitrāh suvānā (SV. svānā) arepasah RV SV

ındre suvānāsa (SV svā°) ındavah RV AV SV.

ā soma suvāno (SV. svāno) adrībhih RV. SV.

parı şya suvāno akṣāh (to be read akṣāh, cf. Oldenberg Noten ad loc)

RV parı sya svāno akşarat SV : cf. parı sya suvāno avyayam RV. parı suvānas (SV svā $^{\circ}$) calşase devamādanah RV. SV

parı suvānāsa (SV svā°) ındavah RV. SV.

parı suvāno (SV PB svāno) gırışihāh (to be read °şihāh) RV. SV. PB. suvānā (SV. svānā) devāsa ındavah RV SV.

suvāno (SV. svāno) arşa pavitra ā RV SV.

suvāno (SV. svānair) yāti kavikratuh RV. SV

§795. We have already referred (§767) to the Tait. spelling kşyant for regular kşiyant, participle of root kşi (kşeti, kşiyantı etc.), in defiance of meter

pratı kşıyanlam (TS kşyanlam) bhuvanānı viśvā RV. VS TS MS KS. SB

ādityasya watam upakşıyantah (TB °kşyantah) RV MS TB.

§796 Conversely to this, but more in accord with the general usage of the school, Tait texts show viyantu for vyantu (root vi) in numerous variants, conforming to the meter always in those which are metrical. samidho agna ājyasya vyantu (TB. viyantu) MS KS TB

aktam (MS MS aptubhī, KS *artham) rihānā vyantu (TS TB KhG. vyantu) vayah TS. MS KS. TB. MS. GG. KhG vyantu vayo

'ktam (VSK ripto) rihānāh VS VSK SB. KS The comms on both VS and TS, followed by Keith, take the verb form from m + root 1.

vasuvane vasudheyasya vyantu (TB vryantu) VS. MS KS TB AŠ ŠŠ vyantu (TS vryantu) devā havrşo me asya TS MS KS.

vyantu (TS vyantu) devīr ya rtur janīnām RV AV TS MS. N

vyantv (TB viyantv) ājyasya VS MS KS TB

uta gnā vyantu (TB vyantu) devapatnīh RV AV. MS TB. N

pībantu madantu (MS °tām) vyantu (TB vryantu somam) VS MS TB. prati na īm surabhīni vyantu (TS vryantu) RV. TS. MS. KS

lekah salekah viyantu TS · salilah saligah . vyantu MS KS

§797. In two prose variants Tait texts, with VSK, read prornvāthām for the more regular prornuvā° (above, §767)

- svargena lohena samprornuvāthām Vait svarge lohe prornuvāthām (MS °tām, VSK prornvāthām) VS VSK MS ŠB suvarge (KSA† svarge) loke samprornvāthām (KSA† °nuvā°) TS KSA TB
- ghriena dyāva prihivī prornuvāthām (VSK TS Ap\$ prornvāthām; MS M\$† prornuvātām) VS VSK TS MS ŠB KS Ap\$ M\$ vapayā dyāvā° prornuvāthām Kau\$
- §798. Finally, we find two cases of forms of the root $h\bar{u}$ (of the 6th, tud-class?) with v exchanging with uv The latter are commoner in most texts.
- mano nv ā huvāmahe (Vait °hi, VS. ŠB. KŠ Kauś hvāmahe) RV VS VSK TS MS KS. AB ŠB AŠ ŠŠ Vait. LŠ KŠ ApŠ Kauś See VV I §2
- tam ahve (SV u huve) vājasātaye RV SV.

CHAPTER XVII. METATHESIS, HAPLOLOGY, AND DITTOLOGY

1 Metathesis

§799. On metathesis in Sanskrit in general see Wackernagel I §239, and references The cases we have noted are almost entirely lexical, but are not without interest as evidence for the extensive operation in the Vedic tradition of this wide-spread linguistic phenomenon. Even when the metathetized form gives a different sense, the fact that metathesis has taken place in a repeated formula remains unquestionable and has linguistic importance.

§800. We begin with metathesis of consonants, and first with a small group in which a single consonant is moved from one place to another pūlyāny (ApMB kulpāny) āvapantīkā AV ApMB Here mss of both texts present both readings, and the variation between lp and ly may be considered graphic

asmaddātrā devatrā gachata madhumatīh TS asmadrātā (MS KS ŚŚ add madhumatīr or °tī) devatrā gachata (KS gacha) VS MS KS ŚB ŚŚ The TS 1s doubtless secondary 'having us as givers' means 'given by us' (so Keith translates; this is of course the meaning of the other variant)

yasyedam ā razo yuzah AV ArS yasyedam ā razah AA yasyedam oza āruzah SS See §244

endram vagnunā vuhata PB · vagnunendram hvayata TB. Ap\$

§801. Interchange in position between two adjoining consonants occurs a couple of times

yad ejati jagati yac ca ceşiati nāmno (Mahān U nānyo) bhāgo yan (TAA Poona ed 'yam) nāmne (Mahān U yatnān me) svāhā TAA Mahān U In Mahān U v 1 mānyo for nānyo, and yan nāmne for yatnān me The comm understands 'let that (all) be my (ātmanah) portion by effort—no otner' TAA comm says nāman = paramātman!

yatheyam strī pautram agham na rodāt AG SMB PG ApMB HG yathedam strīpautram aganma rudriyāya MG The latter is simply a bad corruption original, 'that this woman may not weep over harm to her children'

adhā juvrī (AV atha juvrīr, mss jīrvīr; ApMB athā jūvrī) vidatham ā tadāsī (RV vadāthah) RV AV ApMB See §544

- §802. More frequent is interchange in position between two not adjoining consonants:
- yena turyeno brahmanā brhaspalaye 'pavathās tena mahyam pavasva JB.: yena rūpeņa prajāpalaye j'vapathās tena mahyam pavasva KS. The original is 'vapathās, as shown by the preceding formula in KS, trir varubhyo 'vapathās etc. (see Conc.). If the JB. reading is correct, it contains metathesis of p and v, with assimilation to the following pavasva.
- mitrāya kulīpayān (MS. pulīkayān) VS. MS. See §149, and next nākro makarah kulīpayas (TS. kulīkayas, MS. pulīkayas, KSA. pulīrayas) te kūpārasya (KSA.† kūvarasya) VS. TS. MS KSA. See under prec.
- evasti nah putrakṛtheşu (MG. pathyākṛteşu, v. l. as RV.) yonişu RV. AB. MG.
- viivasmai bhūtāyādhvaro (KS. MŚ. bhūtāya dhruvo) astu devāḥ (TS. °dhvaro 'sī) TS. KS. ApŚ. MŚ.
- abaddham mano daridram calışulı süryo...TS. KS. BDh.: adabdham mana işiram calışulı (MS. adabdham calışur arişlam manalı) süryo...MS. SG.
- gharmam tocantah (AS. °ta, SS. °tam) pravanezu (AS. SS pranavezu) bibhratah AB. AS. SS.
- chandonāmānām (VSK. chandomānām, TS. °mānām) sūmrājyam gachti (VSK. gachatād iti, MŚ. gached 1ti)...VS VSK. TS ŚB. MŚ.
- jari cetid (mss cetid, p p. cya iti it) abhisisah MS: ya (TA. ApŚ. ApMB yad) rte (PB. †yakṣate) cid abhisrisah RV. AV. SV. PB TA. KŚ. ApŚ MŚ. Kauś GG. ApMB. See §193.
- ye no dviṣanty anu tān rabhasva AV.: yo no dveṣṭi tanūm rabhasva MŚ: yo no dveṣṭy anu tam ravasva ApŚ. Here MŚ. transposes the syllables nu-ta.
- apa snehitīr (SV. snīhitim) nrmaņā adhatta (SV. adhad rāh, KS Ţ nrmaņām adadhrām) RV. AV. SV. KS.: upa stuhi tam nrmnām (Poona ed. ɛnuhi tam nrmanām) athadrām TA. See §110. The KS reading looks like a metathesis of adhad rām
- agne dakṣaiḥ punīh: naḥ (TB. mū, MS. punīmahe) RV. MS TB. The MS. reading may be a metathesis of that of TB., which is secondary to RV.
- lam te hiranyam lam u sanlv (ApMB. sam u lanlv) āpah AV. Kaul ApMB. See §277.
- brahmādhiguplah (PG-brahmābhi², MG. brahmābhigūrtam) svārā l.sarāni

(PG surakşıtah syām, MG svarākşānah, most mss svarārakşānah) AG PG. MG. Evident corruption in MG.

dwas (SV dwah) prsiham adhi tisihanti cetasā (SV †rohanti tejasā) RV SV With change of surd c to sonant j, cf. §57.

vājaš ca prasataš vasuš (TS suvaš) ca...TS KS. The syllables va-su exchange position yielding suvaš (=svar)

§803. When a vowel and an adjoining semivowel are interchanged, the result, if the vowel is a, is a diphthong in one of the forms. These cases are related to §\$747 and 748ff above, q v. The following are instances of $e (=ay, \bar{a}y)$ varying with $ya, y\bar{a}$:

arthas ca ma emas (VSK. me yāmas, MS. ca mā ema) ca me VS VSK TS MS KS.

vrşlıdyāvānam (ApŚ vrşlım devānām) amriam svarındam MS. KS. ApŚ. ahā yad dyāvo (AV. devā) asunīlım ayan (AV. āyan) RV. AV.

āyur vasāna upa vetu (AV. TA yātu) šesah (TA. šesam) RV. AV. TA.

ılīdam višvam bhuvanam sam eli (AV. vi yāli) RV. AV. N. Synonymous and related roots \imath and $y\bar{a}$

ahorātre ūrvastīve (VS. °sihīve, TS ahorātrayor vrstyā) ..VS. TS MS See §840

iyam pıtryā (AB vaı pıtre, AS SS pitre) rāştry ety (AV. GB. etv) agre AV. AB GB AS SS

tvayāyam vṛtram vadhyāt (VSK ba°, VS SB badhet) VS VSK TS MS. KS SB Cf VVI §175, and next

ā mā slutasya slutam gamyāt (Vart gamet) TS Vart ā mā stotrasya stotram gamyāt PB See prec

vanaspatīnr osadhī rāya eşe (rāye asyāh) RV (both)

ghriam eva (BDh. ghriam yavā) madhu yavāh BDh. V1Dh

§804. Instances of $o (=av, \bar{a}v)$ and $va, v\bar{a}$

sāmānı cakrus tasarāny otave (AV on vātave) RV AV

vasışthahanuh śiñgini kośyābhyām VS · oşışthahanam śiñginikośyābhyām (TA °kośā°) TS TA.

sam eta viśvā (AV †viśve) vacasā (SV ojasā) patīm dwah AV. SV Roth quotes Ppp as reading oham ā-, evidently for ojasā See §52

parı ghransam omanā (TB parıghransa vām manā) vām vayo gāt (TB gām) RV MS TB N Bad corruption in TB

§804a. A special case of this interchange involves alternative genitive ablative forms of u-stems, such as madhoh madhoh. While this concerns noun inflection more than phonetics, we quote the following examples here

madhvah (SV madhoh) pavanta ürmayah RV SV

madhvah (SV madhoh) pavasva dhārayā RV SV

madhoh pibatam aśvinā VS MS SB TA LS madhvah etc RV VS AS SS

madhvah (SV madhoh) pibanti gauryah RV SV AV MS madhos cakānas cārtur madāya AV SV madhvas ete AS SS

vasvah (TB TA MahānU vasoh) kuvid vanātī nah RV KS TB TA MahānU

§805. Instances of v_i , v_i , and y_u , $y_{\bar{u}}$

achā ma (SV va) ındram matayah svarvıdah (SV svaryuvah) RV AV SV GB Vart

adyā (also nrvat) krnuhi vītaye (SV °hy ūtaye) RV SV Cf §743 āvitsi (MS āyukşi) sarvā osadhīh RV VS TS MS KS

nādya šatrum nanu (ŚB †na nu) purā vivitse (ŚB yuyutse) RV. ŚB vivalam (MS KS yuvalam) chandah VS TS MS KS ŚB

mā te vyoma (=viyoma or vioma, AV yuyoma) samdīši (AV ° šah, LŠ † °šah or °še) AV AA TA AŠ LŠ MG

yajñam pranaya (TS pra suva) devāvyam (TS MS devāyuvam) VS TS MS KS ŚB

devebhyas tvā devāyuvam (KS devāvyam) prnaem etc MS KS ApŠ MŠ devebhyas tvā devāvyam (VSK devāyuvam) grhnām etc VS VSK ŠB prāsmān ava prianāsu pra vikşu (TB yulsu) RV TB

ukthebhyas tvokthāvyam grhnām: KS ukthyebhya ukthyāyuvam ApŚ varşmā (VS varşımā) ca me drāghimā (TS drāghuyā, MS drāghmā,

KS drāghvā) ca me VS TS MS KS See §764 TS apparently has a metathetized form for *drāghvā

§806. With the following interchanges of ar and $r\bar{a}$ are to be compared §§656ff In fact the ar forms in the following concern the r vowel, either directly (as containing sandhi of a+r), or as guna derivatives of a root in r

tena rādhyāsam VS. MS ŠB TB AŚ ApŚ MŚ Kauś tenardhyāsam KS SMB The latter stands for tena 7dh°, cf §659

agnau samrādhanīm yaje HG yaje samrādhanīm aham ŠB BrhU AŠ SMB ApMB yuje (read yaje with most mss, Hillebrandt p 250) tsamardham īm aham ŠŠ

ahā avartım (AV arātım) avıdat (AV °dah) syonam AV TB ApMB

2 Haplology

§807. On this general subject see especially Bloomfield, PAOS 16 xxxiv, AJP 17 418, Wackernagel I pp 278ff, where further references may be found, we may add Lauman in Whitney, AV 4 5 5, and other

references below. We shall content ourselves here with merely printing the variant cases, arranging them in three groups: those in which the longer reading seems to be the original, so that we may assume haplology; those in which it seems to be secondary, involving dittology; and those in which the question of originality is too uncertain to make classification advisable

- §808. The following are the cases which seem to involve haplology: prthivi ribhūvari (ApŚ bhūvari). . KS. ApŚ This is a very clear case. On the strength of the isolated ApŚ form Boehtlingk (pw 6 304) set up a goddess Bhūvarī, who is nothing but a ghost, the shade of the adjective ribhūvari after prthivi
- riśvasyām višu pravivisīvānsam (KS †pravivišānam) īmahe TS MS. KS. višo-višah pravišivānsam īmahe AV Lanman, in Whitney's Transl, has already suggested that the lack of reduplication is due to haplology But it may be noted that it improves the meter, also
- ya äste yas ca caratı (AV. yas caratı) RV AV. The haplology is again noted by Lanman.
- trīṇi padāni (TA. MahānU padā) mhưtā guhāsya (TA MahānU. guhāsu) AV. VS TA MahānU. The ms of Ppp. padāmhatā guhās-, em Barret JAOS 30 195 to the AVS reading Clear haplology in TA. MahānU.
- agne 'dabdhāyo 'śītatano ('śīrtatano, 'śītama) pāhi , see §353
- yāni kāni ca cakṛma (ApŚ mss omit ca, by haplology) MS ApŚ cf duritāni yāni kāni ca cakṛma MS · duritā yāni cakṛma TS TB TA. (here not really haplology, ca is needed only after kāni)
- ye vā (MS omits vā) vanaspatīnr anu (MS NīlarU °patīnām) VS TS MS. KS SB NīlarU. ApMB Supposed to be metrical even in MS., which is clearly haplological In the same verse
- ye vāvaļeņu (MS †KS ye 'vaļeņu) serate, same texts Here the shorter version can be read metrically by pronouncing avaļeņu, but is nevertheless certainly haplological
- tena vardhasva cā ca pyāyasva (MS vardhasva cā pyāyasva) VS MS. SB. TA: cf eṣā te agne samt tayā (MS tayā tvam) vardhasva cā ca pyāyasva VS SB SS. MS ApS SG. ApMB. ApG HG The second ca is clearly required
- yad era kım ca pratıjagrahāham (TA "jagrāham) AV TA The TA. form (also found in Poona ed) is indefensible formally and metrically, and is obviously haplological.
- nyag rāto 'ra vāti (AV. vāto vāti) RV. AV Lanman notes the haplology yuyuyātām ito rapo apa sridhah RV yūyūtām asmad rapo apa sridhah TB. Apŝ. The loss of a syllable leaves its trace in the long ū

- anhomuce pra bharemā (AV bhare) manīṣām AV. TS MS KS See VV I p 253.
- anādhrṣṭā apasyo vasānāh VS MS KS ŚB anibhrṣṭā apasyuvo vasānah TS See Keith on TS
- chandonāmānām (VSK °mānānām, TS °mānām) sāmrājyam gacheti (with variants) VS VSK TS ŚB MŚ 'Lordship of the meters' names' or even of their 'measures' (on VSK see §802) is better than 'of the Chandomas', a ritualistic slip
- yad tapsaradrūr uparasya (ApS apsararūparasya) khādati KS ApS The latter corrupt
- guhā hītām nīhītām (KS † omīts nī°) gahvareşu KS MŠ
- namah samgave (TS† samgāya, for °gayāya?) . VS TS MS KS See §250
- yasyedam \bar{a} rajo yujah AV ArS. yasyedam \bar{a} rajah AA Others, see $\S244$
- vrśvāny anyo bhuvanābhicaşle (MS °nā vi°) RV MS TB . viśvānyo bhuvanā vicaşļe AV
- parīdam vājy ajınam (PG °dam vājınam) dadhe 'ham (HG ajınam dhatsvāsau) SG PG. HG ADMB The PG is not construable
- [yo no agne nistyo yo 'nistyo KS ApS Cone quotes ApS as omitting the second yo, a modern haplology!]
 - §809. The following cases are less certain.
- mama ca nāma tava ca (KS once omits ca) jālavedah KS (both) The reading with ca is prose, the other metrical; this may account for the change, omitting ca (before jā-)
- puru visvāni jūrvan RV.: puro raksānsi nijūrvan AV (Ppp misvānijūrvan) Whitney suggests visvā nijūrvan for RV; Lanman, visvāni ni°, assuming haplology As Oldenberg (Noten on 1. 1919) points out, this would make poor meter for a second pāda, he would read jūruan
- suvān nabhrād anghāre bambhāre MS svāna bhrājānghāre bambhāre VS TS SB: svāna bhrāl, anghārir bambhārih TA: svān nabhrād anghāre bambhāre...KS. See Keith on TS 1 2 7 1, he suggests svāna nabhrāj as the original

3 Dittology

§810. The following variants contain the reverse of the preceding, in that the shorter version seems to be the original, and dittological influence has produced the variation

kukūnanānām (KS kūtanānām, MS pūtanānām) tvā VS MS KS SB kotanāsu TS Note double dittology in VS SB

- namo babhluśāya vyādhine (TS vivyā°) VS TS. MS KS Either form makes good sense, we assume that the majority have the original
- athem enam pra hinutāt ortrohvah (AV. †pitrnr upa); and:
- athem enam (AV athemam enam) pari dattot petrbhyah RV. AV. TA. See Whitney on AV. 18 2 4, 5. There is no doubt of the dittology in AV. (note the meter); in 18 2 5 it seems textually certain. being read by nearly all mss. and both editions. In 18. 2. 4 there is more variation in the mss, and SPP, reads athem enam with the
- devā (AV devā vā) etasyām avadanta pūrve RV AV The meter proves AV. secondary, and Ppp. (Barret, JAOS 42 127) also omits va(1)
- namo giriściya (VS. °śayciya) VS TS. MS KS The stems -śa and -same are both unexceptionable, probably the majority indicate the original.
- na sīm adeva āpat (SV. āpa tat) RV. SV. SS. The RV. has an aorist of ān, to be read as a trissyllable SV tries to improve the meter; cf. VV I p 138.
- nırrtim nirjarjalpena (MS nırjalpena, TS nırjalmakena, KS. nirjālmāka-) šīrsnā VS TS. MS KS Obscure word; VS. simulates an intensive from jalp
- ye te agna (MS agnā) ındavo yā u nābhayah (TA urnunābhayah, but Poona ed u não with v I urnunão) MS KS. TA The absurd corruption of some TA. mss seems to be read by the comm. also: perhaps it was influenced by thought of urnanabhi 'spider', but this would be as mappropriate as possible here
- anhaspatyāya (VS SB. KS anhasaspatave) tvā VS TS MS SB TB. KS. ApS Stem varying with genitive case form in composition.
- rtur janitrī tasyā apas (GB apasas) par RV GB. If GB is correct it attempts to improve the meter and at the same time furnish a form which can be governed by part (in RV. apas is governed by a verb in the next pada, and part governs tasyah) But Gaastra reads apas, with v I apasas
- tanūpās (TB Poona ed text and comm tanūnapāc) ca sarasvatī VS. KS TB. See §195.
- trır asmai sapta dhenavo duduhre (SV Svidh °hrire) RV SV. Svidh. See VV I p 170
- vrşā pantre adhi sāno avye (RV * avyaye) RV. (both) SV TA MahānU. Both avya and avyaya (from avya? or avi?) are well known, and both are metrically possible; they are tristubh and jagatī forms of the same expression But the latter occurs in a verse

- (9 86 3) which seems to be a patchwork of older materials (RVRep 453), so that avye is probably original
- ājim na girvavāho jigyur aśvāh SV ājim na jagmur girvāho aśvāh RV For metrical reasons Grassmann considers SV the original Against this Oldenberg, *Noten* on 6 24 6 The SV form is unique, the other familiar, and Grassmann's suggestion is unlikely

§811. Vaguer dittologies seem involved in the following.

- nidhedhāsi puruspārham (so KS and TB Poona ed, and pp of MS. MS text purusaspārham) yaśasvat MS KS † TB †
- tato $v\bar{a}k\bar{a}$ (TS tatah $p\bar{a}vak\bar{a}$) $\bar{a}siso$ no juşantām VS TS MS KS SB 'Holy words and prayers' or 'purifying prayers', TS spoils the meter Dittology with p for v
- tena yo 'smat (TA * tenānyo 'smat) samṛchātai (MS mss samṛtsātām)
 MS TA The variation is deliberate and intelligent, and scarcely
 belongs here TA repeats a verse in successive stanzas, with this
 purposeful change, the first version means 'whoever comes against
 us therewith', the second 'whoever else' etc

ındrāpāsya (v 1 °yāsya) phalıgam ApMB ındrāyayāsya sepham alīkam HG Kırste, 'read ındra āyāsya'

4 Haplology or Dittology

§812. In a smaller group we find either haplology or dittology, but it is not certain which, because the original form of the variants is hard to determine Several of these contain variations between the accusative personal pronouns $m\bar{a}$ and $m\bar{a}m$

āvur brhat tad ašīyo tan māvatu (MŚ mām avatu) ApŚ MŚ

tan mām āvīt TA TU tan māvīt MG

tan māvatu PB TA TU ApS tan mām avatu MS AG MG

punar mām aitv (AV Vait Kaus maitv) indriyam AV SB TA BrhU

SS Vart AG Kaus SMB GG HG MG

§813. Other, miscellaneous cases

vājajityāyai (KS °jityai) tvā TS MS KS ApS MS Stems jityā and jiti While the majority agree on the longer form, this is hardly conclusive KS is probably on the whole the most original YV text; only two other schools differ from it, and jiti is a much commoner stem than jityā, which latter seems to be found only in composition with vāja and āji

Sisirāya vikakarān (KSA † vikarān, ApS vikirān, vv 11 vikakarān, vikikirān) VS KS ApS Original form and precise meaning unknown (seemingly some bird) Cf the preceding formula,

hemantāya kakarān (KSA † kakārān)

- anesann asya yā ışavah (TS KS NîlarU asyeşavah) VS TS MS KS NîlarU The presence or absence of the articular relative makes little difference, and the meter is no better in one reading than in the other
- bharatam uddharem anuşıñca (MŚ uddharema vanuşantı) TB ApŚ MŚ. See §236, end Either haplology in TB ApŚ , or dittology in MŚ. which is in any case corrupt, with v for m
- anu no mārstu (VŠ TS SB TA anu mārstu) tanvo yad vīrīstam (vīlī) AV VS TS MS KS SB. TA SS

CHAPTER XVIII. FALSE DIVISIONS AND PATCH-WORDS

- §814. Except for Sandhi, to be treated in our final chapter, we have now concluded what may be called phonetic variants in the strict sense. In this chapter we shall deal chiefly with variants involving different divisions of words. It may be questionable whether they belong strictly in this volume. Yet they certainly deserve mention, as revealing, perhaps as well as any other groups of variants, the general break-down of sound and sense alike in the Vedic tradition (see §16). There seems no better place than this volume to present these materials, which do not exhaust the subject but illustrate the main types sufficiently.
- 1 A compound word divided, or vice versa, without further change
- §815. In a considerable number of cases the difference between the variant words consists solely in this, that what in one form of the variant is a single compound word appears in the other as two separate words. There being no change in the form of either part, we can sometimes tell only by the accents whether one word or two is intended, and sometimes, indeed, we can not tell at all with confidence. At other times other changes in the formulas suggest a reinterpretation
- §816. We begin with cases in which the original and true form of the variant has one word, the separation into two being secondary, and sometimes uninterpretable
- jagāma sūro adhvano vimadhyam (AV vi madhyam) RV. AV Whitney rightly says that the AV reading is a corruption of the other
- oşışthahanam sıñginıkosyābhyām (TA "kosābhyām) TS TA vasışthahanuh sıñginı kosyābhyām VS The VS reading is very poor and perhaps should be emended
- yatheyanı sirî pautram agham na rodāt SMB PG ApMB HG · yathedam sirîpautram aganma rudrıyāya MG See §801
- aghoraghoratarebhyak ca MS. ghora ghoratarebhyah TA MahānU Preceded by aghorebhyo 'tha ghorebhyah The forms of Rudra are meant The tradition is unstable One ms of MS has two accents, but MS pp takes it as one word, which seems likely to be original TA has two accents, yet its comm understands one word, 'more terrible than the terrible', and Poona ed prints it so (but with two accents') Comm on MahānU, however, takes ahora as a separate vocative, addressed to Rudra

- rianasaspata imam deta yajñam (KS derayajñam srāhā rāci) srāhā rāte dhāḥ VS. KS. ŚB. The variants in AV. 7. 97. 8 and TS. 1. 1. 1. 3. 3, 4. 44. 3, have deteşu yajñam, which supports KS in meaning. The separate dera yajñam is secondary, if indeed it is really the intention of the texts (so comm. on VS, but the accentless voc. is indistinguishable from dera- as part of a cpd)
- rācaspate 'chidrayā rācāchidrayā juhvā diri devārrdham (ŠŠ devā rṛdhan) hotrām airayat (KŠ. 'yant, TA. erayasıa, ŠŠ airayasra) svāhā SB TA. KŠ. ŠŠ. The ŠŚ. is uninterpretable.
- §817. In the rest it seems more likely that the form with two words is original, altho in some of them there is little to choose
- yajur yuktanı (TA.† yajuryuktanı) sāmabhir āktakham tvā (MS. rktakhanıtā) MS. TA. Comm. on TA., 'provided with the yajus'. In MS. two accents: 'the yajus is joined' or the like.
- madhu saspair (MS. madhusaspair) na teja indriyam VS. MS. TB In either case the word madhu is a quasi-adjective, modifying either the preceding bhesajam, or saspair. MS. p.p. divides madhu saspair as two words; Poona ed. of TB prints it as one, but with two accents! (and against the comm.)
- madhu havir (MS. madhuhavir) asi MS. TA. ApS. MS. So according to the accents of MS. and TA Probably MS. must be read madhuhavir like MS.; Knauer separates the words because of the parallel hutam havir in MS. 4. 3. 34; but MS. also reads hutam havir in its version of that passage and follows it immediately with madhuhavir, as one word. Cf. prec.
- derabarhih (KS. dera barhis) sataralsam vi roha TS. KS. TB ApS.:
 alas tram dera ranaspate sataralso (MS tram barhih sataralsam)
 viroha VS. MS. SB. The latter version suggests taking dera barhih
 as two words, as von Schroeder does in KS. The words are voc,
 so that the accent proves nothing; TS. pp. takes it as one word.
 But Poons ed. of TB. prints it as two.
- arwarata vo hi kam (TS. hikam; so printed also in KS.†) AV. TS. MS. KS. Comm. on AV. (as also that on TS.) as a single, compound particle.
- upa prakse (AA. SS. upaprakse) madhumati ksiyantah SV. AA. SS. Svidh. This is hard to interpret, whether as one word or as two For various guesses that have been made see Keith, AA. Transl., p. 285 n. 7. Keith's text of AA. prints upa prakse with most mss., but against comm., who understands upaprakse as a prepositional cpd., 'near the praksa'. Cf. also the infinitive (?) upaprakse, RV 5. 47. 6.

- namas te rudra rūpebhyo namah MS namas te astu rudrarūpebhyah TA MahānU. 'Homage to thee, O Rudra! to (thy) forms homage' 'homage be to thy Rudra-forms (terrible forms)'
- ระงนี ชาร์งนี้คล bheṣajī (TS "habheṣajī, VS "hā bhe", MS "ha [p p, "hā] bheṣajā) VS TS MS KS There is no difference in the meaning, whether the adverb be taken as compounded with the next word or not
- devih (AV dawih, KS trayis) sad urvir (TS pp sadurih, and so Conc assumes for ApMB HG) uru nah (TS ApMB nah, KS † nas) hynola RV AV TS KS ApMB HG The words are voc and there are no accents RV and AV pp interpret as two words, which seems more natural No doubt all-texts except possibly the Tait school separate sad urvir
- deva purascara saghyāsam (MS devapuras carasa rdhyāsam) tvā MS TA ApS MS See §147, and §838 MS p p divides deva from punas (which it reads by error for puras)
- ımām su nāvam āruham TS KS ApS sunāvam ā ruheyam VS (pratīka PG)
- pra su (HG. sa, read su) mṛtyum (SMB sumartyam) yuyotana SMB ApMB HG The reading of ApMB is original
- apa (AV ava) śveta padā jahi AV AG ŚG. PG ApMB HG apah śvetapad ā gahi MG Read apa śveta padā in MG, there is no good ground for Kanuer's editing of the text See his note and comm, and our §134
- 2 A compound word divided, or vice versa, with change of form in the prior member
- §818. Next we come to cases in which the prior part of what is a compound word in one form of the variant appears in the other with somewhat altered form. Again we begin with the variants in which it appears that the original form contained a compound, which is broken up in secondary texts.
 - stomatrayastrınse bhuvanasya patnı TS KS AS stomas trayastrınse bhuvanasya patnı MS The latter corruptly turns the vocs into noms, apparently making stomas subject and patnı predicate, despite the divergence in gender
 - vānmanascal suhsrotrajihvāghrānaretobuddhyākūtisamkalpā (TA TAA °ākūtih samkalpā) me sudhyantām TA TAA MahānU See §383 sarīram yajnasamalam (MahānU yajnah sa°) lusīdam tasmin sīdatu yo 'smān dvesti TS KSA TA MahānU The latter is clearly second-

- ary, comm makes sarīram yajñah a sentence, 'the sacrifice is the body' On the interpretation of the original, which is troublesome, see Keith on TS
- gaur dhenubhavyā (HG dhenur bhavyā) ApMB. HG The meaning is the same, 'that is to become a milch cow', but the compound dhenubhavyā seems to be the standard expression
- tām ndyām brahmayonım svarūpām (VaradapU. brahmayonısva^o) NrpU. VaradapU. 'The identical womb of brahman', or 'which is identical with the womb of brahman', either is possible
- adhrslam dhrsnvojasam (SV dhrsnum ojasā) RV AV. SV. 'Of irresistible strength': 'irresistible in strength'.
- mıthucarantam (KS mıthū°, TS. mıthuś car°, AV mithuyā car°) upayātı (AV. abhıyāti) düşayan AV. TS MS. KS. There is really no way of deciding the original
- agner (TS devānām) agneyāny (KS agneyāny) ası TS. MS. KS. One ms and p p of MS agner agner yāny ası. Cf agner yāny ası TS. MS KS ApŚ MŚ See §357.
- devajūte vivasvann āditya te no devāh. MS: vivasvān aditir devajūtis te na ādityā. .TS. divo jyote (and, jyotir) vivasva āditya te no devā. KS Both parts of the cpd are changed to different, tho quasi-synonymous, words.
- syonā māvišaterammadah (TS 'terā madah) TS. MS. KS. The TS. may be original, as it certainly seems simpler and more natural: 'kindly enter into me as food and drink'. But it is probably a lect. fac for the other: 'kindly enter into me as Irammada (Agni, lightning?')'
- rtaprajātā (MŠ uta pra°) bhaga id vah syāma TS MŠ The latter is secondary but intelligible, §641
- sarvasmād devakılbışāt (LŠ eva kt°, VS. devakılv°) RV. VS MS LŠ. ApŠ · viśvasmād deva° AV.MS The LŠ is secondary but sensible, §402
- [†aındrāsūrāh (KSA †aındrāsaurāh) šyetalalāmās (KSA.7 šyāmala°) tūparāh TS KSA Conc quotes KSA as aındrāh saurāh]
- [anyawratasya (TA anyadwra°, printed by Cone as anyad vra°, the accent proves that it is a cpd, tho the comm seems to take it as two words) sascima (RV sascire, TA sascimah, Poona ed. °ma) RV VS MS SB TA]
- §819. In the following, on the other hand, it seems more likely that the version with two separate words is the original:
- svāhā yajñam manasah (KS 2 3 yajñamanasah) VS MS. KS. †2 3 and

- 23 5, SB. ApS KS MS. A verb like ā rabhe is understood, the accus yajāam is necessary to the sense, and KS. 2 3 should be so corrected. In 23 5 KS has correctly yajāam ma° (not noted in Cone). '(I take) sacrifice from mind'
- māgadhah punscalī kitavah klībo 'sūdrā abrāhmanās (VSK punscalī klīvah kitavo 'sūdrābrāhmanās) te prējāpatyāh VS VSK
- Salak saras chandasānuslubhena ApŠ Salāk sarachandasā jāgatena Kaus In Kaus v l. Salāk sarah The original reading of ApŠ (cf §511) makes the adjective agree with ayam sruvo preceding, with change to Salā°, having a totally different meaning, it is drawn into composition with chandasā
- dahram (v l daharam) vipāpmavaravešmabhūtam (MahānU vipāpmam varam vešma°) TA MahānU The Poona ed. of TA reads vipāpmam vara°, with v l vipāpmavara° MahānU also has v l varavešma° The most plausible original seems to be dahram vipāpmam varavešmabhūtam This is stylistically better than vipāpmavara°, an awkward compound
- dadhad ratnam (AS ratnā) dalşam pıtrbhya (AS. SS dakşapıt) äyum (AV āyūnşı) AV AS SS Doubtless AV. 18 original The edition of AS separates dakşa from pi, evidently regarding it as a voc
- ındrah pāsena tsiktvā vah (HG pāsena vah tsiktvā) ApMB HG indrapāsena sitvā PG. See note in Oldenberg's Translation of HG
- aslonā (AV comm asro") angair (TA "nangair) ahrutāh (TA ahrtā, Poona ed ahrutāh, v l "lā) svarge AV TA 'Not lame in their limbs', or 'with not-lame limbs'. AVPpp agrees with TA, but this is the kind of error that occurs very commonly in Ppp, meter indicates that the other version is original
- rudra yat te krayî (VS KS krıvı, VSK kravı, MS MS gırı-) param nāma tasmaı (VS MS SB tasmın) hutam ası VS VSK TS MS KS SB TB ApS MS See §47
- yasya (ApMB vy asya) yonun prati reto (SG patireto) grhāna (SG grbhāya) SG ApMB HG patireto looks like a secondary adaptation, tho a very natural one
- şad ıd yamā (TA şad udyamā) rşayo devajā iti RV AV TA N Apparently TA must understand udyamā as an adjective
- 3 A compound word divided, or vice versa, with change of form in the second member
- §820. In other cases the form of the variant containing two separate words shows a change in the form of the second member (sometimes

in the first one too) when compared with the form containing a compound. The second member of the compound, when used as a separate word, has a different inflectional ending, or is otherwise changed in form, sometimes it even appears as a different part of speech (a verb). We begin as before with those variants in which the original form seems to be that containing a compound word

- vṛṣṭīdyāvānam (ApŚ vṛṣṭīm devānām) amṛiam svarvidam MS. KS ApŚ The original of MS KS means 'nectar of the dwellers in the rainsky, heaven-finding', the sacrifice is referred to In ApŚ by a lect fac the sacrifice is called 'rain, nectar of the gods', etc
- parā svapnamukhāh śucah AV parah svapna mukhā kṛdhi KŚ 'Away the dream-faced pains'. 'away, O sleep, put (thy) faces (appearances)' But KŚ may intend a compound
- andrāsūrā janayan višvakarmā TB andrah sūrah prathamo višvakarmā AŠ Comm on TB takes indrā sūrā as two words (and they are so printed in Poona ed), interpreting as noms sing But they must surely be acc dual of a devatā dvandva, object of janayan The whole verse is pretty low bathos AŠ has a lect fac
- bhuvanam ası sahasrapoşapuşı (ApS sahasrapoşam puşa) MS. ApS 'Thou art ground prospering with thousand-fold prosperity': 'prosper thou with thousand-fold prosperity'. Verb form introduced secondarily, cf next
- agne tvāmkāmayā (SV tvām kāmaye) girā RV. SV. VS The original means 'O Agni, with thee-desiring song' By a lect fac SV. introduces a verb form, as in the preceding and next. 'O Agni, I desire thee with song'
- revatı predhā , revatı yajamāne priyam dhā. , revatīr yajñapatını priyadhāvišata, see §747
- āre satrūn (AV † ārešatrum) kṛnuhi sarvavīrah (AV °ram) AV TS AS SS MS 'Make him one whose enemies are remote,' AV., doubtles original 'make [his] enemies remote,' lect fac The AV. comm stumbles over the form and understands two words
- ugrampaśyā (MS ugrám paśyā'c, TB dūrepaśyā) ca rāṣṭrabhṛc ca tānī MS TB TA ugrampaśye ugrantau tad adya AV In this and the next MS is hopelessly corrupt; note accents
- ugrampasye (MS ugrám paśyéd) rāstrabhrt kılbısānı AV MS TA Cf prec
- āsannışūn hṛtsvaso mayobhūn RV. AV TS MS KSA N · āsann cṣām apsuvāho mayobhūn SV The latter mısunderstands and simplifies the strange cpd āsann-1sūn 'having arrows in the mouth' SV means 'carrying water in their mouths

mama padyāya vi rāja ApMB. mayi dohah padyāyai virājah (MG adds kalpatām) AG HG MG. mayi padyāyai virājo dohah SS SG PG. The original is virājah, gen of virāj

[subhagamkaranī mama AV: subhāgam karanam mama SMB But Jorgensen properly prints SMB subhāgamkaranam as one word] §821. In the rest it appears that the form of the variant with two words is the original

sarūpa vṛṣann ā gahi SV JB.. sarūpavarṣā ehi MS In the latter nom. of stem sarūpavarṣa (with sandhi peculiar to MS) The other texts, most likely original, have two vocatives

parı ghransam omanā (TB parıghransa rām manā) vām vayo gāt (TB gām) RV MS. TB N. Hopeless corruption in TB See §828

agnır hotā pṛthıvy antarıkşam AS ApS agnıhotram pṛthıvīm antarıkşam MS The latter has a careless assımılatıon to the accusatives of the preceding pāda ukhām sravantīm agadām akarma

parı doşād udarpıthah KS . parītoşāt tad arpıtha ApS See §63

mā rudruyāso abhi gulbadhānah (TA gur vṛdhānah) MS TA . mā no rudrāso adhigur vadhe nu (mss nuh) MS See §§209, 260, MS has a gross corruption

sahasradhāram vṛṣabham divo duhuh (SV divoduham) RV SV Verb form in RV.. 'the thousand-streamed bull of heaven they milked' SV 'the thousand-streamed heaven-milking bull'

uror ā no (VS SB. LS pururāvno) deva rīşas pāhī VS TS MS KS SB. TB LS See §371a

4 Last syllable of a word, not a compound, replaced by a patch-word, or vice versa

§822. In not a few cases the last syllable of a word (not an independent member of a compound) is replaced in a secondary text by a separate word, generally a light word (preposition, particle, or pronoun), which may be called a 'patch-word' ('Flickwort'), or the reverse The cases recorded here differ from those included in the separate sections (§§841-850) on Patch-Words below only in that the degree of phonetic resemblance is here greater, there is no hard and fast line between them

§823. Since the change in both directions is quite common, it is at times hard to tell, unless on the ground of general text-chronology, which form of the variant is the more original. In the following cases we do not venture to decide this question

apsarasāv anu dattām rnām (AV rnam nah) AV TB TA. apsarasām anudattān rnām MS (p. anu, dattām, rnām) Either the plur rnām, or the sing rnam with the pronoun nah, is quite satisfactory

- vratānı (MS TB ApŚ vratā nu) bibhrad vratapā adabdhah (TB ApŚ SŚ SG adābhyah) MS AB TB AŚ SŚ ApŚ SG. In MS etc the older or hieratic form vratā is patched by the particle nu, in the other the alternative form vratānı is used
- mā mā yūnarvā hāsīt (JB yono vām hārasīh) PB JB LS Both forms incomprehensible
- §824. In the following the form of the variant with the longer word seems to be the original, being replaced in a secondary version by a shorter word plus a patch-word. Here may be mentioned RV 4 20 9b (also in KS, where there is no evidence as to the division intended), yayā krnoti muhu hā cid rīvah, read muhukā with Ludwig and Conc, cf Oldenberg, Noten ad loc
- jāmim (KS †cami) mā hinsīr amuyā (MS anu yā) sayānā KS. TB. ApS MS mā jāmim mosīr amuyā sayānām AV Acc to AV comm the darbha-grass used in strewing the vedi is addressed, amuyā is adverbial. The MS variant makes sayānā refer to jāmim, conjectured by Ludwig and Henry to mean the uttaravedi, so that in general sense it agrees
- gaurīr (AV gaur ın, TB TA gaurī) mımāya sahlānı takşatī RV AV TB AA TA N
- dhruvāsah (TB Ap\$ dhruvā ha) parvatā ime RV. AV KS TB Ap\$' SMB MG
- stavāno (VS TS KS ŠB avā no) devyā kṛpā (VS ŠB dhıyā) RV. VS TS MS KS ŠB
- mā rudriyāso abhi gulbadhānah (TA gur vṛdhānah) MS TA mā no rudrāso adhigur vadhe nu (mss nuh) MS Altho the MS reading is by all means the most reasonable, it is probably only a lect fac TA accents wrongly vṛdhā'nah, and its comm takes the apparently umnterpretable singular quite calmly as a plural (vardhamānāh)! Cf §821
- yo raywo (SV rayim vo) rayintamah RV. SV. KB SS SG VHDh Benfey ignores the uninterpretable vo in his translation, taking rayim as accus of specification
- rṣīnām putro abhıśastıpāvā (TB. °pā ayam, AV °pā u) AV VS \$B TB. See §740
- bhavā kṛṣṭīnām (AV. gṛ°) abhrśastrpāvā (AV °pā u) AV. PG. ApMB. HG See prec
- abhūr gṛṣṭīnām (ApMB āpīnām, HG āpīnām, AV mss *v āpīnām, em wrongly vaśānām) abhīśastīpāvā (AV °pā u) AV HG ApMB See prec but one

- ya usrıyā apyā (SV api yā) antar asmanah (SV °ni) RV. SV. See §785 SV mısunderstands and mısdıvıdes the epithet apyā 'of the waters'
- achāyam eti (KS °yam yanti) šavasā ghrtena (AV ghrtā cit, KS ghrtācīh) AV VS. TS MS KS The AV. reading looks secondary to that of KS, which has an adjective agreeing with srucah, the subject of yanti; ghrtā can only be construed as an accus of goal after eti. whose subject is Agni
- dwaś cuł antād (RV. antān) upamām (RV. °mān, TA upa mām, so AV v 1 adopted by Whitney, and comm) ud ānaṭ RV. SV. AV TA While RV. 1s of course original, the AV TA reading is not bad: 'even from the end of heaven he has attained unto me' This should doubtless be read in SV
- te brahmaloleşu (TA °loke tu) parāntakāle TA. MahānU MundU. KaivU
- viprasya dhārayā kavih RV.: viprah sa dhārayā sulah SV. See §189 somah sulasya madhvah RV.: somah sulah sa madhumān SV. See §189 na iai švetasyādhyācāre (AG švetaš cābhyāgāre, others all švetasyā-) AG. PG. ApMB HG MG. Secondary but intelligible reading in
- AG.; see §188. ubhāv ındrā (SB. ındro) udithah sūryas ca VS. SB: aya(h)sthūnam
- (°nāv) udītā (°tau) sūryasya RV. TS MS. KS See §188 ūrvam gavyam pariṣadanto agman RV. KS . urvīm gavyām pariṣadam no akran AV.
- aganma yatra pratiranta (MG. prataram na) ayuh RV AV. MG
- sugantuh karma karanah karisyan JB.: sugam tvah karmah karanah karah karasyuh LS See §739.
- apa snehtlīr (SV. snīhitim) nṛmanā adhatta (SV. adhad rāh, KS †nṛmanām adadhrām) RV. AV. SV. KS · upa stuhi tam nṛmnām athadrām (Poona ed varies) TA
- sam takṣā hantı cakrī vaḥ (HG. cakrıṇah) ApMB HG Very obscure passage, HG seems to approach closer to a sensible reading
- rtena (MG. rte 'va) sthūnām (°nāv, °nā) adht roha vanša (MG vanšah)
 AV. AG. ApMB. HG MG. Kauš Knauer says 'wohl nicht rtā
 ua', yet that would seem to give better sense than rte ava In any
 case MG is secondary.
- sıarıaj (AV. svar yaj) jyotır abhayam svaslı RV. AV.
- grāmyamaūlīradāšakau ApS grāmyam maūgīradāsakau MS. vyūghram maūgīradāsa gauh Vait See §49.
 - §825. In verbal endings (cf §827).
- stasti rāye maruto dadhātana (MG dadhātu nah) RV. KS AB MG See VV I p 281

- pna su (HG sa) mṛtyum (SMB sumartyam, MG prathamam artım) yuyotana (MG yuyotu nah) SMB ApMB HG. MG
- vısvam tu tvāhutayah sarvā . PrānāgU · vısvantu tvām āhutayas ca MU Read vısantu, see §371
- krıyanta (TB prıyā ta, so dıvıde) ā barhıh sīda RV. AV KS TB
- dawyā (AV °vā) hotāro (TS °rā, AV °rah) vanuşanta (TS vanı°, KS †vanışan na, AV sanışan na) pūrve (AV KS etat) RV AV TS. KS
- vasūnı cārur (cārye, cāryo, cāyyo) vı bhajāsı (SMB bhrjāsı, HG bhajā sa) jīvan AV. SMB ApMB HG Cf VV I p 96
- jālavedo nayā hy (read nayāsy?) enam sukriām yaira lokah JB.. jālavedo vahemam (ŚŚ vahasvainam) sukriām TA ŚŚ
- §826. In the rest it seems that the form containing two words is the older, a secondary version joins a short word on to the preceding word, usually with some further change:
- samudrena (and ^adre na) sındhavo yādamānāh RV (both). Read samudre na in both, Bloomfield, JAOS 27. 77 ff, RVRep 197; Oldenberg, Noten on 3 36 7.
- tensum undre na (MS indrena) bhesajam VS MS TB Bathos in either case; but MS pp undre, na. VS comm says that na means ca!
- spardhanie dhiyah (divah) sūrye na (SV sūre na, TS KSA.† sūryena) višah RV SV TS KSA Change to instr in TS KSA because this is the case naturally construed with spardh-.
- neva mānse na pībasi AV. naiva mānsena pīvari PG.: na mānseşu na snāvasu ApMB Perhaps PG. should be divided mānse na; at least this is the original reading
- samsrasįā sa yudha indro ganena RV AV SV. VS TS KS.. samsṛṣṭāsu yutsv indro ganesu MS "This Indra the joiner of battle' 'Indra in the joined battles'.
- trīni padām (padā) nihitā guhāsya (TA MahānU. guhāsu) AV VS TA MahānU Pronoun asya replaced by loc ending -su
- māteva putram bibhrtā sv (VS ŠB °tāpsv) enat (TS KS enam) VS TS MS KS ŠB The verse is addressed to waters, hence the secondary reading apsu
- ıdam aham rakşo 'bhı (MS *rakşobhıh) sam ūhāmı (TS sam dahāmı) TS MS (bıs) KS. MS See §383
- āvat tam (TA Conc prāvartam, comm and Poona ed. text āvartam) indrah šacyā dhamantam RV AV SV KS TA The sole ms of KS also reads āvartam (ed emends) TA comm interprets as a gerund (āvrtya)
- samıd dısam asaya nah (MS asayanah) svarvıt (TS suvar°) TS MS

- KS AS ApS Both accent and sense show that no pres mid pple (masc) can be intended, altho MS pp does not divide the word
- yajā no (MS yajāno) devo (TB AS ApS devān) ajarah suvīrah MS TB, AS ApS. bhavā no dūto ajarah suvīrah SS. SG. Again (cf prec) the accent shows that MS pp is wrong in not dividing the word, tho this time the participle would be interpretable
- vn ca naśan na iso arātayah RV · vn cid aśnānā isayo arātayah SV Benfey renders SV 'devoured' (root aś 'eat', middle pple in passive sense) It is a Verballhornung, the orig itself is rather obscure; vn-naś is peculiarly used

yato bhayam abhayam tan (KS 35 1c tabhayatvam) no astu (AV ed asti, misprint) AV KS*TB Ap\$ M\$

mam indra vardhaya kşatrıyam me (TB kşatrıyānām) AV TB Kauś vişnāvarunā (TB °nāv) abhišastipāvā (TB °pā vām) MS TB Followed by devā yajanta havişā ghrtena 'O V and V, let the 'gods' (TB comm rlvijah) sacrifice to you two as protectors from imprecation' etc The variant form must be dual, and as MS can be so interpreted only by understanding it in a bizarre way (stem °pāva, or irregularly from °pāvan), we assume that TB is orig

brhaspataye (MS °pate) mahışa (TS mahı şad) dyuman namah AV TS MS. Comm on AV. agrees with TS, which has the correct

reading, see §392

dātum cec chikṣān sa svarga eva AV dātum cec chaknúvānsáh (so, with double accent, Calc ed) svarga eṣām TA For the latter read chakndvān (or better °vān) sá with Poona ed, sce VV I p 165

purasiāl (AB puras ivā) sarve kurmahe AB SS See §365

sumitrah soma no (Kaus sumano) bhava RV TS MS KS SB KS Kaus

slomo yajñas ca (TB yajñasya) rādhyo hanşmatā (TB. °tah) RV TB See §188

arepasah (ApŚ adds samokasah) cite goh (SV citā goh, ApŚ cidākoh) SV AV ApŚ MŚ See §47

turas cid visvam tarnavat tapasvān AV · duras ca visvā avrnod apa svāh RV

tam id arbhe havişy ā samānam it RV.: tvām arbhasya havişah samānam it SV. KS TB ApS

anupūrvam yalamānā yalı siha (AV siha, TA yalışla) RV. AV. TA.

agne vialam antar ā (LS antaram) RV VS MS KS TB. LS VHDh Assimilation in LS to vitalam ā no yāhi (also, ā yāhi) tapasā janeşu (MS jánişva, ŚŚ. janeşv ā) MS. AB AŚ ŚŚ The accent proves MS wrong, it seems to presuppose janesv ā.

yad ultaradrāv uparaš ca khādatah AV yad †apsaradrūr uparasya (ApŠ apsararūparasya) khādati KS ApŠ In AV complementary sing after elliptic dual (Edgerton, KZ 43 110 ff) See VV I p. 270 f §827. Verbal endings are concerned in the following (cf §825)

srucā juhuta no (SS juhutanā) havih TB SS ApS

tigmāyudhāya bharatā sīnotu nah (TB sīnotana) RV TB N Assimilation of form to the preceding bharatā in TB

yatheyam strī pautram agham na rodāt AG. SMB PG ApMB HG yathedam strīpautram aganma rudriyāya MG See §801.

āprno 'sı samprnah (ApŚ āprnoşı samprna) SS ApŚ The latter inferior

ramadhvam mā bibhīta mat (Kauś bibhītana) AV Kauś pratno hi (TA. pratnoși) kam īdyo adhvareșu RV AV TA See §299

- 5 First syllable of a word, not a compound, replaced by a patch-word, or vice versa
- §828. Fairly numerous also are the cases in which a light word replaces the initial, instead of final, syllable of a longer word, or vice versa. In the list now following the form with one word is original, the 'patched' form secondary

śūro nṛṣātā śavasaś (SV. MS śra°) cakānah (SV ca †kāme) RV. SV. TS MS Assimilation in SV to the preceding loc nṛṣātā: 'hero in men-winning and in desire for glory'

- vasavas cātīsihan vasudhātaras ca AV. vasus cetīsiho vasudhātamas ca VS TS. MS KS The bad meter and feeble sense of AV show that it is a corruption of the other, moreover Ppp agrees with the other texts (Barret, JAOS 42 108)
- sukrām vayanty asurāya nırnıjam RV · sukrā vı yanty asurāya nırnıje SV "They weave a bright garment for the Asura'· 'the bright (soma-drops) stream variously for the adornment of the Asura'.
- nadayor vıvratayoh süra ındrah RV na devo vṛtah sūra ındrah SV The 'uncontrolled bulls' of RV seem to be Indra's horses, lect fac ın SV
- asūrte (MS KS °tā) sūrte rajası nişatte (MS. °tā; KS na sattā) RV VS MS KS N· asūrtā sūrtā rajaso vimāne TS Here na seems to be the comparative particle, it is of course secondary

aryo nasanta (SV nah santu) sanışanta (SV.†°tu) no dhıyah RV SV.

Again a lect fac in SV (santu taken with preceding, 'devoured . be our foes').

ūrjam bibhrad vasuvanıh (VS LS SG ApS *vah sumanāh, ApS *vah suvanıh, ApS *vasumanāh) sumedhāh AV. VS KS. LS. ApS (thrice) SG. HG See §227

ailabrdā (MS °mrdā, KS aidamrdā) yavyudhah (VS äyuryudhah, MS vo yudhah) VS. TS MS KS See §241

pari ghransam omanā (TB parighransa vām manā) vām vayo gāt (TB. gām) RV MS TB N. The original 'he shall go thru the heat by your aid unto strength' Corruption in TB

dame-dame suştutyā (TS °tīr, MS. °tī, AŚ. ŚŚ °tır) vāvṛdhānā (AV °nau, AŚ ŚŚ. vām 1yānā) AV TS MS KS. AŚ ŚŚ. See §236

amanmahīd anāšavah (PB °hīt tad āšavah) RV AV PB

brāhmanebhyo 'bhyanujāātā (MahānU hy anu') TA MahānU.

tam ahve (SV u huve) vājasātaye RV. SV

tilvilā (misprinted tilvalā) stām irāvatīm AG. tilvilā sthāpirāvatī ŠG. tilvalā sthirāvatī MG tilvilā syād irāvatī ApMB A desperate passage, all forms corrupt Oldenberg (on ŠG, p. 144) suggests something like sthāvarāvatī for the original In ApMB a mistaken rationalization, a third person verb is out of place here, since there is a direct address

[pra yah satrācā (TB. Conc sa vācā) manasā yajāle (TB °tai) RV. TB But Poona ed of TB text and comm satrācā]

§829. In the rest the form with two words seems to be the original: adyā mamāra sa hyah samāna (MS sahyah samānah; p p sah, hyah, sam, āna) RV AV SV MS TA N The MS makes no sense, and its p p gives the true reading

yas tā vijānāt (TA * MahānU yas tad veda, AV.* VS yas tāni veda) sa pituş (VS. MahānU pituh, TA savituh) pitāsat RV AV VS TA

MahānU N See §198

sa dahan (GB sadanān) pradahan nv (GB v) agāh GB Vait One ms of Vait has the same absurd reading as GB

sā prasūr (ŚG suprasūr) dhenukā (HG °gā) bhava AV ŚG ApMB. HG garbhe '(MS °bhah) sañ (VS ŚB san, KS MS sam°) jāyase punah RV VS TS MS KS ŚB But it is likely that MS KS really intend san (MS pp)

sa eva janih (T. MahānU sa vijāyamānah) sa janişyamānah VS TA.

MahānU SvetU SırısU.

svasāra āpo abhı gā ulāsaran (SV udā°) RV SV See §60 agne yāhı dūtyam mā ~ışanyah (TB °yam vārışenyah) RV MS TB AS. See §225.

- tan mā jinva TS MS tan mārjitvā KS. See §354. KS probably secondary
- amum ma ışāna, and sarvalokam ma ışāna VS. amum manışāna, and sarvam manışāna TA. The form ışāna can properly only mean 'send', but is doubtless felt confusedly as meaning 'wish', as if from *icchati* 'send (as if, 'wish') me that (world)',... 'every world'. TA has a monstrous quasi-imperative middle (with ending āna'), as if from the aorist of root man, comm prayaccha
- ā samudrā (KS ā sīm ugrā, TS Ap\$ āsmīnn ugrā) acucyavuh TS MS. KS Ap\$ Obscure and difficult with any reading, but MS seems clearly secondary
- apām na yanty (SV apo nayanta) ūrmayah RV. SV. 'Like streams of water go (the somas)' '(the somas) lead on the waters'.
- upākrtam šašamānam yad asthāt (MŚ sadhasthāt, v 1 sad asthāt) AV. TS MŚ MŚ If sadhasthāt is right (see Knauer's note), it must depend on upākrtam
- parisitah kvesyasi ApMB · parisidah klesyasi HG The true reading is kva isyasi, or more properly esyasi, 'whither wilt thou go?' The HG. has foolishly attempted to rationalize the reading by connecting it with the quasi-root klis (thinking of klis).
 - 6. Dissyllabic words broken up into two 'light words', and vice versa
- §830. Next comes a group which may be said to belong to both the two preceding classes at once That is, a dissyllabic word is broken up into two light words, or vice versa; often with further changes. We begin as before with cases in which the dissyllabic word seems to be the original:

tad vipro abravīd udak (ŠŠ u tat) AV. ŠŠ See §65

ava (RV abhı, MS ā vah [text vah preceded by havışā], VS SB vācā) somam nayāması (RV mṛśāması, VS SB avanayāmı) RV AV VS TS MS KS SB

sanvan (KS sa tvam) sanım suvimucā vimuñca KS SS ApS The secondary KS reading may be graphic

yamasya dūtah śvapād vidhāvasi TA yamasya dūtaś ca vāg vidhāvati MS See §145

satyam (SV ApŠ sa tvam) vrsan vrsed ası RV. SV. ApS

ıram u ha (AV aha) prasansatı AV SS SG.

pra na(SV na) indo mahe tane (SV tu nah) RV SV

samyak (TS MS TAA Ap\$ * M\$ sam it, KS * sarit) sravanti sarito

- (TAA Conc °lā, Poona ed. text and comm °lo) na dhenāh RV VS. TS MS KS * SB TAA KS ApS * MS The second reading of KS, sarit, the given by all mss, is evidently a mistake for sam it, which is secondary to samyal:.
- nyañ (AV ni yan) ni yanty uparasya niskitam (AV °lim) RV. AV. KS tarī mandrāsu prayakṣu AV · sa īm (TS ī) mandrā suprayasah (TS mandrāsu prayasah, MS mandrā suprayasā starīman) VS TS MS: stanī mandras suprayakṣuh KS As all commentators realize, the passage is hopelessly corrupt, but sa īm (i) looks like a secondary lect fac for some single word (as in AV. KS)
- §831. In the following the version with two light words seems to be original.
- udam ta ekam para ū ta (TB ApS, but not KS, uta) ekam RV AV SV.

 KS † TB TA. AS SS ApS MS Comm on TB uta, apı ca,
 but the text leaves the word accentless, which, as well as the bad
 sandhi (uta ekam, with hiatus), indicates that the true reading
 was u ta (le).
- sa tū (SV. sato) dhanam kārıne na pra yansat RV SV 'He verily shall give wealth to the singer'. 'he shall give wealth to the virtuous, to the singer'. The genitive, followed by a dative in the same construction, is an indication of the badness of SV.
- kavır yah pulrah sa îm ā (TA Conc sā ımāh, Poona ed text and comm sa ımā) cıkcla RV. AV. TA N Comm on TA ımā, clānı dṛśyamānānı sarvāṇi bhūtānı
- vidyām yām u ca (SS ula) vidmasi AB SS.
- ā yam (MS MS āyan) narah sudānavo dadāšuse RV TS MS KS AS MS The corruption of MS is indicated by the fact that the verb dcucyavuli in the next pāda still has the accent, tho it is no longer in a relative clause, and there is no other reason for the accent
- ku şihah ko vām asının SV.: kūşiho devūv asının RV. It is universally recognized that RV. must be read kū şiho
- utem (SV. ūlim) arbhe havāmahe RV AV. SV. MS uta-īm· ūlim, 'aid' mahī no vātā iha vāntu bhūmau AV: miham na vāto vi ha vāti bhūma RV ā tiā (AV. emām, ŠG enam) parisrutah (AG °sritah, MG °sritah) kumbhah (ApMB †kumbhāh, ŚG kumbhyā) AV AG. ŚG PG.
- ApMB MG.
 tre ā (SV. tvayā) bhūsanti vedhasah RV SV Note resolution of e to ay
- stahpalir yadī vidhe SV.: svarpalim yad īm vidhe RV. AV sariah sarvā n caralu prajānan MS: sa vah sarvāh sam carali prajānan
 - AV The MS p p sah, sarvāh; in the samhıtā text stupid assimilation to the following word

- yatrāspṛkṣat tanvo yac ca vāsasah (ApMB tanuvam yatra vāsah) AV. ApMB yatrā vṛkṣas tanuvai yatra vāsah HG. Probably yac ca of AV is original and yatra due to assimilation to the preceding yatrā
- [ā tvam (GB ātmam, but Gaastra correctly ā tvam; LS ā svam) ındrāya pyāyasva VS TS MS KS AB GB SB. AS SS Vait LS]
- [name tad upadambhişar MS MS na ma idam upadambhişag ApS We must read ná me in MS MS, there is no p p here, and náme is simply bad editing]
- [m $g\bar{a}$ indra vicaran $sp\bar{a}sayasva$ TA ApS In TA, text printed $vig\bar{a}$, but both syllables accented, clearly $vig\bar{a}(h)$ is intended, so comm]
 - 7 Longer words, not compounds, broken up into two or more shorter words, and vice versa.
- §832. We come next to a group of variants in which a word of more than two syllables, generally at least four, is split up into two or more shorter words, or vice versa Excluded are divisions of compounds into parts, which have been treated above First come cases in which the longer word is original
- balım ıcchanto vıtudasya (AG. vı tu tasya, v 1 vıdurasya) preşyāh (MahānU AG preş(hāh) TAA MahānU AG See §65
- upānasah †saparyan RV upo nu sa saparyan SV Indra is meant, SV has obvious earmarks of secondariness
- yad ındra cıtra mehanā (SV PB ma ıha na) RV SV. PB AS SS N As ın the preceding, a rather obscure word (mehanā, adv) is broken up ınto a series of harmless particles in SV.
- na me (so read, §831) tad upadambhişar ..MS MS na ma idam upadambhişag (once erroneously udam bhişag). ApS A simple and obvious blunder, possibly only a misprint
- mā (AG MG ā) tvā prāpann aghāyavah (MG. adyāyavah) AG ŞG ApMB MG See §868
- akṣānām vagnum (AV em ganam, true reading probably gatnum with SPP, see Whitney's note, MS †vagmum) upayighnamānah (AV upalipsamānāh, MS avayighram āpah) AV MS TB TA The MS is corrupt, its pp, yet worse akṣnā, avagmam ity ava-gmam, avayighram ity ava-yighram, āpah But the original is obscure enough
- viśvā amīvāh pramuñcan mānuşībhih (KS *sebhyah) AV. KS viśvā dšāh pramuñcan mānuşīr bhiyah VS TS: vy amīvāh pramuñcan mānusānām MS Evidently VS TS are secondary, tho interpretable, cf §783

vasya te visvamānuşah (SV. visvam ānusak) RV AV SV It is surprising to find the simple and commonplace RV reading distorted in SV. into one that is much more recondite, and hard to interpret See Benfey's note in Translation, p 259

anvādīdyāthām sha nah sakhāvā TB TA manmā dīdhyānā utā nah sakhāyā MS. The latter seems clearly corrupt, pp dīdhyānām, the nasal perhaps preserving a trace of the original, which means: 'make us shine here, O ve two friends (Mitra and Varuna)'.

uebhyo madhu pradhāvatı (AV. pradhāv adhı) RV AV TA comm, followed by SPP and Whitney's Transl, reads pradhāvati, correctly

tvam no devatātaye (AV deva dātave) RV AV SV- See §61.

prathamāya zanuse bhūmanesthāh (AV bhuvane°, SS. bhūma nesthan) AV. AS SS If SS intends this division, it would seem to mean 'that thou shalt lead the world' Obscure

yajñah pratyaşthāt (v l praty u sthāt) KS. yajñah praty u sthāt (v l pratyasthāt).. MŚ. yajña pratitistha TB ApS

apāmityam (AS apām ittham) iva sambhara MS KS AS A graphic error in AS

ubhe yatete ubhayasya (AV ubhe asya) pusyatah RV. AV Cf next ubhe 1d asyobhayasya (AV asyobhe asya) rājatah RV AV In same verse as prec; here Whitney adopts the RV reading See \$911

§833. Next cases in which the reading with one long word is second-

ava tara (TS avattaram) nadīşv ā VS TS MS KS ŚB . avattaro nadīnām AV ava tara 'descend in the rivers' is original, in TS AV there is no verb, and one must be awkwardly supplied. The double t is suspicious (cf §401), BR take it, following the Indian tradition, as from the participle of root av, which is not at all likely to lead to the original sense (however it may have been felt in TS AV) Keith rejects the comm and connects with ava, while Whitney fol-MS pp avataram lows the tradition

prāntar rşaya sthāvirīr (SV prāntarikṣāt sthāvirīs tc) asīkṣata RV SV pra dhara yantu madhunah AB pra dharayantu madhuno ghriasya AG (corrupt, abandoned by Stenzler for the other reading)

dyusamantasya ta ādıtyo 'nukhyātā BDh dyauh samā tasyādītya upad-HG The BDh reading seems like a secondary adaptation of HG, which is typical stylistically —The next two variants are in the same passage

antarıkşasamantasya te väyur upaśrotā BDh . antarıkşam samam tasya vāvur upadrastā HG As prec

- pṛthivīsamantasya te 'gnir upadrasṭā BDh.: pṛthivī samā tasyāgnir upadraṣṭā... HG. See prec two
- sutarası tarase (MahānU. sutarasıddhatarase) namah RVKh. TA MahānU The latter has a v 1 like the others, but its comm reads the recorded version, which is obviously a secondary attempt to make the meaning simpler Sutarası is voc sing fem, and tarase an infinitive
- site vate punann wa (AS LS, mss of Vait, most mss of SS, and v l. of KSA punarniva) VS TS MS KSA SB TB. AS. SS Vait LS Doubtless a graphic corruption, but its wide spread is curious
- antarā dyāvāprihwī apah suvah TB ApMB HG antarā dyāvāprihwyor apasyuh MG Is apasyuh understood as apa-syuh, from apa-as 'be away'? It is hard to construe a nom-sing, of apasyu. In any case it is secondary.
- anupauhvad anupahvayet HG: anu po 'hvad anuhvayah ApMB. See §732
- yajñapataye (SS adds vasu; TA yajamānāya) vāryam ā svas kah (TA. ā suvas kar asmaı, SS āsamskarase) MS TA SS The latter secondary
- tanūpā ye nas tanvas tanūjāh AV: tanūpāvānas tanvas tapojāh AB AS. The AV. is probably original. See §254.
- ayam sahasram ānavo dṛśah kavīnām matır jyotir vidharma (ApŚ °mā) SV. ApŚ. MŚ: ayam sahasram ā no dṛśe . vidharmani AV. Benfey is forced to interpret the corrupt SV. reading sahasramānavo as one compound word, against the accents: 'der tausendbewachende'. Probably AV is original, tho it too is not very sensible

agnir hotrenedam (hotrena, agnihotrenedam) havir . ., see §354

- vande dārum vandamāno vivakmi RV: vandadvārā vandamānā vivastu SV On this troublesome and disputed passage see references quoted in VVI p 218
 - 8 Different divisions of two or more independent words
- §834. Finally we come to a large class in which two or more independent words are involved in both forms of the differently divided variant. They fall into three subdivisions. Perhaps the simplest (a) are those which concern different resolutions of a final or initial vowel between the two words, so that in one form of the variant the vowel belongs exclusively to either the preceding or the following word, while in the other it (not necessarily the same vowel) contains a fusion of the final of one word with the initial vowel of the next. Secondly, (b)

there are cases in which a final consonant is detached from one word and affixed to the next. And thirdly, (c) cases with more extensive alterations, at least one entire syllable being detached from one word and attached to another, sometimes a whole series of words-is affected, resulting in complete revision of the passage

(a) Different resolution of final-initial vowels

§835. We begin with the cases concerning final-initial vowels. In one form of these variants a vowel at the end of one word or at the beginning of the next belongs exclusively to the one word, while in the other it (not always the same vowel) contains a fusion of a final with an initial vowel. Either form may be the older; we begin with those in which sandhi, combination of two vowels, seems to be the original reading, which is much more frequently the case

avakrakşınam vrşabhan yathājuram (SV yathā juvam) RV AV SV. ajuram 'ageless', juvam 'swaft'

na mānsam ası nodalam (HG no dalam) ApMB HG If the division is so intended, HG must mean 'thou art not flesh, nor a fragment' The comm on ApMB (Winternitz, Introduction, p xxiv) takes noddlam for nd-uddram, 'nor a (part of the) belly'

ya ājagma (N°muh) savanemā (TS KS savanedam, N savanam udam, VS MS ŠB ya ājagmedam savanam) juṣānāh AV VS TS MS KS ŠB N Conc suggests savanemā (savanā-umā) for AV, and Whituey notes that the AV text (p p savane, mā) is a corruption of this, tho he translates 'ye that have come enjoying me at the libation'

samıdhyamānah prathamānu †dharmā (TB ApS prathamo nu dharmah)
RV TB ApS The later texts stumble over the antiquated forms
prathamā dharmā (neut plur) of RV 'According to ancient
ordinances' 'as the very first law'

prasthāyendrāgnībhyām somam vocatopo (KB vocato yo) asmān brāhmanān brāhmanā hvayadhvam KB AS SS As Keith says in his Transl. KB must be read vocatopo A graphic corruption

nhvā pavitram asvināsan (TB °nā sam) sarasvatī VS MS KS TB The original, of which TB is an uncomprehending corruption, contains āsan in his mouth

visvalopa visvadāvasya tvāsañ juhomi TS GB Vait ApS visloka visvadāvye tvā samjuhomi svāhā MS Precisely like the prec, except that here the secondary reading is verbally intelligible

gāta upavalāvalam (SV upa vadāvate) PV SV Scc §60

- yatrāspṛksat tanvo yac ca vāsasah (ApMB tanuvam yatra vāsah) AV. ApMB. yatrā vṛkṣas tanuvan yatra vāsah HG The latter corrupt; see §198
- rdhag (RV AV dhruvam) ayā (AV. ayo, TS MS. KS ayād) rdhag (RV AV dhruvam) utāšamışihāh (MS KS "ṣṭa, AV. utā šavışiha) RV AV VS TS MS KS ŠB N. See §234
- yat tvemahe (SMB te mahe) prati tan no (Kauś prati nas taj) jugasva RV.

 TS MS Kauś SMB. PG ApMB Original has tvā-īmahe

 SMB comm alternatively takes mahe as a verb, pūjayāmi, or as a
 noun, utsave, supplying pūjādikam karma with yat. All mss agree
 on it
- āśum tvājau (ApŚ ālhum tvā ye) dadhire devayantah KS ApŚ MŚ hariśmaśrum na varmanā dhanarcim SV.: hiriśmaśrum nārvānam dhanarcam RV
- dhātā vidhātā (MS dhartā vidhartā) paramota samdīk (KS paramo na samvīk) RV VS TS MS KS. N. Graphic change in KS, §871

hotā vişlīmena (ŠS viştvī me) jaritar AV AS SS Vait See §367.

- tenemām upa sincatam RV. AV. TA N tena mām abhişincatam ŠŠ SMB Different contexts, imām or mām.
- tena tvam agna iha vardhayemam AV. tenägne tvam uta vardhayemam (MS °yā mām) TS MS KS imam or mām
- prieva putram jarase nayemam (MS ma emam) MS. KS ApMB. HG. The corruption of MS is indicated by its p p: jarasena. ā, imam, pointing to the other reading
- yaded (KS ād ıd) antā adadrhanta (TS adadrnh°) pūrve RV VS TS MS. KS
- yenākşā (SMB °kşān, PG °kşyāv, SS yenā kṣām) abhyaşıcyanta (SS SMB abhyaşıñcalam, PG °tām) AV. SS SMB. PG For the original 'dice' SS. lamely substitutes 'earth'.
- [tvayāvasena (\$G text tvayā jvasena) sam ašīmahı tvā TS KS TB A\$ M\$ Kau\$ \$G. SMB PG The \$G seems to be a misprint]
- §836. We come now to the much fewer cases in which the original reading assigns the vowel exclusively to one of the two variant words, the form with vocalic sandhi being secondary
- yadārāghatī (read yadā rā°) varadah Vatt.. yadā rākhāļyau vadatah ApŠ yad adyārādhyam vadantah MŠ See §70
- praty eva (ŠŠ pra iveva, 1 e tvā-1va) grbhāyata AV AB GB JB ŠŠ grāvāvādīd (ApŠ grāvā vaded) abhī somasyānsum (ApŠ °šunā) KS ApŠ

But KS ed prints the ApS reading, with v 1 orādīd śrutakakso aram (SV okaksāram) gave RV SV Nom voc

- vīhi svām āhutim juşāno manasā AV: vīhi svāhāhutim juşānah TS. TE The ritualistic exclamation svāhā is always allowable, but is her secondary
- višvasmai bhūtāyādhvaro (KS MŠ. bhūtāya dhruu) astu devāh (15 °dhvaro'si) TS KS. ApŠ MŠ adhvara dhruva, it is not certain tha the latter is more original
- mā na āyuh param avaram mānadonaih MS mā nah param adharam mā rajo 'naih (MŚ †param adhanam mā rajo naih) TA. MŚ The MS is corrupt, and its p p is worse mā, anat, ā, unaih! Cf VV p 93
- ā māšişo (or ām āšişo, so MS understands) dohakāmāh MS KS emā agmann āšişo dohakāmāh TS ApŚ. It is possible that KS also intends ām (interjection) āšişo It seems that TS ApŚ (ā-imās) have a lect fac.
- [ātmāsy ātmann ātmānam (GB ātmanātmānam, but Gaastra as the others) me mā hīnsīh GB Vait Kauš]
- (b) Final-initial consonant transferred from one word to another §837. Next there are a few cases in which a consonant is mobile between words, being attached to the preceding word in one form of the variant, to the following word in another. This process may be illustrated within the RV itself, in the pada traditionally recorded as agner avena marutām na bhojyā, 1 128 5b. Here we must surely read agne ravena, see Conc. and Neisser, ZWbch. d. RV. I. 127. This is commonly recognized, altho Oldenberg, Noten, has some slight doubts Similarly, it is commonly recognized that for njihir yad yukto vive rapānsi, RV. 1 69 8, we must read viver apānsi, and for muṣāyas cakram avive rapānsi, RV. 6. 31 3, aviver apānsi. Also in AV. 6. 116 1a, yad yāmam cakrur nikhananto agre, read probably yady āmam; see Bloomfield, AJP 17 428, SBE 42 457, and Whitney ad loc.

āsann ā (SV PB āsan nah) pātram janayanta (KS 'tu) devāh RV SV VS TS MS KS PB ŠB

madhu reto (TS madhor ato, KS †madhur ato, AS text printed madhureto) mādhavah pātv asmān TS MS KS AS Keith on TS thinks the KS reading is correct. He calls the MS 'nonsense', which is a little strong considering that we are dealing with a yajus formula; madhu and reto might be taken as coordinate with either subject or object. But the MS p p reads madhuh, amtah, pointing towards the KS reading

revatī ramadhvam, revatīr amedhyam, see §255

ā māšişo (MS text ām āšişo) dohakāmāh MS KS And others; see \$836 MS and KS, may intend the same reading

agor arır ā cıketa RV nāgo rayır ā cıketa SV. Benfey understands na-ago(s), from agu 'nıcht preisend' = 'bos' Doubtful, the SV is hardly interpretable

ubhayor ārtnyor (TS ārtmyor, NīlarU. ubhayo rājñor) jyām VS TS MS KS NīlarU. An absurd corruption in the last; it can only refer to the two ends of the bow, and so the comm calmly takes it

satyād ā (ApŠ satyā tā) dharmanas patī (ŚŚ dharmanā, and so mss of MS, Vait MŚ parī, ŚŚ omits patī) AŚ ŚŚ. Vait ApŚ MŚ.

purovāto varşañ jinvar āvrt svāhā TS ApS: purovāta (KS °to) jinva rāvat (KS °vat) svāhā MS KS And other formulas in same passage, see §168 TS is secondary

yam asvinā namucer āsurād adhi (ŚŚ †namucāv āsure dadhi) VS MS KS ŠB TB ŠŠ Vait LŚ. Followed by: sarasvaty asunod indriyāya Some verb, probably a form of su, is understood 'which (soma) the Aśvins pressed out (Caland on Vait entnahmen) from the asuric N' ŠŚ is secondary and poor, dadhi 'sour milk' conceals adhi, to which is affixed the d of the abl which preceded in the original form For the myth in question see Bloomfield, JAOS 15 144-63

(c) More extensive false divisions between separate words

§838. In the rest the alteration involved in the false division is more extensive at least one syllable is detached from one word and attached to another Sometimes a whole series of words is affected, as in

śałāpāṣṭhādya (read with Poona ed of both othā gha) viṣā pari no vṛnaktu TB TA śarā vāṣṭād dhaviṣā vārnah MS (corrupt)

pītā bhāsvaty anūpamā TA pītābhā syāt tanūpamā MahānU In MahānU a v l agrees with TA but for anūp°, but the comm keeps to the text as printed He explains pītābhā by pītavarnā, and tanūpamā by sūkṣmenopamīyate kundalinīti yām naigamā āhuh The TA makes pītā bhāsvatī = pītavarnā, and anūpamā is explained by laukikānām tanūnām sūkṣmavastūnām upamā bhavitum yogyā

activadat svapā tha bhuvat AV · adidyutat sv apāko vibhāvā RV MS Whitney says the AV has 'an adaptation, or corruption, or both' of the other reading Ppp bhavat for bhuvat (§602).

deva purascara saghyāsam (MS devapuras carasa rdhyāsam) tvā MS TA Ap\$ The MS. 18 corrupt pp deva, punar iti punah, carase See §817.

- dvişas taradhyā (ApŚ. °yai) rnayā na īyase (SV īrase) RV SV KS. AB ApŚ. dvişas tad adhy arnaveneyase AV 'A simple corruption' (Whitney) in AV
- riasyariena mām uta (TA ita) TB TA · riásya tv enam ā'mútah MS (p p tú, enam, mā'm, utiám ma, in part pointing to the TB reading). MS is corrupt, in TB. supply muñcata from preceding pāda

graha visvajanīna niyantar viprāyāma te (MS p.p. viprāya, 'mate, KS nyantar vipra ā †satī) MS KS

§839. In several instances the prefix su exchanges with su as locative ending

made suśipram (SV madeşu śipram) andhasah RV. SV

- tarī mandrāsu prayakşu AV sa īm (TS ī) mandrā suprayasah (MS °sā starīman, TS mandrāsu prayasah) VS TS MS starī mandras suprayakşuh KS
- mandūky apsu šam bhuvah AV.: mandūkyā su sam †gamah (TA gamaya) RV. TA The familiar association of the frog with waters leads to the secondary reading of AV

§840. The rest hardly need classification

- yas te soma prajāvat so 'bhi so aham MahānU yās te soma prajā vatso 'bhi so aham TA Both are obscure, and the far-fetched interpretations of the comms give httle help For instance, the TA comm explains soma as sa + uma, from umā = brahmavidyā, so that soma = paramātman!
- visuakarman bhauvana mām didāsitha (ŚB manda āsitha) AB ŚB ŚŚ. didāsitha is taken as a desiderative from dā 'O V Bh, thou didst seek to give me (the earth) away': 'thou wast slow of wit (so comm, mandamatih)' Either meaning is possible
- bhrātāntarīkṣam abhīsastyā nah (TA abhīsasta enah) AV TA Comm on TA yad eno 'smābhīh kṛtam tad abhīsastah satrusthānīyam! It would be better to understand abhīsaste, 'upon the accursed one (may) the sin (light)'. Whitney understands a verb 'save' in AV

samudrād udajanı vah (ApS udacann ıva) srucā MS ApS The ApS. reading seems better

yā samjayaniam adhi yāsu vardiase KS āsum jayaniam anu yāsu vardhase RV VS TS MS SB

mänasya palm saranā syonā AV mā nah sapainah saranah syonā HG Sec §189

yyeşthasya dharmam dyuksor anīle SV yyesthasya vā dharmani kşor anīle RV. The bad form dyukşor is taken by Benfey as for dyukşayor, from dyukşa

- brahmādhiguptah (PG brahmābhi°, MG. brahmābhigūrtam) svārā kṣarānı (PG. surakṣıtah syām, MG svarākṣānah, most mss. svarārakṣānah) svāhā AG PG. MG. The original is probably AG, see §742 PG has a simple lect fac, MG is corrupt
- yena bhūyas ca rātryām (ApMB. carāty ayam, MG caraty ayam, PG bhūris carā dwam) AG PG ApMB MG See §61
- sarasvatyaı vāco yantur yantrıye (VSK. vēc ua 'urye turyam) dadhāmı VS VSK SB Corruption in VSK
- āyuhpatı rathamtaram (MŚ āyuh pratıratham°) tad aśīya. ApŚ MŚ. Caland would read °patī (nom) ın ApŚ , and observes that MŚ ıs yet more corrupt
- ud vansam ıva yemire RV SV TS KB N . $\bar{u}rdhvam$ kham ıva menıre Mbh
- kı aivā varıştham vara āmurım uta RV AV $\,$ kratve vare sthemany āmurīm $\,$ uta SV $\,$
- ruvad dhokşā (TB nrvadbhyo 'kṣā) paprathānebhir evaih RV. MS AB. KB TB See §684
- prath achad (KS parama°) avarān (TS paramachado vara) ā viveša RV VS TS MS KS Keith takes paramachado as a gen depending on vara (vare) The result is close to nonsense
- ā devo yātı bhuvanānı paśyan (TS MS bhuvanā vipašyan) RV VS TS MS
- tena samhanu konması AV. tena sann anugohnäsı HG See §47.
- pathā madhumatā bharan (MS °mad ābharan) VS. MS TB. Either makes good sense
- ahorātre ūrvastīve (VS °sthīve, TS ahorātrayor vṛṣtyā) bṛhadrathamtare ca me yaṇñena kalpetām (VS †kalpantām) VS TS MS Cf §803, TS secondary.
- pumānsam vardhatām mayi SG.: pumān samvartatām mayi PG.: pumān garbhas tavodare SMB See §97 Despite the Conc., SG is quite correct, and may well be the original reading
- jāmım ıtvā mā vıvntse lokān TA \cdot jāmım τ tvā māva patsı lokāt AV See §198
- hıranyavad annavad dhehi (Ap\$ annam adhyehi, read annamad dhehi) mahyam KS Ap\$
- utem anamnamuh (KB SB SS KS. uteva nam°) TS MS AB KB. SB AS SS KS ApS MS
- athem ava sya vara \bar{a} pṛthưyāh TS AS SS MS . athemam asyá vara \bar{a} pṛthưyāh AV See §236
- utānyo asmad yajate vi cāvah (TB vicāyah) RV MS TB N. See §254

- anūdhā yadı jījanad (SV. yad ajījanad) adhā ca nu (SV. adhā cid ā) RV SV.
- pra su (HG sa) mriyum (SMB pra sumariyam, MG praihamam ariim) yuyotana (MG yuyotu nah) SMB. ApMB. HG MG. The lastis secondary.
- yaśasendrābrhaspatī (ArS yaśo mendrā°) ArS, PG MG Graphic change
- dyumattamā supratīkasya sūnoh (AV °tīkah sasūnuh) AV VS TS MS KS SB See §189
- dhıyā martah sasamate (SV. martasya samatah) RV SV See §189 yaso bhagas ca mā vidat (MG. rişat, most mss rişak) PG MG · yaso
- bhagasya vındatu ArS See §189. yunajmı tısro vıprcah süryasya te (MS vıvıtah süryah save, or savah) TS ApS MS. See §189
- pragāyāmasy agratah PG ApMB · pragāyāmy asyāgratah MG †prajāyāmasy agratah HG asya in MG is to be taken in a cosmic sense, it is of course secondary
- yamasya loke adhırajjur äyat (TA äya, MS loke mdhır ajaräya) AV MS TA Whitney describes the MS as a 'corrupt guess'
- māyādevā araiaran HG.. adevā devavailaram ApMB See §401
- ā gharmo agnım tlayann asādı (TA asādīt) RV TA. ā gharmo agnır amtlo na sādı MS The latter is of course secondary
- adha syāma surabhayo (ApŚ syām asur ubhayor) gṛheşu AV. KS ApŚ athā syāta surabhayo gṛheşu MS The ApŚ is worthless; Caland tacitly adopts the other reading
- [1sur nāvīrastāram ŠŠ 1sum na vīra astā AV RWh. by emendation, but mss as ŠŠ except for 1sum]
- [pātam mā dyāvāprihīvī adyāhnah (Kauś text aghān nah) TS ApŚ Kaus Read adyāhnah in Kauś, cf critical note, p 295, n 4 of ed In the reading quoted for ms Bū hna should be read for dna]

9. Patch-words

§841. In the earlier parts of this chapter, and especially in §§822-31, we have met many cases of variation between a longer word and a shorter word 'patched' by a light word. We shall now add a group of variants involving such light words—'patch-words', Flickworte, Luckenbusser—to which 'false division' in the strict sense seems not to apply, because the phonetic resemblance between the variant words is insufficiently close. There is no hard and fast line between the two groups, however, and we are far from regarding the separation we have

made as absolute. Doubtless many of the variants which follow might with justice have been classed above. At least they all belong in the same chapter

§842. For instance, in a pada like

syonam patye (AV. patibhyo) vahatum krnuşva (AV. krnu ivam) RV.

AV SMB APMB MG. N,

it is clear that AV has substituted an active imperative form for a middle, filling out the meter with the pronoun tvam. There is still a certain resemblance in sound between the syllables tvam and -sva. This resemblance approaches the vanishing point in

ns no raysm subhojasam yuvasva (TS yuveha) RV VS TS. MS KS, where TS likewise uses an active for a middle imperative, patching the pāda with the adverb sha And in a pāda like

āpas tad ghnantu sarvadā (MG. te sadā) MG YDh,

it would obviously be impossible to speak of "false division", since sarvadā, if it is the original reading, cannot be thought of as divided into te sadā, rather, the synonym sada is substituted, and the line is then patched by inserting the light word te If, as we suspect, the original form of this pāda was that of MG, the order of change is reversed, but the principle is the same

§843. Prevailingly these variants are concerned with metrical requirements, as is clearly suggested by the above examples. The use of a patch word is designed to fill out a metrical unit which would otherwise be defective. This comes out very interestingly in a small group of cases where the original reading had or seemed to have defective meter, and in a secondary text this is corrected by inserting a patch word.

agnim (SV agnim u) śresiliaśocisam RV SV. In RV śresilia- constituted three syllables (Wackernagel I p 51) The SV has lost consciousness of this fact, feels that a syllable is lacking, and inserts the harmless u

vişe vişam aprkthāh (aprāg apī) AV (both) The shorter form (with ending read as two syllables?) was probably the original

yatah sürya udeh AV yatas coden süryah SB. BrhU Kathal †4 9a äsün huve suyamān ülaye TS MS KS. āsūn ıva suyamān ahva ülaye

AV Here the longer form of AV may be original, at least it is better not only metrically but in sense

§844. There are, however, a few cases in which the addition of a patch word spoils, or at least injures, the meter. In one of these the form without the patch word is probably historically secondary, and due to an attempt to improve the meter by omitting (instead of adding) a light word:

tasmar no (AV mā) devāh paradatteha (AV PG odhatteha, KS MS odhatta) sarve (MS visve) AV. TS KS MS SMB PG BDh Even the KS MS form, lacking tha, is not really good in meter §845. But in most cases of this sort the light word appears to have

been added secondarily, to the detriment of the meter

šatena pāšair varunābhi dhehi KS: šatena pāšair abhi dhehi varunainam The reading of Ppp (Barret, JAOS 37 298) is that of KS. and this is doubtless original

tam aham vunar ädade KS. PG · ımam tam vunar ädade 'yam (read 'ham, as Kirste suggests) HG

tasmā u rādhah krnuta prašastam (AV krnuhi suprašastam) RV AV The superfluous su is ignored by AV Anukramani and omitted in Ppp (Barret, JAOS 41 266)

\$846. Once SV omits a pronoun from a good and simple pada of RV, thereby spoiling the meter, the change was possibly conditioned by the use of the hieratic case form sutasah (straining for archaic effect), which made the pada too long, altho the omission of ime leaves is too short tubhyam somāh sutā ime RV tubhyam sutāsah somāh SV

§847. Change of meter makes both forms passably metrical in the

anumate 'nv idam manyasva AV: anumate 'nu (KapS †anu) manyasva na idam KS. Cf anumate 'nu manyasva (prose) GG KhG HG

apām napālam akvinā huve dhiyā (TS †hayantam) AV. TS of AV read asvina (accented) and dhiyah. Neither text makes sense as presented in the mss, but both are metrically correct See Whitney's and Keith's notes

§848. In the next AV by a later resolution gets two syllables out of one of RV, and to save the meter omits the light word u:

agner vidvān sa yarāt sed u hotā (AV Kaus sa id dhotā) RV AV TS

MS KS ŠB See §996

. §849 In the remainder the variants with and without patch word are metrically equivalent We shall begin with those in which the form with patch word is probably secondary, they are, as we should expect, far the more numerous group

ımam (AV. *tam u) me agadam kıta (AV kırdhı) RV AV * VS TS anu manyasva suyajā yajāma (MŠ yaje hı, most mss yajeha) TS MŠ iam manyeta (ViDh tam var manyet) pitaram mātaram ca Samhitopani-

şadB VāDh VıDh asmān (AV sā nah) sīte payasābhyāvavrtsva AV VS TS MS KS ŚB

- upa yajñam asthita (MŚ astu no) vaiśvadevī RVKh AV. ApŚ MŚ apasedhan (SV † °dham) duritā soma mrdaya (SV. no mrda) RV SV See VV I §194 In RV 7 in mrdaya is long, in SV. it was pronounced short, and the change with insertion of no is intended to improve the meter
- marutām pitas tad aham grnāmi (MS grne te) TS MS marutām pitar uta tad grnīmah KS
- tasya doham asīmahı (KS asīya, AS asīya te) VS MS KS TB SB TA AS SS In KS prose
- tvaşţā sudatro (TA no atra) vı dadhātu rāyah RV VS MS KS ŠB TA SS N
- sa nah pito madhumān ā višeha (Kauš viveša) KS Kauš sa no mayobhūh pitav (TS TB pito, MŠ pitur, SMB Jorgensen pitav) āvišasva (AŠ āvišeha, MŠ āviveša) TS TB AŠ MŠ SG SMB PG
- añgırobhır ā gahi yayñıyebhıh RV TS MS añgırobhır yayñıyaır āgahīha AV
- dadhad ratnām (RV once ratnā vi) dāšuşe RV (thrice) SV VS TS MS KS TB dhattam ratnām dāšuşe RV dadhad ratnā dāšuşe vāryām RV VS
- tvişir apsu goşu yā puruşeşu AV tvişir asveşu puruşeşu goşu TB The Ppp agrees with TB (Barret, JAOS 30 204)
- anāgā devāh šakuno grheşu (AV grham nah) RV AV MG The Ppp according to Roth agrees with RV., and the AV text makes poor sense as Whitney observes
- abhūn mama (KS nu nah) sumatau visvavedāh TS KS PG.
- ahnā yad enah kriam astı pāpam (AS astı kımcıi, SS enas cakrmeha krincit) AS SS ApS MS ApMB
- edam barhır nı şīdata (AS SS şīda nah) RV VS KB AS SS Change of context ın AS SS requires a singular verb, and the pāda is neatly patched with nah
- devebhyo havyam (MS MS MG havyā) vahatu (TB * AS SS ApS vaha nah, Kauś *vaha) prajānan RV AV VS TS MS KS ŠB TB * AS SS Vait ApS MS Kauś * MG In one form Kauś is unmetrical, lacking nah
- pra tad voced amrtasya (VS amrtam nu, TA MahānU voce amrtam nu) udvān AV VS TA MahānU
- vīryebhir (MS vīrebhir, AV yau vīryair) vīratamā šavisthā (TB šaci°, Poona ed šavi°) AV VS MS ŞB SB TB AS SS
- punantu visvā bhūtāni (MS bhūtā mā) AV VS MS KS Is the MS. reading a reminiscence of visve devāh punīta mā, which is the RV. form of this pāda?

- śatam pavitrā vitatā hy (MS vitatāny) āsu MS ApŠ ApMB Undoubtedly MS is original, form assimilation to pavitrā in the others hvayāmi (AV. SV. TS MS. huve nu) śakram purvhūtam indram RV AV SV. MS VS TS KS MahānU
- apriye (AV *apriyah) prati muñcalām (Kauś†°lam, AV. *muñca tal) AV (bis) Kauś
- sarvān agnīnr (AV. śwān agnīn) apsuşado huve vah (MS omits vah, AV havāmahe) AV. TS. MS TB See VV I p. 253
- §850. The much fewer cases in which the form with a light word seems to be the older are:
- rsīnām ca slutīr (SV. susļutīr) upa RV SV VS TS MS KS.
- agnım ındram (TB agnī indrā) vṛtrahaṇā huve 'ham (TB. vām; MS 'hanam huvema) AV MS TB.
- yā antarılşyā (TB ApS. °kşa) uta pārthwāsah (TB ApS AG pārthwīr yāh) KS AG TB ApS. Since the adjectives are feminne (agreeing with āpah), the KS form is less regular (Wackernagel III §62), but it may nevertheless be the original
- yā akrntann avayan yā atanvata (AV. yāś ca tatnîre) AV SMB. PG ApMB HG: yā akrntan yā atanvan MG Discussed in VV I \$\$46. 218
- jarām gachāsı (PG gacha, AV. su gacha) parī dhatsva vāsah AV. PG ApMB HG Only the relative antiquity of AV favors greater originality of its reading; and perhaps this is not conclusive

CHAPTER XIX RIME WORDS

§851. A large majority of all the variant words treated in this volume are rime words, in so far as they are not different forms of identical words. But in addition to these, there are found not a few other variants which rime with each other and tend to be associated, at least partly on that account. It seems worth while to present some examples of such variants, the list includes, of course, only words which do not seem to be explicable by any of the phonetic changes treated above, nor yet by graphic confusion. Even so restricted, the list could no doubt be extended. We hope, however, that we have included at least all cases of the repeated occurrence of such rime words in variation. They are sufficiently numerous to illustrate the phenomenon as a whole. It is to be noted that the words are as a rule fairly close to one another in sense as well as sound; that is, they are mostly quasi-synonyms.

§852. We begin with the roots jinv and pinv, closely associated from early times, and semi-synonyms 'inspire' and 'make to prosper'. The ease with which they interchange is illustrated well by the first two formulas, which follow one another in the Samhitās, both verbs are found in all texts that have both pādas, but the two are exchanged in different texts.

mano me jinva (MS KS pinva, Vait mano jinva) VS TS MS KS Vait Followed by.

vācam me pinva (MS KS ŠŚ jinva) VS TS MS KS ŠŚ.
tad indrāgnī jinvatam (MŚ † pinvatām) sūnītāvat TB ApŚ MŚ
jinva (AŚ †pinvam, read pinva) gā jinvārvatah TB. ApŚ AŚ

nwa (AS Tpinvam, read pinva) gā jinvārvalah TB. ApS AS Ci pinvalam gā jinvalam arvalo nah RV. KS

§853. Other verb forms are

ūrjā prihwīm gachata (MS yachata) TS MS KS TB

paramam padam ava bhātı (VS SB. bhārı) bhūrı (TS bhūreh) RV. VS. TS MS KS SB N The comm on VS calmly says. avabhārı avabhātı, takārasthāne chāndaso rephah! BR derive from root bhr, as aor. pass 'wurde eingedruckt', which is at least possible

trikadruhebhih putati (AV pavate) RV AV KS TA. ApS Cf Hillebrandt, Ved Myth. I 500

pratilāmīti (AS °nīti, TS KSA TB pra sulāmīti) te pitā VS TS MS KSA SB TB AS SS Derived by the comms. from roots til and sul, both with obscene meanings, and both unknown otherwise.

- sam bāhubhyām dhamai (AV bharai, TS TA namai, KS namaie, MS "bhyām adhamai) sam paiairaih (KS yajairaih) RV AV VS TS MS KS TA MahānU ŠvetU sam-dham and sam-nam practically synonyms here, 'weld together' Note also the noun forms paiaira yajaira (graphic change)
- asadan (TS asanan) mātaram purah (TS punah) RV AV SV ArS VS MS KS SB Practically synonyms: 'has seated himself' 'has reached'.
- yābhyām svar ajanann (TB suvar ajayann) agra eva MS TB MŚ yābhyām ajayan svar agra eva AV 'By which they created (won) light in the beginning'
- sam grāvabhir nasate (SV vasate) vīte adhvare RV SV Both 'unite with', SV lect. fac (sam-nas was obsolete)
- rasena sam asrksmahi (RV agasmahi, KS LS aganmahi, AV JB aprksmahi) RV. AV VS TS MS KS JB SB TB LS ApMB sam-srj and sam-prc practically synonyms Cf sam-prc and sam-sprs, §375
- añgād-añgāt sambhavası (SMB. *samśravası) SB. BrhU KBU AG SMB * GG ApMB HG MG N Mahābh In SMB a synonym is introduced in one occurrence for the sake of variety 'thou flowest together' for 'thou arisest' The pāda is immediately repeated with the reading of the other texts In both cases some ms. of SMB have the alternative reading
- pra ketunā brhatā yāty (AV TA bhāty) agnīh RV AV SV TA 'Agnī goes (shines) forth with mighty beam' Perhaps graphic?
- śocasva (VS * rocasva) devavītamah (KS °vittamah) RV. RVKh VS *
 TS MS KS TA Synonyms
- tataś (RV ataś, KS tatra) cakṣāthām (RV °the, MS KS cakrāthe) adıtım dıtım ca RV VS TS MS KS SB Root cakş perfect of kī
- adhı skanda vīrayasva AV abhı kranda vīlayasva SG Quası-synonyms AVPpp also reads kranda, which therefore may be original, tho skanda seems more appropriate ('mount', of sexual approach)
- nā chetthā (v 1 bhetthā) mā vyathışthāh KBU
- [varşmā rathasya nı jıhīşate (SS jıhīlate) dıvah AV SS So RWh, but the mss of AV read jıhīdate, which should be kept]
 - \$854. Riming participles occur in the following
- pratyag enam šapathā yantu tṛṣṭāh (AV sṛṣṭāh) RV AV Comm and one ms of AV tṛṣṭāh, for which sṛṣṭāh may be called a lect. fac: 'Let the curses go back upon him, the harsh ones', or 'those emitted (by him)'

- yā dabhrāh parısasruşīh ŚG: yā †ārdroghnīh pari tasthuṣīh ApMB Pples of roots sru and sthā
- āyurdā deva (AV agne) jarasam vṛnānah (ApMB ApG HG gṛn°) AV. MS KS MŚ ApMB ApG HG āyurdā (VS ŚB āyuṣmān) agne haviṣo juṣānah (VS ŚB ŚG haviṣā vṛdhānah) VS TS. ŚB. TB TA AŚ ApŚ ŚG. The ApMB etc readings are an interesting blend of those which contain vṛnānah and juṣānah Perhaps gṛnānah was felt as meaning 'pṛaising' rather than 'devouring', even this would be none too sensible in the context Oldenberg adopts vṛnānah for HG Still a different version ('thriving by the oblation') is adopted in VS etc, this is an easy lect fac in a passage relating to Agni
- ā sutrāvne (MS KS bhūyışthadāvne) sumatım āvrnānah AV MS KS oşışthadāvne sumatım grnānāh TS 'Choosing to myself (praising) his kindness'
- §855. Among riming nouns and adjectives, the pair dhāman. nāman stands out In the mystical religious language of the Veda they are easily interchangeable; the 'name' and the 'station' of anything both mean its mystic essence. In some cases the change from one to the other is due to the influence of adjoining words, as in
- yat te 'nādhrstam nāma yajūtyam (KS nāmānādhrsyam, MS dhāmānādhrsyam) tena tvādadhe VS TS MS KS SB The change in MS. was suggested by ādadhe
- sedam priyena dhāmnā priyam sada tāsīda (VSK priyenu nāma priye sadas sīda) VS VSK SB Also:
- priyena dhāmnā (TS TB ApŚ nāmnā, VSK nāma) priyam sada āsīda (VSK TS TB. ApŚ * priye sadasi sīda) VS VSK. TS ŚB TB KŚ ApŚ In this and the prec (which are variants of each other) only the VS texts have dhāman, and it is reasonable to suppose that it was substituted there for nāman because it is a synonym of sadas
- vidmā te nāma (AV vidma te dhāma, Ppp gandharvo nāma) paramam guhā yat RV AV VS TS MS KS ŠB ApMB. gandharvo dhāma paramam guhā yat (VS vibhrtam guhā sat) AV. VS gandharvo nāma nihitam guhāsu TA MahānU. Here two different pādas have become confused, one began originally with vidmā te nāma, the other with gandharvo dhāma The AVPpp reading (not in Conc) occurs in the verse where AV has vidma te dhāma
- puruşlulasya dhāmabhih (MS nā°) RV AV MS Vait
 - §856. Twice the RV phrase pratiena manmanā 'by ancient hymn'

- is changed in SV to pratiena janmanā 'by ancient generation (birth) much to the detriment of the sense. In one case TB follows SV aham pratiena manmanā (SV. jan°) RV. SV. AV.
- agnih pratnena manmanā (SV TB jan°) RV SV MS KS AB T. AŠ MŠ
 - §857. Other nouns and adjectives:
- aklam (MS MS aptubhī, KS *artham) rehānā vyantu (TS TB viyantı vayah TS MS KS * TB MS. GG. KhG vyantu vayo 'ktar rehānāḥ VS A very obscure passage, the isolated artham ma possibly be due to graphic confusion
- śarīram me vicarşanam (RVKh vicakşanam) RVKh TA TU. pratīkai me vicakşanam PG 'My body (face) be active (glorious)' Schel telowitz on RVKh reads vicakşana, but it seems that 'nam must' the true reading
- paktā (KSA panthā) sasyam TS KSA The latter is called 'ludicrous by Keith. On paktā see Wackernagel III p. 204, he takes it as masculine form used as neuter, rendering 'die Saat pflegt reif zi werden'; of Oertel, Syntax of Cases I p 171
- kuhūm aham (AV Vait kuhūm devīm) suvītam (AV MS KS sukītam TS subhagām) vidmanāpasam AV TS MS. KS AS SS N Quasi synonyms
- dyumnā suksatra manhaya RV dyumnam sudatra manhaya SV
- dhanamjayam dharunam dhārayişnu RVKh bhūmidinham acyulan pārayişnu AV.. bhūmidinho 'cyulas' cyāvayişnuh AV The ev dently secondary cyāvo is suggested by 'cyulas': 'unshaken (but shaking (others)'
- aslono 'piśācadhītah ApMB. anandho 'ślono 'piśācadhīrah HG The latter is a strange corruption, the original means 'not sucked by demons'
- adroghavācam matibhih šavistham (RV * °bhir yavi°) RV * AV See RVRep 275 f
- abhi dyumnam (RV VS sumnam) devabhaktam yavıştha (MS KS devahıtam yavışthya) RV VS TS MS KS ApMB Quasi-synonyms
- nagnahur dhīras (KS vīras) tasaram na vema VS MS KS TB. Synonyms
- pāh no agna enase (SG edhase) svāhā TA MahānU SG. edhase is certainly right 'protect us unto prosperity' TA comm quotes the text as enaso, tho both editions print enase. The corruption is due to recollection of other phrases in which enasah or the like is

- associated with the root $p\bar{a}$ in the sense of 'protect from evil' or 'sin'
- punar brahmāno (AV brahmā) vasunītha (AV. °nītir, KS °dhītam and †°nītha [so 38 12b], MS °dhīte) yajāaih (AV MS KS.* agne) AV. VS TS MS KS ŠB The form with n is apparently original; in MS KS it is contaminated from such forms as vasudhā, vasudhit kuvin no asya sumatir navīyasī (SV bhavīyasī) RV SV. 'His very fresh (abundant) favor'.
- sthrā cin namayışnavah RV drdhā cid yamayışnavah SV Practically synonyms, 'bending' 'subduing'
- andhi kham vartayā panim (SV pavim) RV SV Benfey and Grassmann would read pavim in RV. The emendation is exceptionally tempting, but one must be cautious about it; cf Oldenberg's judicious remarks (Noten ad loc) It is easy to see how pavim could be substituted for an original panim under the influence of kham, a reason for the reverse change in the tradition is not so apparent
- tās tvā višantu manasā šuvena (TB. mahasā svena) AV. TB. The English words 'mind' and 'might' substantially reproduce the rime, and are derived from the same roots Cf next.
- ul satvanām māmakānām manānsı (TS mahānsı) RV SV VS TS. Cf prec
- dvişadbhyah pratı muñcāmı pāśam (HG. pāpam) SMB. ApMB. HG The two words are near-synonyms, pāśam is clearly original upa śresthā na āśisah (MS āśirah) AV TS MS KS
- panasyuvah samvasaneşv (SV °varaneşv) akramuh RV SV. Quasisynonyms, 'at the dwelling-places (enclosures, sanctuaries?)'.
- asya (AS mama) snuṣā śvaśurasya praśɪṣṭɪm (AŚ pravɪṣṭau) TB AŚ Complete change of meaning as well as syntax
- svāhā tvā sūryasya (MS vātāya sūr°) vṛṣṭvanaye (MS.° sanaye) MS TA ApŚ

CHAPTER XX. GRAPHIC VARIANTS

§858. There are not a few variants in which it seems at least possible that graphic confusion between letters written similarly may have been a contributing cause Some of them, such as variations between b and v, th and dh, t and th, p and v, have been treated above, as having also phonetic aspects Those which follow in this chapter would appear to be purely graphic We have no doubt that the list could be considerably extended, especially with the help of experts in Indian paleography, a title to which we lay no claim. We have merely noted down such variations as have struck our attention between certain letters which resemble one another in well-known modern Indian alphabets Even so limited, the collection seems to us important enough to suggest that graphic confusion must have played a considerable part in the variants of the Vedic tradition. It will be seen that different manuscripts and even different editions of the same work not infrequently vary regarding words of this group, which confirms that conclusion, it may be fairly assumed that in many other instances, where no manuscript variants are recorded, we nevertheless may be dealing with phenomena of the same sort. At the same time we would emphasize the fact that we do not mean to assert that all the variations here collected are due solely or even chiefly to graphic confusion course, there are many eases where neither phonetic nor graphic matters We mean only that this is one feature of the Vedic can be concerned variants which cannot be ignored

§859 The largest number of variants here collected concerns the letters n and r. Fairly numerous, also, are slufts between p and y, c and v, gh and dy, d and v, s and m, t and n. The rest are more sporadic. We shall present the cases in the approximate order of their frequency

n and r

\$860. The variation between n and r is fairly common, and may certainly be due to graphic confusion. The signs for these two letters when not combined with other consonants are not very dissimilar in the principal Indian alphabets. They are still more similar in Devanagari, for instance, when they follow other consonants in combined characters. When in such consonant combinations they precede other consonants,

the Devanāgarī, to be sure, clearly distinguishes between n and r, so that a misreading would be unthinkable. But this is by no means true of all Indian alphabets. Notably in Sāradā n and r before other consonants are written almost alike, and confusion is very easy and frequent.

§861. We present first cases of n and r not combined with other

consonants

- indhāna enam jarate (MS KS janate, but MS pp jarate, KS v. l jarite) svādhāh RV. VS TS MS KS SB ApMB N One ms of KS. reads jarite, and the pp of MS jarate, this is clearly the proper reading
- mritike hana (MahānU. hara) me pāpam TA MahānU Here the change is facilitated by the nearly equivalent meanings of the roots han and hr in such a context ('destroy' and 'take away')
- asadon (TS. asanan) mātaram purah (TS punah) RV AV SV ArS VS TS MS. KS. SB.
- avımuktacakra (v. 1°rā) āsīran PG.: vivrttacakrā āsīnāh HG ApMB tarī mandrāsu prayakşu AV stanī mandras suprayakşuh KS Others, §830.
- tanur varşişihā gahaneşihā MS: mahāniam gahvareşihām SV.
- nirrtho (MS °to) yas ca nisianah (AV. °rah) AV MS TA
- nigalgalīti dhārakā VS. ŠB.: nı jalgulītı (KS † jalgalūtı, mss , em °līti) dhānıkā TS KSA
- deva purascara saghyāsam (MS. devapuras carasu rdhyāsam, p p deva, punar iti punah, carase, etc.) tvā MS TA. ApŠ MS The text of MS is corrupt in both readings.
- mā na āyuḥ param avaram mānadonash MS. mā nah param adharam (MS. param adhanam) mā rajo 'nash (MS nash) TA MS Two cases, adhanam: adharam, and mā rajo 'mānado- (corrupt)
- ruvad dhol.şā (TB nrvadbhyo 'kṣā) paprathānebhir evaih RV MS. AB KB TB. But r may be regarded as a phonetic substitute for ru; §684.
- §862. Next, n and r before other consonants, note one case in RV itself:
- višvāny anyo (RV.*KS aryo) bhuvanā jajāna RV (both) MS KS TB In different contexts
- balitardāya (KSA. °vandāya) svāhā KSA TB Ap\$ Apparently balivardāya is intended
- ilwardāya (KSA alwandāya) srāhā KSA TB ApŠ Follows the prec gaurīr (TB. TA gaurī, AV gaur in) mimāya salīlām takṣatī RV AV. TB AA. TA. N

widyur (ApMB widyun) me asya devāh RV AV KS ApMB See Winternitz, Introduction to ApMB, xxiv widyun is doubtless corruption due to unintelligent thought of widyut, it is read by all mss and confirmed by the comm, who says that t for visarga is chāndasa! widyur is 3d plural verb form

śīte vāte punann wa (AŚ LŚ, mss of Vait., most mss of ŚŚ, and v I o KSA. punarnwa) VS TS MS. KSA. ŚB TB. AŚ ŚŚ Vait LŚ The persistence in the mss of the impossible punarnwa is striking ni nivarlana variayendra nardabuda (KS nandabala) TS KS ApMB See §273

adyā tvā vanvan (KS vardhan) sureknāh RV. KS TB ukhām sravantīm agadām aganma (MŚ akarma) KŚ MŚ

anārbhava mṛda KS. ApŚ The ms of KS reads anānbhava, em v Schroeder, see p w 5, Nachtrage Cf anabho mrda dhurte (read dhūrta with some mss of MS and all of MS) MS MS See §749 \$863. As to n and r after other consonants, most of the variants contain forms of the stems agni and agra. A special historic, and as it were romantic, interest attaches to this variation on account of the famous falsification of RV, 10 18 7d, a robantu janavo vonim agre, into which by substituting agnet for agre there was introduced a justification for widow-burning. 'Let the women mount upon the (proper) place in the beginning' was made to mean 'Let the women mount into the seat of In the Vedic occurrences of this pada, which is found also in AV and TA, there is no authority for this change. There are, however, a number of other Vedic passages where a like change occurs, always, with one exception, between the locative agre and the vocative agne It is noteworthy that in most instances the stem agra is evidently original, and the stem agni secondary The explanation is that the context is regularly one that concerns the god Agni, whose name 15 secondarily introduced by a natural confusion

§864. The list is as follows, the first is the only variant which does not concern the forms agre and agne:

dhvāntam vātāgram anusamcarantam (PB abhisam^o) TS PB TB PG ApMB: dhvāntā vātā agnim (mss of both vātāgnim) abhi ye samcaranti MS MG Clearly agnim is secondary.

agre viksu pradidayat RV. agne viksu pratidayat TB (Poons ed agre without v l., but comm he agne)

tubhyam agre (MG agne) pary avahan RV AV PG ApMB MG agre (MS*KS.*MŚ agne) bihann uşasām ürdhvo asthāt RV VS TS -MS*KS*ŚB ApŚ, and Pratikas AŚ ŚŚ KŚ MŚ Rvidh BrhD.

- tenemam agra (TB agna) the vercasā †samangdhi KS TB. Here, by exception, agna (=agne) may be the original reading, one accented ms of KS. leaves agra unaccented, suggesting that a vocative (which could only be agna) was intended.
- tavāham nāma bibharāny agne (AS agre) TS AS: tavāham agne bibhārāni nāma MS. Here it seems even more probable that agne is the older reading
- [agre (TB, agne, but Poona ed text and comm agre) yajñasya śocatah (KS TB, cetatah) RV KS TB.]
- [agne (AV agre) samidham āhārṣam AV Kauś agre is only an emendation in the Berlin ed, which is rightly withdrawn by Whitney in his Translation]
- §865. Aside from variants of these two stems, we have noted only the following
- akṣāṇām vagnum (MS tvagmum) upajīghnamānah (MS avajīghram āpah) MS TB TA The MS is certainly wrong TB. comm upahatam kurvan
- gırā ca (AV vırājah) śruştih sabharā asan naḥ RV. AV. VS TS MS AS ŚB Whitney on AV adopts śnuştih with most mss; Ppp sunistas See §57
- ūrdhvacitah (MS KS °śritah) śrayadhvam (VS † śna°) VS TS. MS KS SB. TA Doubtless corruption, if not misprint, see §195

c and v

- §866. Under this heading we find first a few cases of shift between the roots *vi-crt* and *vi-vrt*, in all of which the sense is more favorable to *vi-crt*, 'unloose', also a few, the majority being of very doubtful authenticity, between the synonymous bases śac and śav. The others are sporadic
- agnim hotāram antarā vivritāh AŚ hotāram agnim antarā vicritāh ApŚ.

 'Bonds' are referred to, which are 'loosened' by this stanza, so that vicritāh is very natural, but it may for that reason be regarded as a secondary lect fac. It is not necessary to the sense, as the following pāda declares that the bonds shall 'bind the fool, but the wise shall go past them'.
- rtasya tantum vitatam vivriya (VS vicriya, AV drše kam) AV. VS TA.

 MahānU The true reading is probably vicriya So Poona ed of
 TB text and comm, tho with v. l. vivriya; comm gloss guruśāstramukhān niścitya, which looks as if he had read virriya and taken it
 from vi-vr 'elucidate', a meaning which can hardly be right in any

case Mahān U. reads vivriya without recorded variant, comm. gloss vitī sandīpena sandīpya, which is obscure to us

[vs pāšam madhyamam crta (TB and MŠ v 1 vrta) RV KS TB MŠ So Conc, seemingly erroneously, MŠ has crta without recorded variant, and Poona ed of TB. likewise crta text and comm with no v 1]

śabalı prajānām śacışihā vratam (ApŚ śavışihā vrajam) anugeşam svāhā PB ApŚ

[vīryebhr (MS vīrebhr, AV. yau vīryar) vīratamā šavisthā (TB šaci^o) AV VS. MS ŞB ŠB TB AS ŠS But Poona ed of TB šavisthā in text and comm without v 1]

[devānām devatamā šamsthā (TB šacie) MS TB Again Poona ed of TB šave without v 1]

viciti (or viviți) svāhā MahānU viviştyai svāhā TA TAA There is also a v. l civiți in MahānU The word is meaningless Comm viciti, which he does not explain; he quotes also a v l vidhijia Poona ed of both TA. and TAA vivityai, explained by comm as for viviştyai by Vedic license

vakratundāya (TAA cakra°) dhīmahı TA TAA † MahānU

sam arvanto raghudruvah (VSK °drucah) RV. SV. VS VSK MS Meaningless corruption in VSK

ghrtapratīkam va (TB ca) rtasya dhūrşadam (TB dhūruş°, Poona ed dhūrş°) RV. TB ApŚ The sandhı shows that TB is secondary and poor

yaira cābhimrśāması (HG vābhi") ApMB HG

p and y

§867. A miscellaneous but fairly numerous group

ındrāpāsya (two mss ındrāyāsya) phaligam ApMB ındrāyayāsya (corrupt, Kirste suggests ındra āyāsya) šepham alīkam HG

hriyai salyakah (VS salpakah) VS MS The p is a false reading, VS comm svāvit

brhaspataye sitputah (KSA † simyutah) TS KSA An otherwise unknown word, said to be a kind of cat

prasthāyendrāgnibhyām somam vocatopo (KB vocato yo) asmān KB AS SS Read in KB. as the others (Keith).

sam bāhubhyām dhamatı (etc., §853) sam patatrash (KS. yayatrash) RV

AV VS TS MS KS TA MahānU ŠvetU prapunvanta upa spṛśata prapunvadbhya svāhā ApMB prayunvanta upaspṛśata prayunvadbhyah svāhā HG Both anomalous forms

and scarcely interpretable

susasyāh (VSK °pāh) krsīs krdhi VS VSK ŠB KŠ · krsyai tvā susasyāyai (KS tsumanasyāyai, bis) TS KS ApS. With the VSK reading of saspa

pūlyāny (ApMB. kulpāny) āvapantikā AV ApMB The mss of both

texts vary between lp and ly

anadvāns tapyate vahan (MS talpate vahān) ApS MS If MS is correct (it occurs in an unedited part of the text), it is a mere corruption tvam hi rādhaspata (text vata, wrongly) eka īśise ŚŚ.

ubhe ca no (etc) . . . anhasah (°sas) nātām (TB Conc svātām, Poons ed anhasah spātām, AS text tanhasa syātām) MS SB TB AS SS The true reading can only be anhasah (or 'sas) pātām

[tanūpā (TB °yā, Poona ed °pā) bhışajā sute VS MS KS TB]

vahrsthebhir viharan vāsi (TB Conc pāhi, comm and Poona ed. text vāsi) tantum RV TB KS AS ApS]

[waştā turīpo (TB turīyo, Poona ed text and comm. opo) adbhutah VS. MS KS TB1

[āpataye (GB āya°, Gaastra āpa°) tvā grhnāmi VSK TS MS GB Vait ApS MS1

[varuneti sapāmahe (MS†°hai, LŚ †şayāmahe) VS TS MS KS ŚB TB AS SS LS Probably a double misprint in LS]

[viśvutohasta uta viśvataspāt (TA °tah syāt, but Poona ed correctly °taspāt) TS MS KS TA 1

gh and dy

§868. The variants are again miscellaneous, the fairly frequent mā (AG MG ā) tvā prāpann aghāyavah (MG adyāyavah) AG. SG ApMB MG The correct reading is ma ... aghayavah 'Let not the malicious ones reach thee' It is strange that apparently all mss of AG MG read at the beginning, preceded by anusvara at the end of the preceding pada (Stenzler assumes $m\bar{a}$) The further corruption in MG seems an attempt to patch up a bad job, it implies adya-āyavah 'may lives today reach thee '

magham (MS, but not KS†, madyam) ındrāya jabhrıre VS MS KS TB 'Brought a guit (liquor) unto Indra's Indra's well-known bibulous habits are responsible for the secondary change in MS, involving the

misreading of gh as dy Cf next

sa bibheda balam (VS and Poons ed TB. valam) magham (MS madyam) VS MS KS TB Cf prec

śatāpāṣthādya viṣā (read with Poona ed of both oṣṭhā gha viṣā) pari no vrnaktu TB TA . śarā vāṣṭād dhavıṣā vārnah MS (Poona ed of

- TB. records v. l. 'dya, and comm v. l. adya.) The MS is hopelessly corrupt but has another graphic corruption, ddh for gh, ci. §S75; see also §S38.
- pāļam mā dyārāprihirī adyāhnah (Kauś. aghān nah, read adyāhnah) TS. Apš. Kauś. See §\$40
- ¡keralāgho (TB. keralādyo, but Poona ed. text and comm. 'lāgho) bharali keralādī RV. TB. N. Gloss in TB. comm.: pāpam eva sampādayali na tu kincid api punyam.]
- [sa ghā (TB. sadyā, read with Poons ed. text and comm sa ghā) no decah sarītā sahāvā (TB. sarāya) RV. MS. SB. TB. AS SS]
- [yad vā ghā (TA. vādya, but Poons ed. vā ghā, and comm. vā gha) salyam uta yan na rīdma RV. TS MS. KS TA. There is a v. 1 vādya m TA. Poons ed., but gloss in comm (yad cra kimad) proves that he read vā ghā.]

d and v

- §869. Under this head we find principally a group of variants between the stems dis and ris; both stems always appear in the plural number, of Wackernagel II. 1 p 48, foot These are of course rime words. In every case except the first mentioned the original form seems to contain ris. There are, in addition, a couple of other miscellaneous variants between d and r.
- decānām painīr (VS. painyo, MS painayo) dišah (MS. KSA. trišah) VS. TS. MS. KSA. The 'wives of the gods' must apparently be the 'directions', not 'tribes'. This is the only case of original dis, and even it is perhaps not certain.
- ye vā nūnam surjanāsu rikşu (AV. dīkşu) RV. AV. Av. 1 rikşu occurs in AV., and so Pop. reads
- sasond risah (TB. disah) saritur dairyasya RV. TB. The change in TB was perhaps due to assimilation in meaning to the parallel bhuvanāni in the next pāda.
- risāri (TB. dišāri) patir abharad rājinīvān MS. TB. Indra is referred to, and the original is doubtless risām.
- riso (SV. diso) risoā anu prabhuh (TB. prabhu) RV. SV. MS TB Agni is meant.
- hilsu kraturn varuno (MS. varunam) viksv (RV. apsv., MS. diksr) agnim RV. VS.† TS.† MS. KS. ŠB.†
- apa durhārddišo jahi Kauš. (read durhārdrišo, Conc.)
- ul parjanyasya chāmablih (TS. TA. ApMB. šusmena, MS dhāmrā, KS. rrsiyā, PG. drsiyā) VSK. TS. MS. KS. TA. AS. PG ApMB

- dhātā vidhātā (MS dhartā vidhartā) paramota samdrk (KS paramo na samvrk) RV VS TS KS MS N. samvrk perhaps 'seizer', certainly inferior
- avasphūrjan vidyud (TS didyud) varşan...TS MS KS
- bhūmir it tvābhipramanvate janāh AV. yām tvā jano bhūmir iti pramandate VS MS KS SB The latter secondary and poor, Mahīdhara, stauti, which the verb can hardly mean

s and m

- §870. Here the variants are quite miscellaneous:
- kṛṣyai tvā susasyāyai (KS †sumanasyāyai, bis) TS KS. Ap\$ Others, see §867. The original is clearly susasyāyai
- agne yān devān ayād ..tām sasanuṣīm (KS ms tān samanoṣīnr, ed em samanauṣīr) hotrām ..MS KS TB The corrupt ms reading of KS seems to point towards the reading of MS TB., rather than towards Von Schroeder's emendation, which should probably be replaced by the other version
- prhṣasya (ArS prak°) vṛṣno aruṣasya nữ sahah (ArS mahah) RV ArS AB KB AS SS Svidh Synonyms
- athā jīvah (KS adhā viṣitah, VS ŚB athaitam, AV adomadam) pitum (AV annam) addhi prasūtah (TS MS KS pramuktah) AV VS TS MS KS ŚB
- graha viśvajanīna niyantar viprāyāma te (MS. p. p. viprāya, mate; KS nyantar vipra ā †satī) MS KS
- yaśasendrābrhaspatī (ArS yaśo mendrā°) ArS PG MG.
- mā brāhmanasya (3c sā br°) rājanya AV. 5 18 1c, 3c In the Berlin ed. mā is misprinted for sā in 3c, hence this is not recorded in Conc But it is a deliberate variant with change of meaning, not a graphic error
- mahas te sato mahimā panasyate (SV panistama) RV AV. SV. VS. mahāns te mahato mahimā AV. The related words in the context have, of course, helped in the secondary change to mahato.
- vahāsi mā (KS †vahānsi sā) sukrtām yatra lokāh (KS. lokah) KS TB Certainly KS. is secondary and inferior, but sā may refer to the juhū
- tvaştā devaih sahamāna indrah MG.: tvaştar devebhis sahasāma indra ApMB.
- nīlāgalasālā AV nīlagalamālan sīvah pasya NīlarU See §512 Some copyist tried to correct the reading in NîlarU., thinking of nīla-gala and mālā

t and n

§871. The variants we have noted are less numerous than might hav been expected from the frequency of the sounds and the similarity of the forms of the letters Our list may be incomplete

sa tvam (SS. ApS sanvan) sanım suvımucā vimunca KS SS ApS See §830

tan mā jinva (KS mārjitvā) TS MS KS See §§354, 829

dhātā vidhātā (MS dhartā vidhartā) paramota samdrk (KS. paramo na samvrk) RV VS TS MS KS N See §835

yad ejalı jagatı yac ca ceşlatı nämno (MahānU nānyo, v 1 mānyo) bhāgo yan (TAA Poona ed 'yam) nāmne (MahānU yainān me, v 1 yan nāmne) svāhā TAA MahānU.

upa stuhi (Poona ed snuhi) tam nṛmnām (Poona ed nṛmanām) athadrām TA (Other forms, see §110.) The mss of the comm vary between stuhi and snuhi, gloss bhūmau prasrāvaya, pointing to snuhi.

yām apītā upatisthanta āpah LŠ. yām āpīnām upasīdanty āpah AV prapīnam (MŠ v l °tam, TS ApŠ prapyātam) agne sarīrasya (MŠ salītasya) madhye VS TS KS ApŠ MŠ

ghrtam duhānā visvatah prapītāh (TB ApMB prapīnāh, AVPpp pravīnāh) RV AV VS TB ApMB

āvitte dyāvāpṛthivī ṛtāvṛdhau MS KS.: āvinne dyāvāpṛthivī dhṛtavrate TS TB

āvillau (TS āvinnau) mitrāvarunau dhtiavralau (TS °nāv tlāvīdhau)
VS TS MS KS ŠB Others with āvilla āvinna, see Conc 188
grāmam sajānayo tgachanti ApMB. grāmān sajātayo yanti HG
jāmim ilvā mā vivilsi lokān TA: jāmim tlvā māva palsi lokāt AV
vīrān mā no rudra bhāmilo (°no)..., mā no vīrān rudra bhāmino...,
see \$209

savıtā bhrtyām (KS ms † manyām) TS KS See §242

s and p

§872. The variants are few-

atho (LS ApS nir mā) yamasya padbīšāt (VS °vīšāt, LS. †ṣadmnšāt) RV AV VS LS ApS. See §217

vājinam šepena VS · šeso vājinena MS But MS p.p šepah, read certainly šepo

ye tātrşur (TB tātrpur) devatrā zehamānāh RV. AV. MS TB. AS SS. Kaus 'Thirsted'. 'delighted'

ā and prā

§873. In Devanāgarī, at least, these letters are easily confused. It is interesting that we find one variant here within the RV. itself: āvo (and prāvo) undhvantam vrsabham daśadvum RV. (both)

āsmā airnvann āšāh AV : prāsmā āšā airnvan TA

āvat tam (TA Conc prāvartam, comm āvartam, Poona ed. text and comm āvar tam; so also KS ms) ındrah sacyā dhamantam RV. AV. SV KS TA

s and p, pt, pr, bh, t

\$874. The remaining graphic variants are more sporadic and we shall group them in our arrangement In this paragraph are included various other letters exchanging with s (on s and m see \$870).

susīmam somasatsaru AV · suševam somapītsaru (TS sumatītsaru) VS MS KS ŚB VāDh See §180 s and p(t)

rasena sam asrksmahı (RV. agasmahı, KS LS aganmahı, AV JB aprlsmahı) RV. AV VS TS MS KS JB. SB. TB. LS ApMB. s and p

[āplam manah TS MS KS TB MS ApS. So read in TB, for which Bibl Ind ed has āsam]

sacyulim (AS. pracyulim) jaghanacyulim MS TB. AS Preceded by a pāda ending in sacyulim (MS hastacyulim) Perhaps the AS variant (s pr) is not so much graphic as deliberately stylistic (for the sake of variety)

anugrāsas (PB anugrābhas) ca vrtrahan RV AV. PB. The original is a nom pl of an-ugra PB misunderstands and rationalizes it, with graphic change of s to bh.

yad adya dugdham prihivīm asrpia (TB ApŠ asakia, MŠ. abhakia) AB. TB. AŠ. ApŠ MŠ Again bh is secondary to s

agne svam (TS TB. svām, SB. tvam) yonım ā sīda sādhyā (VS SB sādhuyā) VS TS·MS KS. SB TB sv: tv, the latter secondary.

gh and dh and other sumlar letters

§875. The only common graphic interchange of gh, that with dy, has been treated in §868. The shift between dh and gh has phonetic aspects, see §147 The rest are sporadic

grhānāngāny apve (SV. aghc) parehr RV. AV SV VS N. The SV. is certainly corrupt, see Benfey's Nachtrage to SV text, p 258 Benfey curiously retains aghe in his Glossary, but in his Translation substitutes the proper name $Apv\bar{a}$ $gh \cdot pv$.

agdhād eko'hutād ekah . . TS adhvād eko'ddhād eko hutād ekah M\$ gdh dhv or ddh.

ıma udvāsīkārına ıme .TB. ApŚ . ımā uddhāsıcārına ıme MŚ ddh dv

ruvad dhokṣā (TB nṛvadbhyo 'kṣā) papratnānebhir evaih RV MS AB KB 'TB The TR is secondary, ddh dbhu

v and g, s, tr, th

§876. Compare §§866, 869 for v and c, d

pra vislīminam āvisuh AV VS ŠŠ pra samhrstinam ājisuh LŠ The whole passage is obscure, LŠ doubtless secondary, with j for v usrāv (VSK usrā) etam dhūrsāhau (VSK, MŠ dhūrvāhau). VS VSK

TS SB MS. Others, §122 \$ v

[vairājī (KSA†°je) puruṣī (so also KSA†, Conc wrongly puruvī) TS KSA]

[pra yah satrācā (TB sa vācā, but comm and Poona ed text satrācā)
manasā yajāte (TB °tai, Poona ed text and comm °te) RV TB]
[šam te pruṣvāva šīyatām AV šam u pṛṣthāva (read pṛṣvāva with Poona
ed text and comm., tho v 1 pṛṣthāva) šīyatām TA]

y and s, th

§877. For y and p see §867, for dy and gh, §868

rṣvāh satīh kavaṣah (KSA kavayah) sumbhamānāh VS TS MS KSA See Keith's note on TS While the meaning of kavaṣah is quite uncertain, kavayah (found also in some TS mss) is probably only a graphic lect fac

tad asya priyam abhi pātho asyām (TB asthām, Poona ed asyām)

RV MS AB TB AS See §287

apāmityam (AS apām ittham) wa sambhara MS KS AS The AS is an absurd graphic blunder

samıddho agnır vışanāratır (AV °nā rathī, ŠŠ °nā rayır) dıvah AV AB AŠ ŠŠ Here the reverse error, y for th, has occurred in ŠŠ see §93

Miscellaneous

§878. Other miscellaneous variants which may be graphic in character

āptye (AV *aprīye, *dvīṣāte) sam nayāmasī RV AV * The AV comm reads āptye for aprīye But the variant dvīṣāte suggests that aprīye must have been known in very early times, and indeed Ppp reads

- apriye (Barret, JAOS 30 220) The RV. says 'We collect and heap (evils) upon (the scapegoat, Trita) Aptya'. The AV charmmonger knows little and cares less about this old mythological character, with characteristic practicality he heaps evils on 'the enemy' Without this intermediate step, in which the graphic resemblance to pty to pr may have shared, the further change to dvisate would be unintelligible.
- tāsām wisinānām (KS wisinyānām) MS. KS: tesām visipriyānām (VS ŠB °nām vo 'ham) VS TS ŠB šn(y): pr. Both words are obscure, Keith renders 'without handles' and conjectures that MS. KS meant the same.
- protiérutkāyā artanam (TB. rtulam) VS TB n·l Possibly phonetic, cf §273
- khanyābhyah (KSA khalyā°) svāhā TS KSA Vor Schroeder suggests reading with TS. $n \cdot l$, cf. preceding
- anarsarātim (SV alarşırātim) vasudām upa stuhi RV. SV. AV. N. See §292 $n\cdot 1$.
- sasvat parıkumtena (HG °pılena) ApMB HG t·l. Oldenberg abandons the HG reading
- abhi yo na irasyati (AV. no durasyati) RV AV. The AV. reading (found also in Ppp as durasyatu, Barret, JAOS 26 210) is nearly a synonym for that of RV, which is antiquated and limited to RV. du i
- acışyāma (p p. amı, for abhı, syāma) vıjane višva ütī MS : abhı şyāma vıjane sarvavīrāh RV. KS. c: bh (note p p of MS)

CHAPTER XXI SANDHI

§879. In the great mass of variants concerning phonetic relations of various individual sounds, already treated, not a few really relate to sandhi. This has been pointed out in individual instances as we have come to them. They are, however, mostly so sporadic that they can hardly be said to throw much light on the rules of sandhi as applied in the texts in general. As instances we may refer to §§142 and 145 (gutturals and dentals), 148 (gutturals and labials), 308 f. (nasal as 'Hiatustilger'), 338 ff. and 359 ff. (y and v as 'Hiatustilger'), 709 and 731 (clision of final a before initial c and o), and various parts of Chapter X, on internal consonant assimilation.

§880. We shall now present, as an appendix, a collection of variants showing different treatments of vowels or consonants in sandhi, which are sufficiently numerous in each rubric to make worth while an investigation of their bearings on the rules of sandhi. We believe that the results of this investigation will be found very fruitful, not a few new principles have come out of the study

§881. Regarding the interpretation of these materials, a general word of caution will not be out of place Changes in external sandhi In actual speech they are matters of great delicacy and finesse probably always varied to some extent, in different communities, in different speakers, perhaps even in the same speaker at different times On a number of points the Vedic grammatical authorities, the Pratišākhyas, ieflect this variation by their apparent confusion of statement The manuscripts on which our editions are based are in general at least Modern editors sometimes increase the confusion equally confused And if they are conscientious and desire to bring order into the chaos, they are often (quite naturally and inevitably) at a loss how to proceed Shall they treat each occurrence of a given sandhi-combination as a separate problem without reference to similar cases, and print what the best manuscript evidence seems to suggest for each individual word? Shall they, on the other hand, try to determine the usual procedure of their text, by considering all analogous cases together, and then standardize by printing them all alike? To what extent shall they be influenced by the usual procedure of other Vedic texts, of the same or

different schools? These are some of the problems which confront every conscientious Vedic editor. Different scholars have chosen different solutions; and in some cases a rather careful study of their critical notes is necessary to determine the actual usage of the texts.

§882. For these reasons the variants gathered from our actual printed texts in certain of the sections on sandhi are of doubtful value. At times they tell us less about Vedic usage than about the ideas of some modern editor. We refer particularly to such matters as the treatment of final s before sibilants, §§969 ff. But in spite of such considerations, for which we have tried to make all due allowance, there is no doubt of the value of most of the sections which follow. And they frequently add a good deal to our knowledge of the usages of various Vedic schools. This is notably the case, for instance, with the 'abhimhita' sandhi (initial a after final e and o).

§883. The following matters of sandhi will be taken up, in the order indicated First, final au and o before initial vowels (except, in the case of o, initial a) Next, the 'abhinihita' sandhi, final e and o before initial a. This is one of the most interesting sections. The variants seem to us to indicate clearly that an attempt was made, at some time or other, to standardize the writing of a after e and o in accordance with the pronunciation in metrical passages; for details see the section itself. The only other case of vocahe sandhi is that of final a vowels followed by initial vocahe r, here new and interesting results regarding the usage of various Vedic schools appear

§884. Coming to consonantal sandhi, we take up first the treatment of final n, before vowels, and then before consonants Then the change of dental to lingual n, in which again the various schools are shown to have individual rules or tendencies Next the cases of final s before initial t. lingualized after non-a vowels in most texts, but regularly retained in the Taittiriya school (often also in KS) Regarding final s before initial k and p, the Taittiriya school is again exceptional in that it usually has h, as in classical Sanskrit, especially after a vowels. After a few cases of final r before k and p, we come to final s before an initial sibilant alone, and then before initial sibilant plus consonant; here, as stated above, we are more than usually doubtful of the value of the No clear school tendencies appear in the matter of initial s after final non-a vowels (sometimes kept, sometimes changes to 9). We conclude with a section on secondary crasis or double vocalic sandhi, and its converse, hiatus between vowels, which proves to be in considerable part due to metrical considerations

FINAL QU AND O BEFORE INITIAL VOWELS

- §885. Here are treated variants concerning au before all initial vowels and o before all except short a (abhimhita sandhi), which is treated in the next section We find very definite school rules observed in this matter, to wit
- (a) AV. writes $\bar{a}v$ for au, but a for o, without regard to the character of the following vowel This is required by APr 2 21 f But once, in a passage inherited from RV. AVS shows \bar{a} for au before u, Ppp has the regular $\bar{a}v$
- (h) All other schools treat au and o in a quite analogous manner Thus Maitrāyanīya and Kāthaka texts, and VSK, write ā for au and a for o before all vowels. This is prescribed by VPr 4 124; for the practice of VS see just below. The rule is not quite without exceptions in Maitr. texts; cf. Linutām tāv adhvarā jātavedasau MŠ 5 1 3 27. So, at least, Knauer reads with no report of v. 1 On the other hand, at MŠ 3 5 14c Knauer reads yatra cuscutad agnāv evaitat, without any ms authority, the corrupt mss are closer to agnā, the expected form.
- (c) Taittiriya texts write $\bar{a}v$ and av before all vowels. This is contrary to TPr 10 19, which prescribes \bar{a} and a. But 10 21 adds the opinion of another teacher who says $\bar{a}v$ and av should always be written, this is favored by the comm on TPr, and is according to Weber the regular usage of the mss of TS. The variants indicate that it is also the regular usage of Tait school texts, at least in their mantra materials
- (d) Other schools—that is, those of RV, SV (very few instances), and VS—write \bar{a} and a before u-vowels, but $\bar{a}v$ and av before other vowels So RPr 129 (29) and 135 (211), and so VPr 4 125 gives the opinion of 'some', opposed to its own rule 4 124, quoted above
- (e) To summarize before u-vowels, Tait texts write av and av, AV, writes av for au but a for o, others a and a
- (f) Before other than u-vowels, Maitr texts, KS, and VSK write a and a; AV writes av but a, all others av and av.
- (g) In a few sporadic instances the final o of voc sing, forms is retained without change before a following vowel Cf Wackernagel I §273b, the variants show that the phenomenon is not quite so limited as Wackernagel represents it
- §886. The variants of au before u-vowels are the following asvinau dvyakşarena (MS KS °rayā) prānāpānāv (MS KS °nā) ud

ajayatām TS MS KS asā (Ap\$ asāv-asāv) upahvayasva \$\$ Ap\$ asmākam yonā (Ap\$ yonāv) udare suševāh MS Ap\$

- ımam yaıñam juşamānā (TB °nāv) upelam MS TB.
- upasthe mātuh surabhā (TS °bhāv) u loke RV TS. MS. KS
- ubhā (AV ubhāv) upānšu prathomā pibāva RV. AV.
- urūnasāv (TA uru°) asutrpā (AV. TA. °pāv) udumbalau (TA. ulu°) RV. AV. TA AS
- kā (TA. kāv, AV. VS kım) ūrū pādā (TA † pādāv) ucyele RV AV VS TA The only exception to the rule in AV Ppp. (Barret, JAOS 42 113) reads pādāv, regularly
- danyā hotārāv ūrdhvam (VS MS °rā ūrdhvam, KS hotārordhvam) VS TS MS KS †18 17a In KS the form hotārā, not °rau, is concerned
- na yonā (TS yonāv) uşāsā° VS TS MS
- rakşohanau (VS SB °nau vām) valagahanā (TS, ApS °hanāv) upa° VS VSK TS KS SB ApS
- syone kṛnudhvam surabhā (TS °bhāv) u loke VS TS MS KS ŚB §887. The variants of o before u-vowels are.
- uşnena vāya (ApMB vāyav) udakenehi (with varr) AV SMB ApMB. AG GG PG
- deva visna (ApŚ visnav) urv PB KŚ ApŚ MŚ
- divo vā vişna (TS vişnav) uta vā pṛthivyāh VS TS KS SB divo vişna etc AV MS.
- maho vā vişna (AV maho vişna) uror antarikşāt (TS vişnav uta vāntarikşāt) AV. VS TS KS ŚB
- vişna (TS ApS vişnav) urukrama VS TS MS SB ApS MS \$888. The variants of au before other than u-vowels are
- agnāv (VSK MS KS MŚ agnā) agnīs caratī pravīstah AV VS VSK TS MS KS ŠB AŠ ApŠ MŚ SMB , pratīka, Vait KŚ Kauś GG
- agnīşomāv (MS KS MŠ °şomā) ımam su me RV TS MS KS TB AŠ ApŠ MŠ ŠŠ
- azasya nābhāv (MS KS nābhā) adhy ekam arpītam RV VS TS MS KS asāv (MS KS MŚ asā) anu mā MS KS LŚ MŚ ApŚ
- āyur dadhad yajñapatāv (MS KS °tā) avıhrutam RV SV ArS VS MS. KS LS ApS
- ıman bhadran dhuryāv (MS °yā) abhı SV MS JB
- usrāv etam VS TS SB MS ApS KS usrā etam VSK KS In MS the rule is violated, no v 1 reported
- gošaphe šakulāv (VSK °lā) wa AV VS VSK ŠŠ LŠ
- tāv (KS. tā) ehi sam TS KS SB TB ApS HG BrhU tāv iha sam AV tāv ehi (MG tā eva) vi AG SG PG MG tāv eha sam AB

dīkşito 'yam asā āmuşyāyanah MS. MŚ. adīkşişlāyam brāhmano 'sāv amuşya . . ApŚ.

dawyā hotārāgnā (KS. AS. °gna, SS. °rā agna) ājyasya vītam MS KS AS. SS Since SS., if it stands for hotārau, is contrary to the rule which requires °rāv, we should perhaps read hotārāgna also in SS, or consider it a case of hiatus between hotārā and agna; the other texts of course have the form hotārā, not °rau No v 1 reported for SS

nabhaś ca nabhasyaś ca vārşıkāv (VSK. MS KS °kā) rtű VS VSK. MS TB ŚB. KS

namucāv (VSK MS KS °cā) āsure sacā RV. AV VS VSK MS KS SB TB Ap\$

pañcabhir dhātā vi dadhāv (MS KS, dadhā) idam TS MS KS, But MS, p p. dadhe

putram ıva pıtarāv (VSK. MS KS °rā) asvınobhā RV AV. VS VSK MS KS SB TB AS ApS

praışān sāmıdhenīr āghārāv ājyabhāgāv (KSA āghārā ājyabhāgā) āśrulam TS KSA

madhavyau stokāv (MS °kā) apa tau rarūdha TS. MS

muşkâv (VSK. muşkâ) 1d asyā ezatah AV. VS VSK SS

yajñasya yuktau dhuryā (TB. ApŚ °yāv) abhūtām (MS °thām) MS KS†TB ApŚ

yadā carişnū mithunāv (MS. °nā) abhūtām RV. MS N

yo 'sāv (MU. 'sā) ādstye puruşah so 'sāv (MU 'sā) aham VS MU

rādhānsīt samprācānāv (MS MŚ sī nā) asam MS. ŚB KŚ ApŚ MŚ.

vışnuh sıpıvışla türüv (VSK türü) üsannah VS VSK sıpıvışla türü üsüdyamünah KS

sacetasāv (VSK °sā, MS samokasau sacetasā) arepasau VS. VSK MS ŠB.: samokasāv (KS °sā) arepasau TS KS. Ksuß

samıddhe agnāv (VSK. MS KS agnā) adhı māmahānah VS. VSK TS MS KS SB

samrājāv (MS °jā) asya bhuvanasya rājathah RV MS

sarasvatīm ašvināv (VSK MS KS °nā) indram agnim VS VSK MS
KS ŠB. TB

sahas ca sahasyas ca haimantilāv (VSK MS KS °kā) rlū VS VSK TS MS. KS ŠB.

upa (MS utā) no mitrāvarunāv ihāvatam (MS °nā ihāgatam) MS TB

rtena sthūnāv (MG. rteva sthūnā) adhi ApMB HG MG`

tena (TB, tato) no mutrāvarunāv (MS, °nā) avışlam (TB, avī°) RV MS TB

madhus ca mādhavas ca vāsantīkāv (VSK MS KS °kā) 7tū VS VSK. TS. MS KS ŠB.

vişnūvarunā (TB °nāv) abhisastīpāvā (TB °pā vām) MS TB.

yāv (MS KS yā) ātmanvad .. AV. TS. MS KS

agnım sve yonāv (VSK. MS. KS yonā) abhār ukhā VS. VSK TS MS KS ŠB

ahāv (MS KS ahā) anadatā hate AV TS MS KS.

ā tasthāv (VSK. MS KS tasthā) amṛtam dwn RV. VS VSK TS MS. KS SB

ındravāhāv (KS °hā) rbhavo vājaratnāh RV -KS

mıtrāvarunāv (VSK °nā, MS ındrāvarunā) algābhyām VS VSK MS vāsantilāv (KS ıme vās°, MS KS °tıkā) rtū abhikalpamānāh VS. MS KS TB.

śaiśirāv (MS °rā, KS ime śaiśirā) rtū abhikalpamānāh TS MS. KS. ŚB işaś corjaś ca śāradāv (VSK MS KS °dā) rtū VS VSK TS. MS KS ŚB

ubhā dālārāv (VSK MS KS °rā) ışām rayīnām RV VS VSK. TS MS. KS SB

ko nu vām mitrāvarunāv (MS °nā) ztāyan RV MS. KB ŚB

tapaš ca tapasyaš ca šaiširāv (VSK MS KS °rā) rtū VS VSK TS MS KS SB.

devī uşāsāv (VSK MS °sā) asınnā VS VSK MS TB.

dawyāv (VSK. °yā) adhvaryū ā gatam VS VSK ŠŠ

dhanasātāv (VSK MS KS °tā) rhāvatu VS. VSK TS MS KS

praharşıno (KS ms °nam, ed em) madırasya made mrşāsāv (KS °sā) astu KS. Ap\$

mahāntāv (MS °tā) ındrāvarunā mahāvasū RV MS

yazñasya pakṣā (TS °ṣāv) rṣayo bhavantī TS MS KS.

yat pṛthwyām yad urāv (VSK MS KS urā) antarīkṣe VS VSK TS MS KS. SB

yā (AV omits) rājanye dundhubhāv (KS.†°bhā) āyatāyām AV KS TB yo no mitrāvarunā abhidāsāt sapatnah (TS °varunāv abhidāsati) TS MS imau (Kauś yau) te pakṣāv (VSK MS KS pakṣā) ajarau patatrinau (VSK TS+KS °varh) VS NOK TS

(VSK TS † KS °nah) VS VSK TS MS. KS SB Kaus. rājānah samītāv (VSK MS KS °tā) īva RV VS VSK TS MS KS

vāyava ārohanavāhāv (KSA °hā) anadvāhau TS KSA.

venubhāram girāv (KSA girā) īva TS KSA TB

śacyā harī dhanutarāv (KS °rā) ataşta RV KS

śukraś ca śuciś ca graişmāv (VSK. MS KS °mā) rtū VS VSK TS MS KS. ŚB

sūdrāryāv (VSK MS KS °yā) asrjyctām VS VSK TS MS KS ŠB. śrīś ca te lakşmīś ca patnyāv (VSK °nyā) [ahorātre] VS VSK sam yāv apnastho (MS yā apnahstho) apaseva janān RV MS sajoşasāv (VSK °sā) ašvinā dansobhih VS VSK ŠB

sahasrasā (RV also °sām) medhasātāv (VSK °tā) wa tmanā RV (bis)

VSK KB (This RV. repetition is omitted in RVRep) somārudrāv (MS °drā) iha su mṛdatam nah RV AV MS staumi devāv (MS KS devā) asminau nāthilo johavāmi TS MS KS hatāghasansā (TB °sāv) ābharadvasū MS KS TB hatāghasansāv (VSK. °sā) ābhārṣtām vasu vāryāmi VS VSK TB hemantasistrāv (VSK MS KS °rā) rtū (TS rtūnām) VS VSK TS MS KS ŠB

hotārāv (VSK MS °rā) indram ašvinā VS VSK MS TB hotārāv (VSK MS KS °rā) indram prathamā suvācā VS VSK MS KS TB

§889. The variants of o before other than u-vowels are ubhayebhyah pra cikitsā gavistau (VSK gaislau) RV VS VSK kuvit su no gavistaye (MS KS gaislaye) RV SV TS MS KS AB AS ApS

ye sāmbare harıvo ye gaviştau (VSK gaıştau) RV VS VSK AB KB eko bahünām ası manyav īditah (AV manya īditā) RV AV tanı tva ghrtasnav (VSK "sna) īmahe RV SV VSK ŠB tava vāyav (VSK vāya) rtaspate RV VS VSK ŠB nıyutvān vāyav (VSK vāya) ā gahı RV ArS VS VSK nıyudbhır vāyav (VSK MS KS vāya) ıştaye durone RV VS VSK TS

MS KS nıyudbhır (AV vıyugbhır) väyav (AV VSK MS vaya) ıha AV VS

VSK MS SB TA AS SS ApS
martrāvarunasya camasādhvaryav (MS °ya) ādrava (ehr) TS SB KS
ApS MS

vasal te vişnav (KS vişna) āsa ā krnomi RV SV TS KS AŠ vy aslabhnā (etc., §137) rodasī vişnav (VSK MS KS vişna) etc RV VS VSK MS KS ŠB TA

sahasah sūnav (MS KS sūna) āhuta RV TS MS KS §890. In the following o of voc sing is retained without change sa no mayobhūh pilo (AS SG PG SMB [Jorgensen] pilav) āvišasva

(AŚ āviścha) TS TB AŚ ŚG PG SMB tāsv adhvaryav ādhāve° ŚŚ tāsv adhvaryo ındrāya AB AŚ brhaspatisutasya ta (MS tā, KS omits) indo (MS KS inda) indri° TS MS. KS brhaspatisutasya deva soma ta inda indri° VSK

INITIAL & AFTER FINAL & AND O

§891. In the great mass of variants under this heading, the initial a is in one form elided as in classical Sanskrit (abhinihita), while in the other form both the a and the final diphthong are left unchanged in writing. A few cases of different and anomalous treatment will be mentioned at the end of the section. Disregarding them for the moment we shall consider the writing or clision of a. On the probable actual pronunciation of e, o when followed by written a, see Wackernagel I p 324, the diphthong was, as he says, no doubt regularly pronounced in some way as a short vowel, but the variants throw no light on this question

§892. On the principles governing writing or elision of initial a after e and o the Prātišākhyas give no help. Boiled down, their statements amount only to this, that the a is sometimes written and sometimes elided. VPr 4.78 specifies that it is generally written in verses (rksu)

§893. Early statements in western grammers add little except that in metrical passages the meter shows that the a was generally pronounced, whether written or not, tho it is generally omitted in writing, whether pronounced or not Whitney, Grammar §135c, says specifically that there is no 'accordance in respect to the combination in question between the written and the spoken form of the text'

§894. Yet as long ago as 1862, in his note to APr 3 54, Whitney himself showed, from a count of AV instances, that

- (a) In prose passages, a is omitted seven times out of eight
- (b) In metrical passages where the meter indicates elision (we shall use this familiar term, altho doubtless 'absorption' would be more accurate, cf Wackernagel, l c, p' 324, bottom) of a, it is omitted in writing six times out of seven
- (c) In metrical passages where the meter indicates pronunciation of a, it is written nine times out of ten, except that at the beginning of a pada in the middle of a verse-line, where of course it is always pronounced, it is omitted in writing four times out of five

\$895 If these facts are at all typical of Vedic works in general, and there is reason to believe that they are, they seem to indicate that at some time in the history of our tradition an attempt was made to make the writing conform to certain definite standards, which had some relation to actual pronunciation. The statement quoted above from

Whitney's Grammar is therefore exaggerated, to say the least To he sure, the attempt was either incompletely carried out, or else its results have been somewhat disturbed by later copyists and redactors. Cf. Oldenberg, Proleg. 460 f , Wackernagel I p 325

General practice of Vedic texts

§896. Before summarizing the evidence of the variants, we shall venture a statement of what seems to us to have been the general procedure in the Vedic tradition Apparently this tradition was fixed at a time when the usual custom was to elide the a. as in classical Sanskrit But those who established the norm in the Vedic texts were quite aware of the fact that these texts themselves. by their meter, indicated that the a frequently, if not usually, had to be pronounced. As a concession to this observed fact, or perhaps, more accurately, in order to help in the proper recitation of the Vedic texts. they undertook to write the a in cases where the meter required its pronunciation, leaving it unwritten in the comparatively rare cases where the meter required its omission, and in prose generally. Only when the a came at the heginning of a pada in the middle of a line, the a was elided in writing, in accordance with the general custom of the time when the redaction was carried out, perhaps for the very reason that no confusion or error of pronunciation could well arise in such cases is since the a would have to be pronounced in every such case, its omission in writing, according to the usual rule of the time, was considered allowable.

§897. Thus, except in the last-mentioned case, an attempt was made to conform spelling to original pronunciation of the metrical texts, while in prose texts the a tended to be omitted. Exceptions may often be explained as due to carelessness or ignorance, whether on the part of the original reductors who applied the rules, or on the part of later copyists or reciters

Evidence of the variants

§898. In interpreting the bearing of the variants on these rules, we must remember that they are a specially selected group, and make allowance for the principle of selection. Thus, first, they cannot in the nature of things take note of the cases in which imitial a is elided at the beginning of a pada. All such padas are necessarily printed in the Concordance, and in the Variants, with initial a; whereas, as we have seen, according to Whitney the a is elided in four-fifths of such cases

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in the AV; and much more regularly in the RV. In fact, RPr 138 (2.13) requires that a should never be written in this position

§899. Secondly, every one of our variants contains, by definition, at least one instance, in some text or other, of both possible forms: a written and a elided. This means that invariably, except in the few cases in which a pada can be read metrically either with or without pronunciation of a, at least one of the texts quoted violates the general rule. Consequently, statistics based on our variants cannot possibly be expected to agree precisely with the rules laid down in §896. If, despite this artificial weighting of the scales in favor of the advocatus diaboli, the variants nevertheless show a definite tendency in favor of the rules as stated, this may be considered a valuable confirmation of them. And such, we think, is the case

§900. The extent to which variants may be trusted as representing general usage may be tested by comparing the AV. passages found among them with Whitney's statistics for the entire AV, mentioned in §894. Thus, in metrical passages where a is pronounced, Whitney found it written in mine-tenths of the cases, the variants have it written in more than two-thirds, or nearly five-sevenths of such cases (26 out of 38). In metrical passages where a is not pronounced, Whitney found it omitted in six-sevenths of the cases; the variants show it omitted in all the six cases which occur. The prose variants from AV are very few (only 5); in two of them a is written, in three elided, whereas Whitney reports elision in seven-eighths of the prose cases. These correspondences suggest that when the variants occur in considerable numbers, they may be taken as a fair index of conditions in the texts as a whole.

Metrical passages

§901. The a is pronounced in 59 metrical padas among the variants; it is not pronounced in 10 In 24 it may be read either way, or the readings are changed in other respects so that both forms of the variant are metrical as written

§902. When the a is shown by the meter to be pronounced, it is also written in nearly two-thirds of the cases in all texts together (213 to 117). In general, the proportion is higher in the older texts. Thus RV, written 21 times, omitted 4; AV. 25 to 12; TS. 19 to 7, MS 24 to 9 But it is lower than the general average in VS (10 to 6) and KS (20 to 16). SV. forms a striking exception; among the variants it has a written only once, omitted 4 times. Its school texts show that this is no

accident due to the small numbers; they also write a 3 times and omit it 8 times. The SV. school clearly tended against the writing of a, in accord with classical Sanskrit usage (we shall see below that in prose texts, also, the dropping of a predominates in the SV school much more than in the others). While the SV. and its school texts are the only ones that show a majority for dropping a when it is pronounced, later texts in general show a growing tendency to do so, approaching the classical norm. Thus RV. school texts have it written 14 times, omitted 11 times (against RV. itself 21 to 4).

§903. When the a is shown by the meter not to be pronounced, it is also omitted in writing in five-sevenths of the cases in all texts together (46 to 19) The cases are too few to make it safe to set up rules for the individual schools.

§904. Thus we see that in all metrical padas the writing is consistent with the pronunciation in nearly two-thirds of the cases (259 to 136), whether the meter requires pronunciation of a or the reverse. In the few cases where it is possible to read the pada metrically either way, we have given the written text the benefit of the doubt, assuming that it was pronounced when written, not pronounced when omitted in writing. They are not numerous enough to affect the result, and our procedure seems justified by the evidence of other cases where there is no ambiguity.

Prose passages

§905. In the prose variants the school texts of SV, show a considerable preponderance of clided over written a (12 to 1), and the same tendency, tho less decisive, is noticeable in the Taittiriya school, which shows elision in two-thirds of the cases (49 to 25) Other texts show no very marked tendency in either direction. MS has a majority for a written (21 to 15), but its school texts are nearly even. The totals for all prose passages are 105 written, 151 clided. Contrast this with 232 written, 163 clided among the metrical variants (213 to 117 where the meter shows that a was pronounced)

Table of final a written or omitted after c and o

§906. The figures in the following table are worth quoting, the perhaps not to be taken too absolutely. As stated above, when the meter permits either pronunciation or elision of a, we assume consistency of writing and pronunciation Repetitions of the same formula in the same text, with or without modulations in the adjoining words are not counted

	METRICAL PASSAGES				PROSE PASSAGES	
TEXTS	Writing and pronunciation consistent		Writing and pronunciation inconsistent			
	a written and pronounced	a not written, not pro- nounced	a not written, but pro- nounced	a written, not pronounced	a written	a elided
RV	21	0	4	0	0	0
RVKh	1	0	1	0	0	0
RV school texts	14	2	11	1	9	14
sv	1	0	4	0	0	0
SV school texts	3	0	8	1	1	12
AV	25	6	12	0	2	3
AV school texts	4	1	1	0	1	2
VS	10	2	6	2	13	13
VSK	2	1	0	0	0	2
ŚB ,	8	0	5	1	8	10
Other Vāj school	5	1	4	0	0	3
TS	19	6	7	2	10	20
ТВ	17	2	9	0	3	8
ApŚ	10	0	7	4	8	11
Other Tart school	10	3	6	2	4	10

TEVIS	METRICAL PASSAGES				PROSE PASSAGES	
	Writing and pronunciation consistent		Writing and pronunciation inconsistent			
	a written and pronounced	a not written, not pro-	a not written, but pro- nounced	a written, not pronounced	a wntten	a elided
MS	24	6	9	3	21	15
Maitr. school	14	5	2	0	9	7
KS	20	8	16	3	15	18
Late and misc	5	3	5	0	1	3
Totals	213	46	117	19	105	151

§907. We now proceed to list the variant passages, beginning with the metrical ones, and first with those in which the meter indicates that the a was pronounced, whether written or not (59 items)

so adhvarān (AV. Kauś. 'dhvarān) sa riūn kalnavāti RV AV TS MS KS SB. Kaus.

anumate 'nu (KapS † anu) manyasva na idam (AV. 'nv idam manyasva) AV KS. KapS. (quoted in note to KS.). anumate 'nu manyasva

(prose) GG. KhG. HG. ApG

nır amum bhaja yo 'mitro asya TB.: niş lam bhaja yo amitro asya AV. tatra sibriye 'ja ekapādah AV.† 13 1. 6: tasmin chibriye aja ekapāt TB teşām yo ajyānım (PG. 'jyānim) ajītım āvahāt (SMB Cone ajījim ävahäh, but Jörgensen as other texts) TS SMB PG. BDh

7co akşare (Nppu. 'kşare) parame vyoman RV. AV. GB. TB. TA Svetu.

NrpU. N.

yasmāj jālo na paro 'nyo (SS anyo) astı JB. SS : yasmād anyo na paro astı jālah PB: yasmān na jālah paro anyo ash (NrpU 'sh) VS TB ApŚ MahānU. NrpU.

ye agnayah (TS KS TB. ApŚ 'gnayah) samanasah (KS adds sacelasah)

VS TS MS. KS. SB TB. Aps MS tam tvā višve avantu (AV. 'vantu) devāh AV. ApMB. HG. A very poor pāda but intended for tristubh.

yo'syeśe dnipado yaś catuspadah AV.: ya īše asya (MS. KS. * īše yo asya) dnipadaś catuspadah RV. VS TS MS KS (both)

varsvānaro angrasam (AV. 'ngr', AS angrobhyah) AV. AS. SS.

śucih śukre ahany ojasīnā (MS ahann ojasīne, KS †śukro ahany ojasye; AŚ 'hany ojasīnām') TS. MS KS AŚ.

sūryo ahobhır (KS. suryo [misprint] 'hobhır) anu tıāvatu KS TB.

so asmān (MŠ asmān) adhipatīn karotu TS. MŠ.. so 'smān adhipatīn krnotu ŠŠ

svām tanvam (TS TB. tanuvam) varuno 'suṣot (TS. TB. aśnśret) TS. MS. KS. TB. It would be forcing probabilities to compress the MS. KS. reading to an anuşiubh.

agnır ajaro 'bhavat sahoblılı MS . agnır amrto abhavad vayoblılı (KS. sahoblılı) RV. VS TS KS SB. ApMB

na tā arvā reņukakāļo ašnute (AV. 'šnute) RV. AV. KS. TB AŠ Many AV. mss. read ašnute

adhı bruvantu te 'vantv (TS TB. ApŚ avantv) asmān RV. AV. VS TS. MS KS TB. ApŚ.

anīkair dveso ardaya (ŠŠ 'rdaya) MS. ŠŠ

annam payo reto asmāsu (ŚB. 'smāsu) dhatta (MS. ApŚ. dhehi) VS MS. KS ŚB. TB. ŚŚ. ApŚ.

anyam te asman (NppU. 'sman) nı vapantu senāh RV. TS. NppU.

anyo-'nyo (Vait.-anyo) bhavalı varno asya TB. Vait

avāsījo apo (TB. 'po) achā samudram RV. MS. KS. TB.

pra vartaya divo asmānam (AV. 'smānam, v. l. as') indra RV. AV.

prothad akso na yavase 'nışyan (TS avışyan) RV. SV. VS. TS. MS. KS. SB.

namo astu (MŚ 'stu) parāyate AV. MŚ

prānco agāma (TA. prānjo 'gāmā) nriaye hasāya RV. AV. TA.

payo grheşu payo 'stu tan nah MS.: payo vatseşu payo astu tan mayi AB TB. AS. ApS

ye agnayah pāñcajanyāḥ (MŚ purīşinaḥ) VS ŚB MŚ: ye 'gnayah purīşyāh (KS. 'şinah) TS KS ApŚ. JUB.

dhātā samudro apa (AG. 'va) hantu pāpam AG. PG.: dho sao abhayam krnotu MG

śiśū krīdaniau pari yāto adhvaram (AV. arnavam, and 'rnavam) RV. AV. MS TB.

namo astu (VS. SB. KŠ PG NilarU. 'stu) sarpebhyah RVKh. VS. TS. MS KS. SB. KS. ApS. MS PG. ApMB HG. MG. NilarU

ye'do (MS amī) rocane divah RVKh. TS MS. ApMB

yo asyāh prthivyās tvaci TB ApS.: yo 'syāh (so all mss. but one, and so Conc., but ed.† asyāh) prthivyā adhi tvaci MS.

yo nah svo (AV svo yo) aranah (SV 'ranah) RV SV AV AG SG Oldenberg, Proleg. 40, thinks of inserting yo in RV., tho he fails to note that AV reads so

vaisvanaro adabdhas (AV. no adabdhas, TA. me 'dabdhas, MS Ap\$ 'dabdhas) tanūpāh AV. VS MS SB TA ApS SMB.

ko ambādadate (AŚ 'mbā°) dadat MS AŚ

mayā so annam (AV 'nnam) allı yo vipasyalı RV AV

ındra väjeşu no 'va (TB ava, KS vaha) RV AV SV ArS MS KS TB yad vā me apı (LS 'pı, Vait apa) gachatı AS Vait LS

ye agnayo dwo ye prthwyah MS ApS MS ye 'gnayo dwo ye 'ntariksat KS (wrongly printed as prose in ed)

ye agnıdagdha ye anagnıdagdhah (TB Poons ed † 'nagnı': so v 1 of AV) RV AV. TB AS. ye agnışvalta ye 'nagnışvaltah (VS anagnı') VS. TB ApS

sã tvam asy amo 'ham (SB BrhU PG. amo aham, ApMB amūham, MG āpy amo 'ham) KS JUB SB BrhU AG SG PG ApMB MG sa tvam asy amo 'ham AB

kīkasābhyo anūlyāt (ApMB 'nū°) RV AV ApMB

te asmat (TS 'smat) päśān pra muñcantv enasah (TS anhasah) AV TS divo antebhyas (KS 'nte') pari RV SV KS.

yo adya (PB 'dya) saumyo (AV senyo) vadhah AV PB AS-Ppp

'dua acc to Roth vyāghro varyāghre adhi (TB 'dhi) KS TB vyāghro adhi varyāghre AV ye annesu (VS KS 'nnesu) wudhyanti VS TS MS KS

varsisthe adhi (KS 'dhi) nāke TS KS TB

rājā me prūno amrtam (TB 'mrtam) VS † MS KS TB

ıdam (KS ā mā) varco (AS rādho) agnınā (KS 'gnınā) dattam ügüt (AV

āgan, KS etu) AV MS KS TB AS vrsāyamāno 'vrnīta (AV av°) somam RV AV TB

satotaye 'bhimātisāhe (PG abhi") TS KS MS SMB PG

krnvāno (KS kurvāno) anyān (TS KS ApS † anyān, MS anyan, KS †

'nuān) adharān sapatnān AV TS MS KS KS ApS

synvanty (PB °tv) apo adha (PB 'dhah) kşarantîh RV PB so adhvarā (AB 'dhvarā karatı) jātavedāh AB SB Cadenced prose, cf

krnotu so . annapate 'nnasya (MS KS MS MG an') no dehi VS TS MS KS SB TB ApS MS Pranagu AG SG MG SMB Intended for

ayam yo asya yasya ta ıdam sırah MS ayanı yo 'sı yasya ta ıdam sırah KS ApS

[yo asya kauşihya jagatah MŚ yo 'sya kauşihya (KS 'iha) ja' KS TA. ApŚ. So Conc; but Van Gelder's ed reads 'sya for MŚ without v 1]

[anamitram no (VSK me) adharāk (AV °rāt) AV. VSK.† KS Conc 'dharāk for VSK]

[brhaspate abhisaster (AV ed 'bhi") amuñcah AV. VS TS MS KS TAA But read abhi" in AV, see Whitney's note]

§908. In the next group, a much smaller one, containing 10 items, the a seems not to have been pronounced, whether written or elided: namo 'stu (TS KS astu) nīlagrīvāya (NīlarU. nīlašikhandāya) VS TS KS NīlarU. BrhPDh

vıśvasmaı bhūtāya dhruvo (TS ApŚ bhūtāyādhvaro) astu (TS 'sı, MŚ † 'stu) devāh (TS omits) TS KS ApŚ MŚ

ve ansu sadānsı (KS 'psu sa') cakrıre MS KS

ye te 'ryaman (KS arya°) bahavo devayānāh TS MS KS † 10 13a vājinām vājo 'vatu bhakşo asmān VSK : vājinām bhakşo avatu vājo asmān ApS

yo'gnım (AŚ agnım) hotāram avrthāh TS AŚ ŚŚ †
Jātavedo maruto adblus (TB 'dbhus) tamayıtvā TB ApŚ

kṣāmad devo 'tı durıtāny (TA MahānU atı durıtāty) agnıḥ AV. TA.
MahānU

aghorebhyo 'tha (MS atha) ghorebhyah MS TA MahānU.

yāś ca devyo antān abhito tatantha SMB. yāś ca gnā devyo 'ntān abhito 'tatananta (mss tatantha) MG See §63 The meter is poor in any case

§909. We now come to the third group of metrical variants, 24 in number, in which the surrounding conditions are so flexible metrically that the a may either be pronounced or not (in which case we assume that it was pronounced when written, and not pronounced when not written); or in which there are further changes in the pada which alter the metrical conditions

anv adya no anumatih (AV Kauś 'nw°) AV MS ŚŚ MŚ Kauś yān agnayo anvatapyanta (TS 'nwa°) dhişnyāh AV TS MS ye asmın (KS 'smın) mahaty arnave MS KS MŚ yyok kşatre 'dhı jāgarat AV yyog rāşire adhı jāgarat HG jyok śrotre 'dhı (HG adhı) jāgarat AV HG antarıkşe adhy (TS KS 'dhy) āsate TS MS KS MŚ

sarvābhyo abhayam (TB 'bhayam) karat RV AV TB N garbho asy (MS 'sy) oṣadhīnām AV VS TS MS KS. SB Vait — Ppp. also 'sy (Barret JAOS 48 38)

- tanvo adya (MS 'dya) dadhātu me AV MS
- vasanto asyāsīd (VS 'syāsīd) ājyam RV AV VS TA The meter of VS (with ājiam) seems easier
- satyam it tan na tvāvān (MS °van) anyo astı (MS. 'sti) RV MS KS TB The meter of MS (tvāvan?) is inferior
- ye 'smān abhyaghāyantı AV yo asmān abhyaghāyatı AV
- ūrubhyām te aş(hīvadbhyām (ApMB 'sthī') RV AV ApMB
- te asmā agnayo (MS °ye, v. 1 °yo) dravīnam datīvā MS ApS te 'smā agnaye dravīnānī datīvā KS. The meter of MS ApS is very poor svistīm no abhī (KS 'bhī) vasīyo (AV vasyo) nayantu AV TS KS svistam no 'bhī vasuo nayantu KS MS
- sūryāyā ūdho 'dītyā (VSK † KŚ † adītyā, KS. adīter) upasthe VSK TS KS. ŚŚ KŚ
- eko vo devo apy (AV 'py) atisthat AV MS. eko devo apy atisthat TS KS Only MS is certainly inconsistent (a written but not pronounced)
- bheşazam gave 'śvāya (MS aśvāya) VS TS MS SB LS bheşazam gave 'śvāya puruṣāya KS In the last the attaching of puruṣāya to this pūda makes the elision of a better metrically
- mā va eno anyakṛtam bhujema RV · mā vayam eno 'nyakṛtam bhujema KS In both forms of this variant the writing and pronunciation are consistent
- tām u dhīrāso anudišya yajante VS. ŠB (a not pronounced) tām dhīrāsah kavayo 'nudišyāyajanta MS (kavayo looks like a secondary intrusion, cf KS in next form; without it a-nu° would have to be pronounced) tām dhīrāso anudršya (VSK °dišya) yajante (KS anudršyāyajanta kavayah) VSK. TS KS TB (a pronounced)
- anyāns te asman (KS anye'sman) nīvapantu tāh MS KS Both writings are metrical VS TS have anyam asman nīva' tāh, which is inferior to both MS and KS
- yad vāto apo (MS. MŚ 'po) aganīgan (TS KSA ApŚ agamat) VS TS.

 MS KSA ApŚ MŚ. Writing and pronunciation are consistent
 in all texts except VS, where one of the initial a's must be omitted
 in reading, tho both are written
- yo agnau rudro yo apsv antah AV (intended for tristubh, reading agnau, apsu, and perhaps rud-r-o, but more likely a syllable short) yo 'gnau rudro yo 'psv antah SirasU. (meant for anustubh, 'gnau, 'psu) yo rudro agnau yo apsu (MŚ rudro 'psu yo 'gnau) ya oṣadhīṣu TS ApŚ MŚ (tristubh; 'gnau, 'psu—inconsistent with the writing of TS ApŚ) yo rudro agnau yo apsu, (then as new pāda, correct Cone) ya oṣadhīṣu yo vanaspatiṣu KS (writing and pronunciation consistent).

- so asmān pātu sarvatah AV.: so 'smān pātu (prose) TS
 - §910. There follow the prose variants, which number 53.
- abhayam vo 'bhayam no astu (AB. AS. me 'stu) AB AS SS.: abhayam me astu (AB.† 'stu) AB. ApS
- işe rāye (ApŚ. rayyaı) ... dyumnāyorje (VS ŚB.† dyumna ūrje) 'patyāya (VS.† ŠB.† apa°, TB.† patyāya, ApŚ. °yorjapatyāya) VS MS. ŚB. TB. AŚ ApŚ
- etām te aghmye (PB. 'ghnye) nāmām TS PB: etā te aghnye nāmām VS. SB. MS. In the last, an attempt has been made to make metrical a passage which was most assuredly prose to begin with. This metrical form is not counted in our table, the a- may or may not have been pronounced (aghnye or 'ghnye).
- vīvarto aṣṭācatvārinšah (MS 'ṣṭā') MS KS · vvarto 'ṣṭā' VS TS ŚB yo 'smān (MS MŚ asmān) dveṣṭi yaṁ (AV adds ca) vayam dviṣmah AV VS TS MS KS ŚB TB. TA MahānU KBU JUB AŚ. ŚŚ LŚ KŚ. Apś. MŚ. Kauś. HG. BDh This extremely common phrase seems always to be written with asmān in texts of the Maitr. school, with 'smān in all others, if the editions are to be trusted For other formulas containing it see the Conc under it, and also: tam abhi śoca yo 'smān etc.; agne yat te tapas (tejas, 'rcis, śocis, haras) etc; tasya nāmnā vṛścāmi etc, ny aham tam mṛdyāsam yo †asmān (Apś 'smān) etc MS Apś † 6 18 2; abhy aham tam bhūyāsam etc.; prāham tam atībhūyāsam (Apś †abhi') etc; vy asau yo etc.; durmitrās (or the like) etc.
- devānām tvā patnīr devīr . sadhasthe añgırasvad (TS. 'n̄gı') VS TS MS. KS. ŚB. The same with aditis tvā (°tis tvā), dhişanās tvā, varūtrayo (etc.), gnās tvā
- ākūtyai prayuje 'gnaye (MS. KS agnaye) svāhā VS TS MS KS ŠB ApŠ The same with medhāyai manase, sarasvatyai pūsne, and dīksāyai tapase
- agneh (also, indrasya, viśveṣām devānām) priyam pātho 'pīhi (TS apīhi) VS 8 50, VSK 8 22 4, TS \$B. 11 5 9. 12
- yo maitasyā diśo abhidāsāt. (five formulas) MS agnim (also, indram, mitrāvarunau, somam) sa (TB sa diśām devatānām) rehatu yo maitasyai (KS °syā) diśo 'bhidāsati KS TB. ApŚ.
- namo agrīvāya (VS KS 'gryāya, MS. 'grīvāya).. VS. TS MS KS namo agrēvadhāya (MS KS. 'gre') ... VS. MS TS. KS.
- namo aparasadbhyah (PB and v l of MŚ. 'para') PB. MŚ
- namo 'śvebhyo (TS aś°) 'śvapatibhyaś ca . . VS. TS \dagger MS KS
- namas te astu (PB. JB LS SMB. 'stu) VS TS MS KS AB PB JB

ŚB TB TA. TAA AŚ ŚŚ LŚ ADŚ MŚ AG Kauś SMB. ADMB ApG Occurs frequently, and apparently always with astu except in SV texts which read 'stu

namo vo 'stu (AS SS astu) VS PB AS SS Vait SMB Here, in curious contrast with the preceding, the SMB reads astu according to Jörgensen's edition (not in the Cone), while 'stu is read by VS. and Vart

tebhyo namo astu (PG 'stu) VS MS KS PG SB namo 'anaya (ApS agnaya) upadrastre SS ApS

namo astu (VS SB 'stu) rudrebhuo ve antarikse (VS KS SB 'ntari°) VS MS KS SB MS Also namo astu (VS SB. KS 'stu) VS MS KS SB KS MS ru° ve dwn (and, prihwvām)

namo mahadbhyo arbhakebhyaś (KS 'rbhab) ca . VS KS namo MS MŚ brhadbhuo 'rbhakebhua's ca

namo rathibhyo arathebhyas (TS 'rathe') ca VS TS

yo no antı kapatı tam elena jeşam MS yo me 'ntı düre 'rātīyatı tam etena resam TS

rudro 'gnīt (MS agnīt) MS. TA ŚŚ rudro 'dhipatih (MS adhi") MS TA

iasyāpo apsarasa (KS † 'psa°, MS 'psarasā) ūrjo nāma (TS 'psaraso mudāh) VS TS MS KS SB

dhūrta (KS °te) namas te astu (KS 'stu) KS ApS dhūrte namante (?) astu MS

yazamāno 'grabhīd (ŚŚ agra°) KB SS. vratu etā vāmā

PranagU prano anih MU mano aonth

madhu hutam ındratame agnau (LŠ 'gnau) VS SB LS hutam havır ındratame 'gnau MS AB TA AS SS

ye devā dwibhāgā (MS °gāh stha) ye antarıkşabhāgā (TS KS 'ntarı°)

TS MS. KS

śwam prajābhyo 'hınsaniam (KS† ahın'') sadhasthe (VS \$B o sthād) agnım (TS 'gnım) . VS TS MS KS SB —KS punctuates before agnim, so that elision of a is impossible

sajūr abdo ayavobhih (TS ApŠ 'yāvabhih) VS TS SB ApS

samıdhah-samıdho 'gne-'gna (SŠ °dho agna, MS † °dho 'gnā) āgyasya vyantu AS SS MS samıdho agna (MS agnā) ājyasya. . MS KS TB MS

Ap\$. sūyame me'dya MS suyame me adva agnır adhı vıyatlo asyām KS agnır vıyatlo 'syām TS agne yat te 'reis (MS arcis) tena .. AV MS KS ApS añgıraso me asya (KS 'sya) yazñasya prātaranuvākair ahauşuh MS KS

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tam (KS† tat) tvendragraha saha yan me 'stı (ApŚ astı) tena KS ApŚ tam tvā pra višāmı saha yan me 'stı tena AV

SANDHI

- diśo abhy alhūd ayam MS KS MŚ diśo bhy ayam rājābhūt TS TB Semblance of meter, perhaps to be classed with metrical variants antimitraś (TS aniyami°) ca dūre-amitraś (MS 'mitraś) ca gaṇah VS TS MS KS
- andho achetah (TS ApŚ 'chetah) VS TS KS ApŚ Ed of KS 'chetah, but the sole ms aschetah
- apāgne agnīm (TS MS TB MŚ ApŚ 'gnīm) āmādam jahī VS TS MS KS SB TB ApŚ MŚ
- apsu dhautasya . yo aśvasanıs (KS 'śva°) MS KS: ..yo bhakşo aśvasanır TS
- asvibhyām turoahniyānām (MS tirohnyānām) somānām anubrūhi ApS MS Also tiroahniyān (MS asvibhyām tirohnyān) somān prasthitān presya ApS MS
- ürdhvo adhvaro asthāt (VS SB 'dhvara āsthāt, KS 'dhvare sthāh, ApS adhvare sthāt) VS MS KS SB ApS
- āpo devīr agrepuvo agreguvo. TS TB devīr āpo 'greguvo 'grenīyo MS MŠ devīr āpo agreguvah premam . KS
 - ye devāh purahsado (so also TS, for which Conc† parah^o) 'gninetrā (MS agni^o) TS MS. KS BDh
 - dhūrva tam yoʻsmān dhūrvatı VS TS SB TB dhvara dhvarantam yo asmān dhvarāt MS
 - agnıs te 'gram TS · agnış te agram . MS
 - somo 'smākam (KS asm°) brāhmanānām rājā VS VSK TS MS KS ŠB TB MŠ ApŠ
 - svadhā pitībhyo 'ntarīkṣasadbhyah (AV antar°, GG † 'ntarī°) AV ApS. MS GG HG
 - yo asmı so asmı AV yo 'smı sa san yaze MS KS AB · yo 'ham asmı sa san yaze TB ApŚ
 - tutho vo viśvavedā vibhajatu varşışthe adhı (KS 'dhı) nāke . TS MS. KS
 - nırasto aghaśansah (ApŚ 'gha') KS ApŚ
 - [devo narāšanso 'gnau (ŚŚ † 'gnā) vasuvane vasudheyasya vetu AŚ ŚŚ Conc quotes agnā for ŚŚ]
 - [yena turyena brahmanā brhaspataye 'pavathās JB yena rūpena prazāpataye †'vapathās (Conc ava'). KS]
 - §911. Very sporadically, other forms of sandhi between final e and initial a occur among the variants For a single case of y as 'Hiatustilger' developed between e and a, see §338 In addition, there are a few

variants which seem to point to a possible resolution of e into ay before a and \bar{a} ; but formal differences are always concerned, so that the variation is never one of sandhi pure and simple.

tve \bar{a} (SV. tvay \bar{a}) bh \bar{u} santi vedhasah RV SV. A loc in RV is replaced by an instr. in SV, with resolution of e to ay, this time however before long \bar{a} .

ubhe id asyobhayasya (AV asyobhe asya) rājatah RV. AV Followed by ubhe yatete ubhayasya (AV. ubhe asya) pusyatah RV. AV The verse is mystic and obscure If the AV. text is right, it seems to have understood the original ubhay- as representing ubhe, perhaps under influence of suggestion from the preceding ubhe; so that we should have just the reverse of the resolution in question. Whitney translates the prior pāda according to the RV reading, but keeps the AV. reading in the second

§912. By a misquotation in the Conc we would seem to have a single similar case of av for o before a:

dyāvāpṛthwī uro antarikṣa VS VSK MS KS ŠB; the Conc quotes urav for uro in VSK. But the actual text is urv If the text as a printed (with antarikṣa, not °kṣam) is right, it is an illogical blend of this with the other form of the variant, dyāvā° urv antarikṣam AV. TS.

SANDHI OF a-VOWELS WITH FOLLOWING T

§913. The variants indicate the following school tendencies Rigvedic and Vājasaneyin texts write a-r for both \bar{a} and a followed by rThis is prescribed by RPr. 136 (2–11) and VPr 4–48 (which gives a-r for \bar{a} -r and makes no reference to a-r, implying no change)

§914. Taittiriya texts and KS write ar for both \bar{a} and a followed by τ , as prescribed by TPr. 10 8. So does LS in the single variant noted §915. The rule of APr 3 46 is like that of TPr, ar for both \bar{a} - τ and a.e. But the mass of AV seconding to Whitney's note on this passage.

a-t But the mss of AV, according to Whitney's note on this passage, follow this rule in general only when the t is not followed by a sibilant, when a sibilant follows they generally write a-t (because of svarabhakti, Whitney on APr 1 101) There are exceptions in the mss, and the Berlin edition, says Whitney, does not always follow either the mss or the Prātiśākhya rule, nor any consistent practice. As to the variants noted, the Berlin edition (and consequently the Conc.) agrees thruout with what Whitney tells us is the general practice of the mss, namely, ar for both ā-t and a-t except when a sibilant follows, in that case a-t. Both Vait and Kaus sometimes write ar even when a sibilant follows, the instances recorded are few

§916. Maitrāyanīya texts regularly write \bar{a} - τ and a- τ without change. Occasionally, however, they seem to shorten \bar{a} to a; so in one variant, see yad dādayac (°yañ) etc., §918 Two variants occur in which final a is lengthened to \bar{a} before τ in MS, these may be regarded as cases of rhythmic lengthening of final a, cf. §§452 and 458. They are found below in §919. yatrā τ sayo τ sayamuh and yenā τ sayas tapasā . There is even one variant in which complete sandhi, $a\tau$, is apparently found for \bar{a} - τ in MS.

savitre tvarbhumate (VS ŚB tva rbhu°, MS tvarbhū°) VS MS ŚB

TA This sandhi is unique among the MS variants It is perhaps
worth noting that two mss read svarbhū°, but p p tvā, rbhu° Cf.
§549, and Wackernagel I §267aα, note, which is somewhat misleading or at least incomplete as regards MS.

§917. It may be noted that in metrical passages the meter regularly indicates complete fusion (as if ar) in all variants, even for texts which write the r-vowel separately

There are a very few real or apparent exceptions to the above rules, besides those noted for MS, attention will be called to them as they occur

§918. The following are the cases concerning ā followed by r savitre tvarbhumate (VS SB. tva 7bhu°, MS tvarbhū°) . VS MS SB TA See §916

yad dīdayac chavasa (MS. "yañ śavasa; TS "sā) rtaprajāta (KS chavasarta") RV VS TS MS KS AB. This is the only case in which MS shortens ā to a; see §916 The TS reading is due to the fact that the word happens to end a kandilā, which always suspends all sandhi; it is no real exception to the Tait practice

dvā yanlārā bhavatas tatha rtuh (TS. KSA tathartuh, MS tathā rtuh) RV. VS TS KSA MS

agniyihvebhyas (MS agnihvarebhyas) tvartāyubhya[h] (MS tvā rtā")
..TS MS KS

yatha rnam samnayāması (AV yatharnam samnayantı) RV AV. yatha rtava (AV TA. yathartava) rtubhır yantı sādhu (AV sākam, TA klptāh) RV AV. TA

stāha rşabham (MS svāhā rṣ°, TB svāharṣ°) VS MS TB visvaharma rṣih (MS °mā rṣih, KS °marsih) VS MS KS ŚB

tapasarşayah (MahānU. °sarşayah) suvar (TB svar) anvavından TB TA MahānU The MahānU. reading is exceptional, but is repeated in the comm, which calls special attention to the sandhi, referring to Pāṇ 6 1 128.

yayo rathah satyavarimarjurasmih AV · yo rām ratha ijurasmih satyadharmā TS MS KS Here only AV has this sandhi, the other texts stand for rathas plus iju° Note, however, that the meter favors the pronunciation ratharju°, with double crasis, even in the YV texts

[viśvādhiko rudro maharsih (TA Conc maharsih, but Poona ed correctly maharsih) TA MahānU]

§919 The rest are cases of short a followed by r

yaira rṣaya (MS yahā r°, KS yairar°) jagmuh VS MS KS \$B On the MS forms of this and the next of §916

yena rṣayas (MS MS yenā r°, TS KS ApS yenar°) iapasā VS TS MS KS SB ApS KS MS Cf prec

yatrarşayah (Kauś yatra 18°) prathamajā ye (Kauś °jāh, om ye) purānāh TS TB ApŠ Kauŝ

śāradena (also, śaiśirena, vasantena, hemaniena) rtunā (KS TB "nartunā) VS MS KS TB KŚ

rtuşihā (MS °āh, KS °ās) stha rtāvrdhah (KS sthartuspršah) VS MS KS ŠB '

riava (KS °vas) stha riāvīdhah (KS† sihariā°) VS KS SB riasihā sihariāvīdhah TS

medhām sapla rṣayo (ApMB saplar°) daduh ApMB RVKh But Scheftelowitz reads saplarṣaya also in RVKh

srāhākriasya sam u irpnula rbhavah (TB [so Poona ed] Ap\$ irpnutarbhavah) RV TB Ap\$

brāhmanam adya īdhyāsam (KS adyardh') MS KS MS tasya īksāmāny (TS KS tasyark') VS TS MS KS SB

tvām adya īsa ārseya īsīnām (KS† TB adyarsa ārseyarsīnām) VS
MS KS TB

avariyaı badhāyopamanihilāram (TB avariyaı †vadhā°, so Poona ed)

VS TB
yathāham bharata rṣabha (SS bharatarṣ°) AB SS The only irregular
case in SS or any RV text among the variants No v 1 is

recorded
yebhyo na rie (TS KS narie) pavale dhāma kimcana VS, TS MS KS ŠB
tarunasya riasadanam (KS "syarla") asī VS KS ŠB

varunasya riasadany (ApŚ °syarta°) ası VS ŚB KŚ ApŚ trīvasya saranasya rhumato (ApŚ °na yarbhu°) KŚ ApŚ MŚ

tenarşınā (MS AS lena rşınā) TS MS TB AS ApS tenarşınā (TB srularsım) ugram abhunālisīham RV MS TB

śruda rsim (IB srudarsim) ugram aonumus aman XI kiś MŚ Note śwo me saptarsin (KŚ MŚ sapla rsin) TS Vant KŚ MŚ Note ar in Vant even before a sibilant, cf §915

satyaš (VS šukraš) ca rtapāš (TS KS carta°) cātyanhāh VS TS MS KS saptarşayah (VS MS sapta r°) sapta dhāma priyām VS TS MS KS

TB In TS 1 5 3 2b sapta rs° is read without sandhi merely because a $kandik\bar{a}$ ends here, it is no real exception to the rule

sapta rşayo (TS KS saptar") 'srjyanta VS. TS MS KS SB'

saptarşīnām (ApS Kauś saptar^o) sukrtām yatra lokah Vait KS MS ApS Kauś Note ar in Kauś even before a sibilant (one ms ar), cf §915

saptarşīn (ApŠ saptarşīn) jinva ApŠ KŠ

upahūtā dhenuh (SB gāvah) saharşabhā (SB °bhāh, AS SS † saharşabhā) TS TB SB AS SS Irregular sandhı in SB

upa mā (AŚ ŚŚ mām) dhenuh saharşabhā (AŚ ŚŚ saharş°) . TB AŚ ŚŚ

ındrartublır brahmanā vāvṛdhānah TB ApŚ · ındra ṛbhubhır brahmanā samvıdānah ŚŚ

undro vidyāt saha rṣibhih (KS saharṣ°) RV AV KS ApMB In ApMB we must certainly read saharṣibhih with four mss, in accord with Tait usage, Winternitz prints saha r° with only one ms

upa rşabhasya (TB LS uparş°) retası (AV vad retah) RV AV TB LS ındrāya rşabhena VS ındrāyarşabhenāsvibnyām sarasvatyaı TB

rnān no narnam erisamānah AV nen na rnān rnava it samānah TA nem na rnān rnavān īpsamānah MS Only AV has this sandhi (na, rnam), the others nas, r-

yatrā sapta rṣīn (TS KS yatra saptarṣīn) para ekam āhuh RV VS TS MS KS N

yathaika †şır (KS °karşır) vıjānate KS TA ApŚ Only KS. has this sandhi, the others eka(h) ṛṣir, two words

SANDHI OF FINAL n

§920. On this subject the variants throw little new light School tendencies are seldom discernible, when they do seem to appear, other known facts sometimes throw doubt on the value of this evidence

I Final n before initial vowels

 $\S 921$. All the variant passages concern forms which originally (pre historically) ended in s, except a small group, mainly locative singulars of n-stems, in which the ending n (appearing as nn) varies with ny These, of course, really concern morphology and not phonetics, they hardly belong in this place

1. Final an before vowels

\$922. The Prātišākhyas in general (RPr. 284 [4, 26], VPr. 3 141, APr. 2. 27) make anystara the rule, but with numerous exceptions. Whitney's note says that AV, more often retains n. TPr. 9, 20-24 gives detailed rules and exceptions, without any generalization; Whitnew's note (p. 225) states that TS, retains n five times out of six.

\$923. Our variants are as confused as would be expected from these statements. It happens that those occurring in TS, show anuscara more often than 7: but this is probably accidental in view of Whitney's statement just quoted. Maitr. texts and KS, show about as many cases of one alternative as of the other. But as to Maitr, texts when they change a to anustara, they generally also shorten the preceding 5 to a: ci. Schroeder, MS., Einleitung, p. XXIX. When this shortening ci \hat{a} is the only difference in the readings of a variant, we have not troubled to record it. The variants fall naturally into three divisions: accusatives plural, reminatives singular, and s-consts (only one of the last). 5024. The cases involving accusatives plural in $\bar{a}n$ are:

ognis jān (MS.† jan, KS.† jān, TS. TA. ognis tān) ogre pra . . AV. TS

MS. KS. TA. The same with coyus (AV. r [cin).

agne derārī (MS. deran, ŠG. derān) irā raha RV. AV. SV VS TS MS KS. TB. AS. SS. ApS. SG. The isolated form of SG. is suspicious (misprint or error?).

cij ตกษูล้า (VS SB. ตกษูลิก์) อดูลิท กติกษูลิก (VS. SB ทดิกษูดิก) นทุติดูลิก

TS. TS. MS. KS. SB. MS. ApS.

เล้าอี (VS. §B. adhā) sapainān (KS. twicet °กลัก; TS. twicet °กลัก, once "nān) indro me VS TS. MS. KS. ŠB. Apš. Mš.

ดระสัก (MS. KS ธระสัก) น ฮิตรี . . . RV. SV. TS. VS. MS. KS

ið ernān anu rastāri chitera ApS. MS.: idavāsmāri anu vastām eratena JT.

นารสมุติรณ์ รถอิกิ (MS. รถอกิ, AV. ราจิก) aham AV. VS. TS MS. KS SB TA.

dai travi đesa sama . . . derāri (TS. KS. ApŠ. derān) upāgāḥ VS. KS. TS SB. Apś.:...derān upārņiah MS.

k การราช (KS. โรมารราช) ตาทุริก (TS. KS. ApS. รั anyān, KS. 'nyān) adharān sapainān AV. TS. MS KS. KŠ. Apš.

jaminyais (KS. fyzöhis) tastarān (KS frān) uta VS. TS KS. jambi ī-

bhuān 'askaran (p.p. °rān) u'a MS

purodessin (MS. Feri, GB. Veit. Sean) alamiuru TS GB SB Veit. KŠ. Apš. MŠ.

mā so asmān avahāya parā gāt TS . ned eşo asmān avahāya parāyat MS marso asmān avahāya parāgāt KS

yān (AV TS MS KS Vait yān) āvaha ušato deva devān AV VS TS MS KS ŠB. KŠ Vait

yā devīr antān abhito 'dadanta AV yās ca devīr (SMB devyo) antān etc. ApMB. SMB. HG yās ca gnā devyo 'ntān etc MG

rakşohāmıtrān (VS °trān) apabādhamānah RV AV SV VS TS MS.

KS vājo devān (MS KS devān) riubhih kalpayāti VS TS MS KS sarvān (MS °van) agnānr apsuṣado huve vah (MS omits vah) TS MS.

AV . śwān agnīn apsuṣado havāmahe AV. sarvān apa ynjuması Kauś · sarvān ava yajāmahe KS † TB TAA. ApŚ so asmān (MŚ. asmān) adhipatīn karotu TS MŚ . so 'smān adhipatīn

hrnotu ŠŠ

ye 'smān abhyaghāyanti AV yo asmān abhyaghāyati AV

§925. Nominatives singular in ān are concerned in the following agmh pravidvān (MS °van, KS °vān) iha tat.. MS KS. ApŚ idāvān (MS. °vān) eşo asura prajāvān RV. TS MS KS işļo yajāo bhrgubhir . āšīrvān (ApŚ °vān) atharvabhih KS ApŚ cikitvān (MŚ °vān) anu manyatām TS KS MŚ

pumān enam tanuta ut krnatir RV pumān enad vayaty udgrnatit AV višalyo vānavān (TS MS KS bā°, MS. °van, v 1 °vān, KS NīlarU °vān) uta VS TS MS KS NīlarU

payasvān (TS TB ApMB° vān) agna āgamam AV VS TS MS KS

JB SB TB LS ApMB
pra yo jajāc vidvān (AV vidvān) asya bandhum (AV.° dhuh) AV TS KS
havişmān (KS °mān) astu sūryah VS TS MS KS SB
[adha tvişīmān abhy ojasā. . RV SV † (Conc tvişīmān for SV)]

§926. We have noted only a single case involving an aorist form savitā yyotir ud ayān (KS ayān, MS ayan) ayasram RV. VS. TS. MS KS SB

2 Final īn and ūn before vowels

§927. For this sandhi RPr 289 (4 29) requires $\bar{\imath}nr$, $\bar{\imath}nr$. The other Prs allow this also in specific cases, but it is very rare in other texts than RV See APr 2 29 and Whitney's note, TPr 9. 20 and Whitney's note, VPr 3 140 The variants include very few cases, not enough to justify deductions

sarvān (MS °van) agnīnr apsuşado huve vah (MS. omits vah) TS MS AB śivān agnīn apsuşado havāmahe AV padā panīnr (SV panīn) arādhasah RV SV AV rtūnr (TB rtūn) anyo vidadhaz RV AV MS TB rtūn (AV rtūnr) utsrjate vašī AV SV TB AS SS

[tisro bhūmīr dhūrayan (MS "yans) trīnr uta dyūn RV TS MS KS AŚ. In this variant the printed text of MS reads ttrīnr, with nasa consonant n, instead of trīnr This reading, which the Concignores, is no doubt merely a shp, or a bad writing, for trīnr

3 Final nn varying with ny before vowels

 $\S 928$. As remarked above, $\S 921$, this is really a morphological matter, not one of phonetics. The few cases are chiefly locatives singular of n-stems

asmın brahmany asmın karmany . AV asmın brahmany asmın kşatre (ŚŚ adds 'smın karmany) KS ŚŚ asmın brahmann asmın karmann (PG karmany) TS ApŚ PG . te nah pāniv asmın brahmany asyām purodhāyām asmın karmany . MS

ālmann (IsāU 'ny) evānupasyoti VS IsāU

śucih śukre ahany ojasīnā (MS ahann ojasīne, KS † śukro ahany ojasye, AŚ 'hany ojasīnām) TS MS KS AŚ.

[dwye dhamann (once ony acc to Cone) upahūlah (once ola) TB (both)

But Poona ed dhāmann both times] [tritye dhāmany abhy (VS dhāmann adhy) airayanta VS TS MahānU

So Cone, but TA MahānU both have dhāmāny, acc plur]

One isolated case concerning verb forms again again holā (ApŚ ajann agaih) KS ApŚ See VV I p 51

II Final n before initial consonants

§929 Before voiceless mutes, as is well known, the usage varies The insertion of a sibilant, before which n becomes anusvāra, is commoner in later texts than in RV

1 Final n before c

§930. RPr 228 (4 4) requires \$\tilde{n}\$, but numerous exceptions are mentioned, cf 293f (4 32) VPr 3 133 and APr 2 26 require \$n\$, and so does TPr 5 20f, with a few exceptions. Whitney's note on APr 1 c says that this rule is universally followed in the mss and text of AV, a statement which is true only if the twentieth book of AV be excluded from consideration (the Pr in fact does not deal with Book 20). In AV 20, and occasionally elsewhere, we find \$n\$ represented by anusvara without an inserted sibilant. The variants are

acılıtvañ (AV °vāns) cılıtuşas cıd atra RV AV anadrāus (TS °vāñ) ca me VS TS KS dhenus cānadvāus ca MS MS asmāns (RV KS asmān) calre mānyasya medhā RV MS KS Most

mss of MS asmān (with dental n), v l of KS asmāns ghoşenāmīvāns cātayata (PB °mīvān cātayadhvam) TB PB ApŚ tām arrayans candraması svadhābhih MS KS yām an ayans (TS ° yan) etc VS TS ŚB

mahah pitum papivāñ (AV 20, °vān) cārv annā RV AV vajin (AV 20, SV vajim) citrābhir ūtibhih RV AV SV MS asmāñ (SV. asmān) citrābhir avatād abhisţibhih RV. SV

2 Final n before t

§931. The usage fluctuates here also RPr 295 (4 33) implies that it is exceptional to insert the sibilant, by quoting a few cases in which this is done. So also TPr 6 14. In the few variants found, the RV and TS schools, and KS, generally keep the nasal unchanged. On the other hand APr 2 26 and VPr 3 134 require ns, the both allow exceptions. The variants from these schools are not inconsistent herewith, and Maitr texts seem also to favor ns. But the number of variants is too small to be conclusive. Besides the writings n and ns, a couple of cases of n alone without the sibilant occur, as before c, above, and before j, below, probably this is to be regarded as a bad writing for n

§932. The following variants occur,

agnır äyusmän sa vanaspatibhir äyuşmän (PG KS °mäns) tena (KS tasyā) TS KS PG ApMB (in the last with punctuation after äyuşmän)

asmans (KS asman) te kşut VS TS MS KS SB KS ApS
thawa san tatra sato vo agnayah TB thawa san (MS sans) tatra santam
tvāgne TB AS MS

tasmın (Vait MŠ °mıns) tad euo RV TAA Vait MŠ tisro bhūmīr dhārayan (MS °yans) trīnr (MS text †trīnr) uta dyūn RV TS MS KS AŠ

paśūns (RV paśūn) tānś calre vāyavyān RV AV VS TA pūsan (ŠB TB pūṣans) tava vrate vayam RV AV VS ŚB TB AŚ ŚŚ śarman (MS śarmans) te syāma MS KS TA tava syāma śarmans

trivarātha VS tava syām sarman trivarātha TS
dhāman (AG dhāman) te visvam RV VS KS AS ApS AG SG
brahmans (MS KS biahmā3ns) tvam (MS tvam me) biahmāsi VS MS
KS SB MS brahmā3n (TB °mā3u) tvam rājan brahmāsi TS TB
ApS (in the last with punctuation after biahmā3n)

lbrahman tvam ası MahanU . acc to Cone brahman etc in TA but the Poona ed of TA reads brahman 1

3 Final n before 1

§933. The usual statements (e.g. Wackernagel I §280a) make no mention of any other possibility than assimilation of n to \tilde{n} . This is prescribed by the Pratisakhvas RPr 228 (4 4), APr. 2 11, TPr 5 24, VPr 4 92 For \tilde{n} the spelling n occurs very commonly in mss of many, perhaps most, texts Thus in the AV. mss, according to Whitney (note to APr 1 c), it is the commonest writing in this case, and has been generalized in the Berlin ed . Whitney, however, feels it as merely another way of writing \tilde{n} before 2, and as such it is doubtless always to be taken A modern editor would no doubt prefer to write We find, in fact, n in all the AV variants, and also in SV in the two variants recorded there (But in ArS once \tilde{n}) Compare the like writing before c and t, above

§934. The variants from VS and SB, following Weber's editions. print dental n before n not n Why Weber adopted this practice does not appear his note on VPr. 1 c (ISt 4 237) seems to indicate that at least the excellent Chambers mss follow the Pratisakhya Perhaps some of his other mss keep dental n if he gives information on the subject we have not noted the fact. Altho we can hardly attribute any importance to the recorded readings of VS and SB on this point, we report them in accordance with Weber Note that the comm on VPr 4 92 quotes as an example of the rule ayam vājān jayatu, VS 5 37. which Weber prints täjän

§935. According to Von Schroeder's edition, MS. also reads n, not \tilde{n} , before 3 in all the variant passages noted The sole variant noted from another Maitr. school text is MS 1 6 3 15b, where Knauer's edition reads qrhāñ jugupalam yucam with a majority of his mss, but against that which he regards as the best, its reading is grhan, which is the reading found in the corresponding MS passage according to Von Schroeder —KS usually reads \tilde{n} but once n (yat to asmin etc., below) Most other texts read \tilde{n} , except in so far as they show n (cf. above)

§936. The following are the variants adyā devān (VS devān) jusļatamo hi gamyāh RV VS TS KSA akīns ca sarvān (TS KS sarvān) jambhayan (KS "ya) VS TS MS KS äyuemän (PG ApMB °män, RVKh VS °män) jaradaşlır AV VS AG. PG ApMB Scheftelowitz reads ayuşman for RVKh. The mss of PG have corruptly ayusyam

kam agañ (AV agan) janayopanah RV. AV N.

garbhah samjāyase punah MS: garbhe sañ (VS SB san, KS sam-) j° p° RV VS TS KS SB

tam arcışā sphūrjayañ (AV 'yan) jātavedah RV AV.

tvam etāñ (AV etān) janarājño dvīr daša RV AV

te asmın (TS KS asmıñ) javam ādadhuh VS. TS MS. KS ŚB

devān (RV TB. devān) jigāti sumnayuh RV MS SB TB

pasyañ (AV °yan) janmūnı sürya RV. AV ArS N

putīn (KŠ putīn) juwa TS KS PB Vait KŠ ApŠ . ojasā putrbhyah putīn juwa MS

prajāk kṛnvan janayan virūpāk MS prajā vikṛnvañ (ApŚ vikurvañ) janayan virūpam (ApŚ. °pāk) KS ApŚ

praty azātān (AV °tān, TS KS. TA °tān) jātavedo nudasva AV. VS. VSK TS MS KS TA

märe asman maghavañ (SV. °van) jyok kah RV SV

yat te asmın ghora āsan zuhomı KS · yod adya te ghora āsan zuhomı MS : yasyās te ghora āsan zu° VS ŠB yasyās te asyāh ki ūra āsañ zu° TS. ApŠ Exception in KS

yans (TA Poona ed. †yas) to soma pranans tan (Poona ed tan, MahanU tan) juhomi TA MahanU

vibhrājan (AV SV. "jan) jyotisā svah RV. AV SV.

vrtrāni vrtrahañ (AV. "han) jahi RV AV.

satyānīte avapašyan (AV. 'yan, MS 'yan) janānām RV AV. TS. MS ApMB. This is quoted by APr. 2 11 as an example of n before j'

saplarşīñ (KŚ saplarşīn) nnva KŚ ApŚ

[grhān (MS grhān, read grhān, see above, §935) nugupatam yuvam MS MS]

4 Final n before &

§937. Before \hat{s} , the regular sandhi of n requires \tilde{n} , which however is often written n, and seems regularly to be printed so in the editions of SV and AV. The \hat{s} changes to ch (representing $t-\hat{s}$). But in the single variant noted from the YV Samhitäs, TS alone has this regular \hat{n} -ch, MS and VS keep \hat{s} unchanged, MS writing \hat{n} before it and VS. n, the sole ms of KSA reads like VS, but von Schroeder emended to \hat{n} -ch in his edition. This exceptional treatment is due to the fact that a mute follows \hat{s} , in which case \hat{s} is retained by VPr. 4. 94. We begin with this variant

ādītyātī chmaśrubhih (VS and ms of KSA "tyān śma", MS "tyān śma") VS TS MS KSA, asmıñ (AV, asmıñ) chura savanc mādanasra RV AV.

tâm nah püşan chwatamim crayasva IIG; tâm püşan (AV püşan) chr° ... RV, AV, ApMB

divi şaŭ (AV. şan, SV. san) chukra âtatah RV AV SV

maghavañ (AV. SV. PB. TB. Cone van, TB Poona ed vañ) chagdhi .. , RV. AV. SV. PB TB, TA ApS, MahanU.

väcchresthäbhir maghavañ chūra miva RV , vävacchresthäbhir maghavan chūra AV.

yat te rājañ (AG, rājan) chṛtam havih RV. AG. ŚG. sūra na rurukvān (SV. vān) chatātmā RV SV. parātetsā mūradevāň (AV. °vān) chṛnīht RV AV pratyañcam arkam anayañ (AV.º yañ) chacibhih RV. AV. Salam hemantāŭ (AV. °tān) chalam u vasantān RV AV. N.

5 Final n before s

§938. Before s, the insertion of t after final n is required by APr 2 9 and TPr 5 33, and authorized by 'some' according to RPr 236 (4 6), of the divergent views recorded in VPr 4 14f. It is quite common in all texts, likewise the analogous insertion of k after final \tilde{n} before s Cf Wackernagel I §282 The Concordance ignores altogether the writing of t in such cases It has not seemed profitable to try to collect and sift its occurrences. We therefore record here only a few stray enses in which final n before s varies with anusvara, most of them concern san' sam, in the latter case the preposition sam being felt as involved.

brahman (LS * brahman) stoşyūmah pratūstah KB GB SB AS SS Vait LS. (bis) ApS MS

sasavān san (MS sam) slūyasc . RV VS TS MS KS SB p p. of MS san, all samh russ sam The other texts all actually read sant, except KS san

pumānsam vardhatām mayı SG. (Conc says that this is an error for puman samvaro, but the text is correct, see §97). puman samvartatām mayı PG

jihvā paviliam asvināsan (TB °nā sam) sarasvatī VS MS KS TB.

§939. To these may be added a couple of cases—probably not a complete list—in which λ is alternatively added after final \tilde{u} before s pratyan (VS TS. MS † SB * TB pratyank) some atidintal (with var) AV VS VSK MS TS KS SB TB ApS. Poons cd of TB.

prān (VS. TB prānh) somo atidrulah VS VSK SB. TB. ApS Again Poona ed. of TB pran.

6. Final n before p

§940. The only cases noted concern $n\bar{r}n\bar{s}$ or $n\bar{r}nh$ for $n\bar{r}n$, since this variation really concerns final s before k and p, we quote the variants below under that heading, §965

7. Final n before L

§941. Only a single case has been noted, AV writes jayam (jayan) for jayan according to the edition, but Whitney and the Cone would read jayan In any case it is purely a matter of orthography. samjayan (AV. ed jayam) kşetrām. . AV TS MS KS

8. Final n before y

§942. See RPr. 287 (4. 28), VPr 3 135, Wackernagel I §281a, Macdonell 77. 2d.

dadhanvān (MS KS °vān, VS ŚB TB °vā) yo naryo apsv antar ā RV SV. VS MS KS. ŚB TB

9. Final n before l

§943. Two variants

agnis tān (VS iān, AS tāl) lokāt pra nudāty (etc) asmāt VS SB AS SS ApS SMB · agnis tān asmāt AV MS Inconsistent with RPr 227 (4 4) and Wackernagel I §281b, the VS reading also inconsistent with VPr 4 13, which requires nasalized l Cf further APr. 2.35, TPr. 5 26 A nasalized l is required by all authorities and was probably pronounced in all texts

eşa me 'muşmın (GB. 'muşmınl, Gaastra) loke prakāśo 'sat PB GB† 2 5 8

[vışnus tryaksarena trînl lokān (VSK trīn ımānl lokān, TS † trīn lokān) VS VSK. TS]

10 Final n before v

§944. One variant

puru tvā dāśvān (SV. dāśvān) vocc RV SV N Cf RPr 287 (4 28), APr 2 28, Wackernagel I §281a, Macdonell 77 2d

CHANGE OF DENTAL n TO LINGUAL n

 $\S945$. The variants of course mainly concern the change of n to n under the influence of a lingual sound in a preceding word (in the same word the lingualization occurs almost invariably). In general, the

greater degree of psychological propinquity between the alterent sound and the n, the greater is the likelihood of lingualization That is, both verbal and nominal compounds show a tendency to be treated as single words for the purposes of this change; and enclitics, and other monosyllabic particles, tend to be regarded as parts of the preceding word (For a few cases of variation between n and 'spontaneous' n, not conditioned in the normal way, see §§163, 165, 170)

§946. The school tendencies which appear are capricious and unstable, one sometimes has a feeling as if Taittiriva texts, in particular, took a perverse delight in violating their own general principles

§947. (1) The n is the unitial of monosyllabic words, especially enclitics; or in forms of the enclitic pronoun ena- Here we find that Sāmavedic and Maitrāyanīya texts rarely alter to n, while Taittirīya texts generally alter to n. but there are exceptions in both cases schools seem to show no definite tendencies among the variants

5948. We have separated the cases in which the alterant sound is a final r of the preceding word from those in which it occurs earlier in But so far as the variants indicate, we find no reason to suppose that lingualization was any more apt to occur in the former This is, indeed, what we should expect on the case than in the latter analogy of the classical rule, by which lingualization is not in the least dependent on close proximity of the alterant to the altered sound that after a final r, Taitturiya texts keep dental n in a case or two where all other texts (in one instance even SV and MS, which generally avoid lingualization) show lingual n, and yet, as we have said, Tait texts generally favor lingualization

§949. In the following cases the alterant sound is final r:

svar na (TS. Ap\$ suvar na) gharmah (Ap\$ * gharma) svāhā VS TS. KS SB ApS. The same with yyotth, sukrah, suryah, arkah; all in the same passage, but not all in the same texts (see Conc)

TS has n in the rest (they are not in ApS) svar na (TS suvar na) zyotih RV SV VS TS MS KS asya sutasya svar na (AS SS na) AV SV AS SS

AV MS Vait MS āśīr na (MS MŚ nā) ūrjam anuttam ā ie maghavan nakır nu (MS nu) RV. VS MS KS The mss

of MS read corruptly nakrnu, p p nakth, tu MS TB. (two variants in the same passage) vrtratūr no (TB no) §950. In the rest the alterant sound is not final in the preceding word.

pra no naya vasyo acha RV . pra no naya prataram vasyo acha RV pra na (SV MS PB na) āyūnsı RV AV SV VS TS VSK MS KS PB TB. TA AS. ŠŚ ApS Kaus N

pra na (SV na) indo . RV SV.

pra nah (SV. nah) pinva RV. SV

pra nu (TA ApMB HG nu, Kauś no, read nu) vocam cikituse janāya RV TA SMB ApMB Kauś PG HG MG. Jorgensen reads nu for SMB, but with v 1 nu, which should undoubtedly be read in accord with the usage of SV texts

pra no (also, no) jäyantäm mithunäni rüpasah Kaus (both)

pra no (TS † JUB. no) nvātave sura VS TS KS SB MS JUB Conc wrongly no for TS 5 5 7 5 Note JUB no, contrary to SV usage pra no (TB. no) navuchus RV MS KS TB

pra no (AV TS no) yachatr aryamā RV. AV VS TS MS KS SB

pra no (AV. TS no) yacha (KS rāsva) viśaspate (AV viśām°, TS bhuvas°, VS SB sahasrajit) RV AV VS TS, MS KS SB

paraınan (AV onan) devah savıta dadatu RV AV

parı nah (SV nah) sarmayantyā RV SV

parı no (SV. no) aśvam aśvavit RV SV

parı no (VS MS no) rudrasya. VS TS MS KS TB parı no heti rudrasya...RV. VSK.. parı no hedo. RV

atas cid indra na (SV. na) upa RV SV SS

ındra enam (KS enam) prathamo adhyatışthat RV VS. TS KS

ındra enam (AV. enam) parāšarīt AV TB ApŠ

sam ındra no (AV. MS KS. Kauś no) manasā...RV. AV VS TS MS KS SB TB SS. KS Kauś

sumıtrā (etc.) na (KS na) āpa ..VS TS MS KS SB TB TA. MahānU AS SS. LS BDh ApS. KS MS

uruşyā no (MS no) aghāyatah samasmāt RV VS MS KS ŠB ApŠ. N. tebhih (RV also tena) somābhi (TA °bhī) rakşa nah (TA nah) RV. (bis) TA

śikṣā no (TS no!) .. RV AV VS TS KS AB Note that TS perversely avoids lingualization, despite its general tendency

devîh (AV dai°, KS trayîş) şad urvîr uru nah (only RV nah, AV. ed nah, but read nah, see Whitney's note, KS.† nas) krnota RV AV TS. KS ApMB

asthūri nau gārhapatyam. MS KS: tayor (ApŚ. tayor nāv) asthūri (MŚ °ri nau) gārh°. ŚB KŚ ApŚ MŚ · asthūri nau gārhapatyāni ... Kauś asthūri nau (VSK no, ŚŚ no) gārhapatyāni VS. VSK. ŚB ŚŚ · asthūri no (TS TB no, KS nau, MŚ [van Gelder] †nau) gārhapatyāni santu RV. TS MS KS TB MŚ. In the first-quoted version, the two best mss of MS read nau, in accord with MS usage, but the MŚ form of it (tayor etc.) has nau according to all Knauer's mss

§951. (2) The n occurs in a longer word, or in the second part of a compound, the alternat being in the preceding word or the prior member of the compound. Note that in compounds initial n is nearly always, and medial n often, lingualized in the RV just as in simple words. Wackernagel I §170

§952. We begin with cases in which the n is initial. Here lingualization is standard and regular in verb forms from roots in n-compounded with pra (and certain other prepositions, Wackernagel I §169). When SV shows three times forms of pra-nu with dental n, it is therefore exceptional. But otherwise, with independent words, lingualization is only sporadic. Among the variants, TS twice lingualizes the n of $n\bar{a}man$; and the n of $n\bar{a}satya$ is twice lingualized, once in VS and once in MS. (! despite the tendency of MS to avoid lingualization)

abhı pra nonumo (SV no°). RV SV SV abhı pra nonumur (SV. nonavur) RV SV ivām abhı pra nonumah (SV no°) RV SV KB pra nāmānı (TS nā°). RV. TS MS KS athaınam jarımā nayet HG yathaınam jarase nayāt AV tasmād vār nāma (TS nāma). AV TS MS KS gomad ū şu nāsatyā (VS nā°) RV VS AŠ

nāsatyā (MS nā°) bhişajāšvinā VS MS TB Preceded in all by bhişan, which may be meant for part of this pāda

punar āgāh punarnava (AV °nava, and °navah) RV AV (bis) uştro ghrnīvān vārdhrīnasas (MS ghrnāvān vārdhrānasas) VS MS · gṛdhrah sukakṣī vārdhrānasas (KS ms vārhīnasas, ed cm vārdhrī°)

.. TS KSA

sahasranīthah (SV ° nīthah) padavīh kavīnām RV SV

§953. Of the rest, in which n is not initial, there are only a few sporadic cases

sādhyebhyaś carmannam (VS °mnam) VS VSK TB The form °mna

occurs in RV
agne deva panibhir viyamānah (MS MŚ °nah; VS ŚB guhyamānah
KS idhyamānah) VS TS MS KS ŚB MŚ TB

abhūr āpînām (HG °nām, v I °nām) ApMB HG
dyutadyubhir namasyair iyānā MS mitajňubhir namasyair iyānā RV
devašrīh śrīmanāh (VSK TS °nāh) VS VSK TS MS KS ŚB
devašrīh śrīmanāh (MS punīsya°, VS † ŚB † °vāhanah) VS TS MS

KS SB $\S 954$. (3) The alterant is in the same part of the same word as the n, so that lingualization would be expected. The variation is due

(a) to secondary origin of the alterant sound, due to sandhi, in some texts the analogy of the uncompounded word keeps the n dental-susummah (TS N. $^{\circ}$ nah) sūryarasmih VS TS MS KS SB In TS

SANDHI

N there is thought of the simple sumnah

(b) to the use of the word as first member of a compound, in one text the n, in the scam of the compound, is felt as final and hence not lingualized, while in the other it is treated as internal and lingualized amprimayam (ApŚ ampro) TB ApŚ

FINAL S AFTER NON-a VOWELS, BEFORE INITIAL t

§955. On this point the various schools show markedly different tendencies. As to the Prātiśākhya rules RPr 349 requires s regularly before tvā and te (but cf 356), and 350-354 allows it also before other words, mostly pronouns. APr 2 S4, 85 also makes s the rule especially before pronouns, but allows various exceptions, according to Whitney, s is commoner in AV VPr 3.75, 76 (cf. 79ff) likewise makes s the rule particularly before monosyllables (mostly pronouns). TPr 6.5 allows the change to s in only a few specified cases

§956. Wackernagel I §236b says that the change to \$ occurs, outside of compounds, mainly before pronouns, and 'die andern Samh kennen solches \$ im Satz ausser in den mit dem RV gemeinsamen Stellen nur vor Pronominalformen' This statement is copied by Macdonell 78, 2, b. It is, however, not quite correct, as is shown by the following two variants, in which SV shows \$ for RV \$ s, not before pronouns These are, incidentally, the only variants where this sandhi occurs before other than pronouns.

dhanuş tanvantı (RV dhanus ta°) paunsyam RV SV. uşā apa svasus tamah (SV †svasus tamah) RV AV SV AŚ

§957. All the other variants concern cases with following pronouns (Cf agnes tvā tejasā sūryasya MG, to which the parallels in other texts show s, because no pronoun follows agnes tejasā sūryasya. MS KS AB TB TA) They show that the schools of RV, AV, VS, and TS follow fairly well the rules of the Prātišākhyas to their respective Samhitās To be sure, only one case happens to concern RV, and that is exceptional in showing s, but the RV school texts show 12 cases of s to 1 of s AV shows 4 of s to 1 of s, and its school texts 3 to 0 VS has 17 to 2, and other Vāj texts (incl VSK) 22 to 1 TS, on the other hand, is unanimous for s (24 cases), and so are its school texts (28 cases) This is the only school which, on the evidence of the variants, overwhelmingly prefers s but KS also has 14 of s to 8 of s SV itself has

only one instance (of s), and its school texts have 2 of each MS is as unanimous for s as TS is for s (20 cases, and 16 from MS and MG) Summarizing the schools of RV, AV, VS, and MS regularly write \$, that of TS always, and KS usually, s, the variants from SV are indecisive

\$958. There follows the list of variants, all before pronouns

ansur-ansus te (TS KS ApS °sus te) deva somā pyāyatām VS TS MS

KS AB GB SB AS SS Vait LS ApS MS agnis te 'gram (MS agnis te agram) TS MS

agnis ie tanvam . MS agnis te tanuvam (KS tanvam) TS KS TB

ApS agnis te tvacam VS SB KS TS TB JB ApS AS MS agnis le tejo agnis te tero agnis te (TS agnis te) 'dhipatih VS TS MS KS SB agnış tvābhı (TS agnış tvā°) pātu. VS TS MS KS SB agms tvā (TS KS agms tvā) śrīnātu VS TS MS KS SB agnıs tvā (MS agnış tvā) hvayatı TS MS KS TB

MS. agnış tān (AV tān, TS TA [but not KS †] agnis tian agre

AV TS KS TA agnıs tān) agre

agneş tvā (KS ApS agnes tvā) tejasā sādayāmı VS MS KS SB ApS KS MS.

ts ms ks mš agnez įvā (TS KS. agnes tvā) mātrayā agnes tvāsyena (TS ApS. agnes tvā°) VS VSK TS GB \$B KB

SS LS ApS adıtış te (TS KS TA Ap\$ °tıs te) VS TS MS KS SB TA Ap\$

KS MS

adılış lvā (TS KS ApŠ [but not MŚ †] "lıs lvā) VS TS MS KS SB Aps MS KS

avatatya dhanuş tvam (TS KS NilarU "nus tvam) VS TS MS KS

MŚ NilarU topāya mā (VāDh mām) sevadhis te (N °dhiş te) VāDh ViDh N lābhrş (vam (KS TA tābhrs tvam) ubhayībhrh samvidānah MS KS TA ebhis tvam putram janaya SG tais tvam putram (putran) vindasva

AV ApMB dyauş įvā (ŚŚ dyaus te) priā prihwī mālā AV ŠŚ VS SB MS MS prajāpalis tvā sā° orajāpairs ivā sādayatu

TS TB TA Ap\$ KS rajāpates tvā (MŠ °teş įvā) prānena TB ApS MS RV SV rabhos te (SV °bhos te) †satah AV TS KS ApS bahıs te (AV KS bahış te) astu VS VSK TS ŠB TB rhaspaies ivā (TS TB °ies ivā)

brhaspatış tvā (TS KS ApŚ °tıs tvā) sumne VS TS MS KS ŚB. ApŚ MŚ

brhaspatış tvā (SMB HG °tıs tvā) nıyunaktu . AG ŚG. SMB HG MG

brhaspatış tvā (TA °tıs tvā) vıśvaır . MS TA. brhaspatış tvā (TS ApŚ °tıs tvā) sādayatıı . TS MS ApŚ MŚ brhaspatış tvopasīdatı (TA ApŚ °tıs tvo°) MS TA ApŚ MŚ manoş tvā MS KŚ. MŚ: manos tvā . KS TB ApŚ varūtrīs tvā . VS ŚB varutrīs tvā . KS

vāyuş †tān (MŚ tan, KS ṭān, TS TA vāyus tān) agre . AV TS KS TA MŚ

vāyuş te (TS vāyus te) 'dhipatih VS TS MS
vāyuş te (TS vāyus te) vājin yuñ TS KSA
vāyuş tvābhipātu (TS vāyus tvā'). VS TS MS KS ŚB
śwebhir arcībhiş tvam (TS. "bhis tvam) VS TS MS KS ŚB
santus tvā (AG ŚG "tuş tvā) prasava. VS ŚB KŚ AG ŚG
svadhitis te (ŚG "tış te) pitā VS ŚG ApMB

FINAL 8 BEFORE INITIAL k AND p

§959. Here the rules of the Prātiśākhyas ($_{\rm c}$ lPr 260 [4 14] ff , APr. 2 62ff , TPr 8 23–35, VPr 3. 10f , 20ff , especially 29, 36) give a mass of detailed prescriptions, which may be summarized thus. in compounds s (or s after non-a vowels) prevails, otherwise h (or upadhmānīya and yihvāmūlīya) But there are numerous exceptions to both parts of the rule

§960 European grammarians have added practically nothing (cf Macdonell 78 2, c) Wackernagel I §286c, β , note, thinks he detects a tendency for the ending of the first part of an amredita compound to be made like that of the second part, so as to make the two exactly alike in form, where that is possible

§961. Among the variant formulas we find only one which concerns an amredita, and very few others concerning compounds. They show no clear tendency to be treated differently from uncompounded words, but in view of the traditional distinction just mentioned, we shall list them separately. The sole amredita noted is the following.

paruṣah-paruṣas (KS paruṣas-paruṣas, TS TA MahānU paruṣah-paruṣah) parī VS TS MS KS ŠB TA MahānU Note that in the VS and MS schools the final sound is dissimilar in the two parts of the compound, altho a p follows in both cases, and that the distinction made by these schools is exactly the reverse of that laid

down in the Pratisakhyas, namely: we find h in the prior member, s in the last member. VPr. 3.36 mentions this as an exception; likewise TPr. 8.33, which states that h remains in compounds when the following vocable contains s or dh, covers the case; this might be regarded as a kind of dissimilation, but is probably merely an artificial rule made up to cover actual occurrences.

§962. The other compounds noted are the following (in the first the s is preceded by a, in the others by i or u):

sādyaskrīš ... ApMB.: sadyaḥkrīš ... ŚG.

śociękeśam (MS.* śocih°) purupriya RV. VS. TS. MS. (both) KS. unahūto bhūvasi haviskarane (MS. havih°, but p p. haviş°) MS. AS. SS.:

bhūyasi haviskarana upahūlah (TB.*°tā) TS. TB. ŠB.

āvukrd āyuhpainī ... Ap\$.: āyuşhīd āyuşpainī ... AV.

§963. In uncompounded words, contrary to the statements of the Prātišākhyas, the variants indicate if anything that s or s is commoner in most texts than h. Perhaps, however, the numbers are not sufficiently large to justify such an inference The Taittiriya school, to be sure, seems definitely to prefer h, especially after a-vowels; but most other schools show a majority for s or s in both groups (curiously, and perhaps by mere accident, the Maitrāyanīya school shows a majority for s after a-vowels, but for h after others). We give the lists for what they are worth, separating the two classes The statistics for all occurrences among the variants—including the few cases of compound words mentioned above—are as follows:

попец above are	20 10-11-1					
	After a	After a-vowels		After non-a-vowels		
	ķ	E	Ý	ş	s (dental)	
RV.	7	9	3	12		
RV. school	5	12	1	2		
SV.	5	4	3	2		
SV. school	1	3	1	3		
AV.	4	7	1	8		
AV. school	ō	4	0	1		
_	3	15	5	7		
VS.	3	16	4	8		
VS. school	21	2	2	4		
TS.	24	7	16	6	2	
TS. school	6	15	10	5	1	
MS.	2	2	5	1	1	
MS, school	9	9	5	7	1	
KS.	Ô	2	0	1		
Others	U	2				

	After	After a-vowels		After non-a-vowels	
	h	8	h	8	s (dental)
Total RV. school	12	21	4	14	
Total SV. school	6	7	4	5	
Total AV. school	4	11	1	9	
Total VS. school	6	31	9	15	
Total TS school	45	9	18	10	2
Total MS school	8	17	15	6	2
Total all texts	90	107	56	67	5
Total all minus TS school	45	98	38	57	3

1. The s is preceded by an a vowel

§964. Here s remains in a majority of variants in all schools except that of the Taittiriyas, the latter is nearly unanimous for h Besides the two cases concerning compounds (§§961f), the following occur. somah (SV somas) pati rayīnām RV. AV SV.

sa no dwā sa rīṣah (VS MS. rīṣas) pātu naktam RV. AV. VS TS MS KS TB

śam nas (RV nah) karato aświnā RV. TB ApŚ

manyāsai šam ca nas (TS nah) kīdhi VS TS. MS. KS AŠ ŠŠ. N.

devīh (dawīh) şad...uru nah (nah) kṛṇota RV. AV. TS. ApMB.. trayīş şad...uru †nas kṛ° KS

uru kşayāya nas (TS. nah) kṛdhi RV AV. VS VSK. TS MS. KS. SB. AS. SS.

varivas (RV. ovah) krnvan .. RV. SV.

ayam no agnır varıvas (TS KS AS. Ap\$ °vah) krnotu VS. TS MS KS SB AS Ap\$ M\$

urvī rodasī varīvas (TS. KS °vah) kī °TS. MS KS

divah (VS divas) parjanyād ... VS TS MS KS

dıvah prihwyāh pary antarıkşāt TS KS TB ApŚ dwas etc RV. AV. MS

dıvah prihıvyāh pary oja udbhrtam VS TS KSA. dıvas etc RV. AV. Vait Kaus

dwah prşiham svar (suvar) . TS MS KS: dwas etc AV. VS SB dwas (SV dwah) prşiham adhı RV SV

dıvas (SV dıvah) prşthāny AV SV.

divah (RV divas) prsiham (PB °ihe) . . . RV PB TA Ap\$

abhı prıyā dıvas padā (SV. dıvah kavıh) RV. SV.

agne tvam sūktavāg...dvas (TS TB dvah) prthivyoh TS. (fragment) MS SB. TB. AS SS parameşihî tıā sādayatu dwah (VS. SB. dwas) prsthe...VS TS MS KS SB ApS

śrnihi viśvalah prati RV.: Jśrnāhi viśtalas pari SV. Add to VV I §275 girir na viśvalas (SV. °lah) prihuh. . RV. AV. SV.

yalhā nah śreyasas (TS °sah) karat VS TS MS. KS. SB. LS

yathā no vasyasas (TS °sah, LŚ. vasīyasas) karat VS TS MS KS. SB LŚ.

viśvābhyo mā nāṣṭrābhyah (VS.† SB PG † °bhyas, MS. danṣṭrābhyas) pāhı (TS TB pāta, PG. parɪpāhı . . .) VS. TS MS SB. TB TA PG.

yeşām apsu sadas (TS ApMB sadah) krtam VS TS SB. NilarU ApMB † 2 17.6c

mitrās (RV mitrah) pānty adruhah RV. SV.

prthwyāh samprcas (TS TB ApS °cah; VS SB. samsprsas) pāhi VS. TS MS SB TB. ApS AS.

nānā hi vām devahitam sadas (TB ApS sadah) kītam VS MS. KS AB. SB. TB ApS AS.

diva oşadhayas (TS. 'yah) pari RV. VS TS. MS.

ubhe ca no (etc)...añhasah (MS ŚB.† AŚ. °sas) pālām (TB Conc syālām, Poona ed. añhasaḥ spālām!; AŚ. text, †añhasa syālām) MS ŚB. TB. AŚ. ŚŚ

ındrah (SS ındras) patis ... AV. AA SS

ıdāyās (Ap\$ ıdāyāh) padam...AV. AS. Ap\$ MS SMB. Vait Kauš apah (TS. TB Ap\$ apas) pinva VS TS. MS. KS. SB TB. K\$ Ap\$.

MS. Note the perverseness of the Tait texts in reading s, contrary to their usual rule, against all other texts!

agne trātar rias (SV. riah) kavih RV. SV.

pūsādhvanah (VS. KS ŠB °nas) pātu VS TS MS KS ŠB ApŠ prāņasya tvā ...tanuvah (MS tanvas) pāh MS TA prattu brahmaņas (MŠ °nah) patnī TS ApŠ MŠ. san morvīr anhasas (ŠŠ. °sch) pāntu ...ŠB AŠ ŠŠ ApŠ

2. The s is preceded by a non-a vowel

§965. Here the variants are less numerous, and there seems to be a larger element of chance. In general, however, ε prevails The dominance of h in the Tait school is less marked; TS itself has only half a dozen variants, a majority of which happen to contain ε . More curious is the fact (which may be accidental, since the total number of cases is not very large) that the Maitr. school this time favors h, the after a-vowels it shows a majority for ε . Nevertheless, in the three

variants where the preceding vowel is an r-vowel, MS alone shows s. other texts h These all concern the single form nrn, acc plur of nr. the vowel \bar{r} alters the s across the intervening nasal which becomes anunāsīka (cf §940 above)

hotā vaksad usāsānaktā . nrnh (MS nrns) patibhyo .. MS KS TB hotā yakşan narāšansam nṛšastam nrīnspranetram (TB. nrīnh°) MS TB nīnh (MS nīns) pāhi RV SV VS. MS) KS ŠB.

\$966. Anomalously, dental s is preserved without change in two variants, both times before a form of root kr (does the form skr exercise an influence here?)

supropalā osadhīs (ApŚ °dhīh) krdhi MS KS ApŚ MŚ.

sam agnir agnibhis (RV °bhih) karat RV. TB ApS

8967. Resides these and the cases concerning compounds (above. §962), we find the following variants:

dyauh (RV. dyaus) pilah pṛthin mātar adhruk RV MS. TB.

dyauh pitā... TB Ap\$: dyaus pitā .AV.

duauh pretham prihivī šarīram ŠŠ 10 17 4 (as two separate mantras): dyaus prstham antariksam . . SB KS

upahūto dyaus (TB. ApŚ. dyauh) pitā VS ŚB TB. ApŚ

upa mām dyaus (TB ApS dyauh) priā hvayatām VS SB, TB, ApS. nuotis (MS LS nuotih) pasuanta (MS o tā) uttaram RV MS KS ChU.

ΙŚ

yyotis (SV. otih) pasyanti vāsaram RV. SV KS yas tānī veda sa pitus (VS and most mss of AV pituh) pitāsat AV. VS: yas tā vyānāt sa mtus (TA. savituh) miāsat RV. AV TA N: vas tad veda savituh (MahānU sa pituh) pitāsat TA. MahānU

aham id dhi pitus (MG. pituh) pari RV AV SV Vait MG

sa idhāno (KS ms edho, ed. emends) vasuş (MS vasuh) kanh RV SV. VS TS. MS. KS.

havış (HG MG havıh) krnvantah parıvatsarīnam (HG † SMB.† °nām, MG "yam) AV SMB ADMB HG MG

yasya dvārā manus (SV manuh) pitā RV SV.

mītyoh (VSK. °yoş) pāhi VS. VSK MS KS ŠB MŠ

citrah śiśuh (MS śiśus) pari ... RV. VS. TS. MS. KS ŚB

āyoh palmane svāhā KS.: āyos palvane svāhā ApS

āviş (MS āvih) krnuşva davvyāny agne RV VS TS, MS KS

apālām . triş (ApMB MG trih) pū° RV. AV. JB. ApMB MG. parne vo vasatıs (TS MS °tıh) krtā RV. VS TS MS KS SB

nıh kravyādam nudāması (MS nudasva) AV MS · nış kravyādam sedha VS TS. KS SB TB ApS: ms kravyādam anīnasat RV. AV. MG. [szēdus (AV. °duḥ; but most mss., SPP., and Whitney °duş) kilāyam madhumān vtāyam RV. AV. AB. Apš.]

ALTERATION OF TINAL T BEFORE & AND D

1968. Among the variants occur only three padas belonging here, and they all concern the word exarpati. This occurs in that form in RV. (three times), AV. and KS. (once each), while in SV. (three times) and PB. (once) it occurs in the form scalpati. This accords with RPr. 258 (4.12), which requires exar before any voiceless sound in composition (otherwise i). APr. ignores the case, which does not come within its purview since it occurs in Book 20, which the Pr. does not treat. The padas are:

yuvam hi shah svarpati (SV. PB. srahpati) RV. SV. PB. dātrasyāgne svarpatih (SV. srahpatih) RV. SV. KS. srahpatir yadi trāhe SV.: srarpatih yad īm trāhe RV. AV.

FINAL & BLYORE INITIAL SIBILANT (NOT FOLLOWED BY A CONSONANT)

§969. In this case RPr. 251, 253 allows either h or retention of the sibilant, except in cases where the initial is altered to s by the influence of a non-s vowel preceding the final s, in which case the final s must be assimilated to s. A violation of this rule is permitted in Aufrecht's edition and Müller's edition princeps in the first variant quoted below, nilsaharano...; Müller's editions of 1873 and 1877 read nissah' in accordance with the Pr. rule. VPr. 3. 8 i. quotes opposing views of different authorities and does not decide between them; according to Weber the mss. of both VS. and VSK. generally write h. APr. 2. 40 requires assimilation of the sibilant, but according to Whitney the mss. of AV. generally write h, and the edition usually follows them. TPr. 9. 2 also requires assimilation of the sibilant, but Whitney says that the mss. of TS. generally write h, and this practice Weber seems to have generalized in his edition.

§970. The few variants recorded in the Concordance indicate that in most texts s in these circumstances appears as h, whether absolutely final or in compounds. In KS, however it is always retained or assimilated, according to Von Schroeder's edition (cf. his Einleitung, p. XII): the Concordance rarely takes note of this habit of KS, and it has not seemed worth while to collect such cases here. Among the variants, the RV, retains or assimilates the sibilant in about half the cases (five in all); but in several of these Müller prints h instead. According to the Concordance (based on the Bibl. Ind. edition), TB, also

retains the sibilant three times; but in all of these the Poona ed. has h. ApMB. also retains or assimilates the sibilant (see Winternitz, p. xlviii); but again the Concordance usually ignores this. All other texts would seem to write h. [But it is impossible to say how much this is due to editorial systematization on the one hand, and on the other to the failure of the Concordance to record readings with the sibilant, which evidently did not seem to Bloomfield worth recording when he was preparing the Concordance. In this opinion I agree with him; and I consider the following list of variants of extremely slight value. F. E.]

§971. The following variants have been noted:

nıhşahamano (SV. nışşa') yamate nayate RV. SV. On the RV. reading see the preceding paragraph

vakşahsu (RV. vakşassu; but Muller °hsu) rukmā upašišrīyānāh RV. MS. TB.

vardhanam purunışşıdhe (SV. onihşidhe) RV. SV.

prisutūrsu śravassu (AV. and Müller's RV. hsu) ca RV AV.

vrṣā na kruddhah patayad rajassv (AV. and Müller's RV. °hsv) ā RV. AV.

havır havışşu vandyah (SV. havıhşu †vandyah) RV. SV.

křivanta (TB. priyā ta) ā barhih (KS.† TB. °his, but TB Poona ed °hih) sīda RV. AV. KS. TB.

wio aranyānih (TB. onis, but Poons ed. onih) sāyam RV. TB.

upa nah (KS.† TB. nas, but TB Poona ed nah) sūnavo girah RV. SV. VS. KS TB.

ıdam devânām ıdam u nah (KS. idam nas) saha TS. MS KS. TB. ApS MS.

satyā eşōm (AG etā) āśiṣah (ApMB. °ṣas) santu . . . VS. VSK. AG. SMB Kauś ApMB. HG.

FINAL S BEFORE SIBILANT PLUS CONSONANT

§972. RPr 255 (4. 12) prescribes the dropping of the s before sibilant plus surd consonant. So also VPr. 3. 12 TPr. 9. 1 quotes a rule of one teacher to the same effect, the comm. and Whitney regard this as intended to be binding, and according to Whitney the mss. of TS. generally follow it APr contains no such prescription, but the AV. mss. observe the practice in a majority of cases, and Whitney says that it has been observed uniformly in the Berlin edition (see his note on APr. 2 40). This appears to be not quite true; cf. the variants hotrandah stomatastaso ... AV. 18 3 47b, and madhvah scotanty ... AV. 20. 88. 3d

§973. None of the Prātišākhyas authorize the dropping of final s before sibilant plus sonant consonant; but the comm. on TPr. 9 1 says that 'some' prescribe the dropping even then.

1. Final s before sibilant plus surd consonant

§974. The usage varies somewhat arbitrarily in manuscripts and editions, and it is not always clear to what extent editors have been guided by the actual readings of the mss Aufrecht's edition of RV follows the Prātisākhya rule, dropping s before sibilant plus surd; but Müller's edition always prints h, at least in the variant padas, and we believe otherwise Benfey's edition of SV. is apparently not wholly consistent, of the two variant padas noted, one drops the s, theother reads h. On AV see above, \$972 In TS, Weber's edition apparently always drops the s: at least the variants record no contrary case same is true of Weber's edition of VS. Von Schroeder's edition of MS always prints h; but the editor tells us (Einleitung to Vol 1, p XLII) that this was done in defiance of his mss, which generally follow the custom of most texts and drop s. On MS. and MG cf. Knauer, Emleitung to MG, p xxxvm, it appears that the mss. of these texts vary greatly, but that Knauer undertook to print h generally; among the variants we have noted only one case where he failed to do so, yas te drapsa skandati MS 2 4. 3. 29a. The mss. of KS usually, and von Schroeder's edition apparently always, keep the final sibilant, assimilating it to a following palatal or lingual sibilant; in most cases the Concordance ignores this habit of KS, quoting its readings with h like those of MS

§975. Most other texts seem usually to drop the s, at least in the repeated mantras. But evidently the mss of many of them are inconsistent. It will be noted, in our list of variants, that TB especially varies, seemingly at random, and that the Bibl. Ind. and Poona editions are often at variance on the point. SS likewise shows a number of cases of h where other texts drop the sibilant. Instructive is the repetition in the same text of SG. of the mantra mā no hinsīh (hinsī) sthauram., with and without h; we must assume that so careful an editor as Oldenberg followed his mss. in both cases, and he reports no v l to either

§976. [In recording the variants on this point, I have taken the liberty of applying certain paribhāṣā rules. It would certainly have been futile to record individually all the cases in which Von Schroeder and Knauer insert h in MS, MS, and MG against the evidence of their mss.

Likewise in the case of KS there would be no point in recording every occurrence of the retained or assimilated sibilant, altho in this case the editor appears to have followed the general custom of his mss. The Concordance itself, as stated above, usually ignores this habit of KS When, therefore, in the following list, a variant is stated to be found in MS, MS, MG, or KS, it is to be understood, in default of statement to the contrary, that the printed editions of the three first-named texts read h, and that of KS reads s (or s, s when these sibilants follow). Likewise in quotations from the RV, it is to be understood that the form quoted, without sibilant or h, is found in Aufrecht's edition, while Muller's edition in every case reads h - I would add that in view of the evidently arbitrary way in which this matter is treated both in mss. and by editors generally. I cannot attribute very much significance or importance to the variants recorded -F El

§977. The list of variants concerning final s before sibilant plus surd—to be interpreted in accordance with the paribhāsā just stated— 18 as follows.

pra tad vișnu (TB Poona ed vișnuh; AV † vișnu; SS [pratika] † pra tad visnur ili] stavate. . RV. AV VS MS KS. SB TB AS. ApS. SS NrpU

ya (ŚŚ yah) strīnām ... VS TS KSA. ŚŚ

usno (TB usnoh) stupo (stūpo) 'st VS TS MS KS SB. TB Aps. MS. vişno (TB vişnoh) sthānam ası VS TS MS KS SB. TB. ApS. MS

samsrāvabhāgā (or, samsrava°, TB. °bhāgāh) sthesā... VS TS MS KS SB TB MS

huta (TB hutah) stokah TS MS KS TB ApS MS

hotrāvida (AV. vidah, TB vrdha, Poona ed. vrdhah) stomatastāso . . . RV AV. MS TB.

uprca (TB Poona ed 1 3 3 6 °cah) stha VSK KS. SB. TB. (both readings) KS ApS. MS The same with samprea ...

andha sthandho... VS. SB KS. ambha (ApS ambhah) sthambho... TS. MS KS ŠŠ ApŠ MŠ MG

ā na (ŠŠ nah) stuta ... RV ŠŠ.

āyu stha ApS: āyuh stha TB

rtava (TB °vah) stha . . . VS KS. SB. TB

ındravanta (AB °tah) stuta (studhvam) AB GB. Vait

dwa (TB. dwah) ekambha° ... VS VSK KS. TS SB TB ApS.

pra va (KB. SS. vah) spad . . . RV KB SS

prohsitā (TB. Conc °tā and °tāh, Poona ed both times °tāh) stha VS. TS. MS KS TB. SB. KS MS.

balavıjñāya (SV. °yah) sihavırah...RV. AV SV. VS TS MS. KS brhadbhir vājaı (TB. Poona ed vājaıh) sihavırebhir...RV. MS. KS TB brhaspalı (TB. Conc °ti and °tih, Poona ed. both times °tih) stotram VS. MS. KS. TB

madhva (AV. °vah) &cotanty . . . RV. AV.

mā no hinsīh (and, hinsī) sthawram ... \$G (both)

mānta (ApS. māntah) sthur ... RV AV. AB JB. ApS. MS.

mā na stena...RV. KS.: mā va (TB. Poona ed. va and vah) stena ...

RV. AV. VS. TS MS. KS SB. TB.

yas te drapsa (ŚŚ. Vait. drapsaḥ; MŚ drapsa) skandat... RV VS TS KS. GB. ŚB. Vait MŚ ŚŚ.

ye devā devasuva (TB. °vah) stha . . . TS TB.

vāyava (TB. °vah) stha VS TS. MS KS. GB. SB. TB KS. ApS MS upāvava (TB °vah) stha TS. KS. SB. TB KS ApS

prānah sthah TB .: prāna sthah ApS.

stokā (TB Poons ed. stokāh) ścotanti . . RV. MS. KS. AB. TB.

subhūtakrta stha ApS.: suhutakrtah stha AS

sűryatvacasa (TB. Poona ed °sah) stha VS. TS MS KS SB TB MS gura (ApS. gurah) stomäsa îrate RV. AV. SV. MS ApS

cakşu (TB. cakşuh) sthat . . . TB ApS

cıta (TB. cıtah) stha TS. MS. SB TB. ApS MS

cita (ApS. once out of four times, and TA twice out of three times acc to Conc.. all three times acc. to Poona ed., citah) stha pari...

VS. TS KS TA. ApS. KS.

prati tvā diva (TB. divaḥ) skambhanır vettu (TB Poona ed †vetu) TS. TB. [trınave †maruta (Cone. °tah for VS) slutāh (°tam) VS. MS. KS.] [dhruvam ası dhruvata (Conc. °tah for ApMB) sthitam ApMB. HG]

2 Final s before sibilant plus sonant consonant

§978. Here the regular usage of nearly all texts, and the prescriptions of all the Prātišākhyas, require h In KS, just as before sibilant plus surd, the final s is retained, or assimilated to an initial palatal or lingual sibilant, again, as in the preceding group, the Concordance usually ignores this, and quotes KS as reading usarga like other texts. The only text noted which regularly drops the final s is ApMB, see Winternitz's Introduction, p xivii It appears, however, that the mss of some other texts show the same dropping of s not infrequently. Especially is this true of AV; see Whitney's note on APr 2 86, and on his Translation of AV, 6 121 1 The Bibl Ind. editions of TB and TA show the dropping of s a number of times, but the Poona editions of the same

works print h in most of these cases. There is even one case in MS which seems to have eluded the editorial vigilance of von Schroeder: syonā (for syonāh, so ApŚ) syonena ghṛtena mā samukṣata, MS. 4. 2 5. Otherwise the variants which show lack of h are rare and sporadic

- §979. [Again, as in the preceding section, the following list is to be interpreted with two paribhāṣā rules, viz: 1 KS. always retains or assimilates the sibilant, tho this fact is usually not recorded in the Concordance.—2 Variants in which the sibilant is dropped in ApMB alone are excluded from the list, since this dropping takes place universally in that text—F. E].
- §980. The variants of final s before sibilant plus sonant consonant are as follows:
- svapnah svapnādhikarane RVKh.: svapna svapnābhikaranena AV. The latter is to be understood with svapna(h) nom., not voc.; Edgerton, AJP 35 438ff.
- medasah (VSK. °sa) svāhā VS. VSK. MS TB
- yā devy asīstake prānadā ... cakṣurdāś (ApŚ. °dā) śrotradā ... dyaurdās (ApŚ. °dā) svardāh ... KS. ApŚ : yā devy asīstaka āyurdāḥ ... cakṣurdāh śrotradāh MS.
- samjñānam nah (TB. na, but Poona ed naḥ) sve° ... RVKh AV. MS. KS. TB
- ādityebhyaḥ preşya...mahasvasarasya (MŚ mahaḥ sva°)...ŚB. MŚ. ApŚ. See Knauer's note, and pw., Addendum to Vol. 5, s v. mahasvasara.
- avidahantah (TB. °ta) śrapayata TB. ApŚ. MŚ.
- uşasah śreyasīh-śreyasīr dadhai ApŚ uşasa śreyasī-śreyasīr dadhat TB. Conc , but Poona ed as ApŚ
- jyog ajītā (MŚ. jīvā, SMB jītā, but Jörgensen ajītā) ahatāh (SMB. °tā) syāma TS KS MŚ. PG SMB
- śrotrapāh (AŚ °pā) śrotram ... TS MS AB AŚ.
- svar (TS. ApS. suvar) na (TS ApS na) gharmah (ApS.* ma) svāhā VS. TS KS SB ApS. (both)
- stutah (TB stuta, but Poona ed stutah) kravasyann . . . RV. MS. KS. TB. syonāh (MS. °nā) syonena ghrtena mā samuksata MS ApŠ
- supānih (TA °ni, but Poona ed °nih; ŠŚ subāhuh) svangurih VS TS. MS. KS ŚB TA ŚŚ
- citih (TA. °ti, but Poona ed °tih) sruk MS. TA SS MS
- paro martalı paralı (ApŚ all mss , and TB Conc. para, but TB. Poona ed. paralı) śvā VS TS MS KSA TB. ApŚ MŚ
- pary āvarte duşvapnyāt (KŚ duhşva°, v l duşva°) AV. KŚ See Whitney's note on 6 121 1c for the spelling of this word in the AV. mss.

duşrapnyam duritanı nıh (AV. *ni) şvāsmat AV. (both). Whitney, however, would read nih in both places—with the Prātisākhya, but against nearly all the mss

duşvapnahan duruşyaha (Poona ed. duşsvap° duruşşaha) TA . duhsvapnahan duruşrahā MahānU Cf preceding two

aklonā (AV. comm. akro°) aŭgair ahrutāh (TA aklonāŭgair ahrtā, Poona ed ahrutāh with v. 1° lā) svarge AV TA.

snuṣā sapainā (TB. conin. and Poons ed. text *nāh) śvaśuro 'yam astu (AŚ 'ham asmi) TB AŚ sapaināh, nom pl mase (1), seems to be intended in both

INITIAL S VARYING WITH &

§981. Nothing approaching general rules on this subject comes out of the Prätikäkhyas (RPr. 318 (5 1) ff, APr 2 96 ff, TPr 6 1 ff, VPr. 3 58 ff) The variants hardly throw much new light on the excellent treatment in Wackernagel, I §§204-7 In practically every case the altered s is preceded by an 1 or u vowel; TS reads rksama for rksama of other texts (§985), and in a few cases s appears after avowels, always owing to the influence of analogy from other words where an 1 or u vowel occurred (§984) Visarga after 1 or u does not interfere with the alteration. Wackernagel I p. 237, bottom.

§982. In compound verbs the change was regular in all texts (Wackernagel I §204), and we find no variants except one or two compounds of the copula (§987), and except forms where the augment intervenes between the altering sound and the initial s In these latter cases s is extremely rare in RV, but becomes common in the other Samhitas (Wackernagel I §205a), two of our variants show s under such circumstances for RV. s (§983). The largest group of variants concerns noun compounds Here the conditions are confused, the change is quite common, yet by no means universal, in all periods of the Vedic language (Wackernagel I §206). We find in the variants no evidence of school or other tendencies; earlier s is replaced by later s and vice versa, so far as we can see quite at random. Next comes a somewhat smaller group of eases in which 'light words', monosyllables or forms of the copula, are concerned Lingual s in these is common in the RV, but relatively rare later (Wackernagel I §207), accordingly we find that in most of our variants a later text substitutes s for earlier (generally RV) 8; but the reverse is also found (§987) Finally, there are a very few sporadic cases of longer uncompounded words, in these the change is very rare in post-Rigvedie language, yet our variants show at least one case of s in TB substituted for s of RV. (§988)

§983. The following are the variants concerning augmented forms of compound verbs. As stated above, there are no other variants of compound verbs except a few of the copula, see §987.

vy astabhnā (VS SB askabhnā, MS askabhnā, KS astabhnā, TS. askabhnād, TA. astabhnād) rodasī . RV. VS VSK TS MS. KS. SB TA

ād id dhotāram ny asādayanta (TB aṣā°) RV VS TB.

abhy asthām (TS KS Ap\$ asthād, MS asthām) nisvāh prtanā arātīh AV TS MS KS M\$. Ap\$.

tena dasyūn vy asahanta devāh TS KS : tena devā vy aşahanta satrūn AV yasmād bhīṣā nyaṣadah (ŚŚ nyasadah) TB. ŚŚ ApŚ

§984. Coming to noun compounds, we mention first the few anomalous cases in which an a vowel precedes, so that the change to s is irregular. Four of them contain the Rigvedic words prianāṣah (°ṣāh, °ṣāhya), which are several times changed in later texts to the more regular °sah etc. Whitney's statement (Grammar, 186a) about this form is not correct, as the variants show. The s is evidently due to the analogy of compounds like śatrāṣah, bhūrṣah, abhīṣah etc.—The only other case contains the TS form saṣtubh, which is obviously analogous to triṣṭubh, anuṣṭubh, as noted by Wackernagel I §206b:

samstup (TS saştup) chandah VS TS MS KS SB.

ā vīram prtanāşaham (SV °saham) RV AV. SV.

tam agne prtanāşaham (TS °saham) RV. TS.

prianāṣāhyāya (TB °sāhyāya) ca RV AV. VS TB.

uccarrvān prianāsāi (HG °sāham) RVKh HG

§985. Twice in the same passage of TS occurs the stem rksama, for rksama of the others; this is the only case where the alteration is due to a preceding k (cf Wackernagel I p 237, top):

jagatyā rksamam (TS rksamam) VS TS MS KS.\$B rksamāc (TS rksamāc) chukrah VS TS MS KS \$B.

§986. The remaining cases concern a preceding ι or u or diphthong In GB 1 5 25d, quoted in Conc as viskandham enam vidhriam prajāsu, Gaastra reads viskandham visriam

abhwīro abhrsatvā (KS °şatvā) sahojāh (AV MS † KS sahojīt) RV. AV SV. VS TS MS KS Many mss of AV, followed by the comm and SPP 's ed., also read abhrsatvā

stotā me goşakhā (SV. gosakhā) syāt RV AV, SV

pṛthiniṣadam (MS pṛthinī°, VS † °sadam) tvāntarikṣasadam (VS † adds, divisadam devasadam). VS TS. MS KS. ŚB TB deva santah susāntram (ApŚ suṣāv°) ...PB KŚ ApŚ.

rayısthano (AV. oşthano) rayım asmasu dhehi RV. AV. susamiddho (RV, susa°) na ā vaha RV, SV PB, LS. susamiddho (KS TB. susa°) varenyah VS MS KS. TB. susamiddham (TB. suşa°) varenyam VS TB susadam (ŠŠ. susalvam) id gavām . AV. ŠŠ. ye trışaptah (MS. trıs°) parıvantı AV. MS trișaptāso (TB. tris°) marutah . AV TB

utkülanıkülebhyas trısthınam VS: utkülankülabhyam trısthınam TB. amba nispara (TS. Ap\$ nisvara, KS nisvara, MS nismara) VS. TS.

MS. KS SB. Ans In VS SB. divide ms-para; the rest belong here.

somanetrebhyo...uparısadbhyo (VSK °şadbhyo) ..VS. VSK. SB ye devāh somanetrā uparısado (VSK. °sado) . VS VSK SB · ye devā uparisado (KS ° das) . MS KS.

vrajam gacha gosthānam (VS SB TB gosthānam, but TB. Poona ed ostho) vs. Ts ms ks sb. Tb Aps. Ms

krsnagrīvah tritkakso 'nnsakthas (MS 'sakthas) ta aindrāgnāh VS MS. añnsakthāya (KSA † °şakthāya) svāhā TS KSA

duşvapnahan duruşyaha (Poona ed duşsvapo duruşşaha) TA duhsvapnahan durusvahā MahānU.

5987. Next we come to the group of monosyllables or forms of the copula. In one or two of these s of RV. is replaced by s in a later text: druhah pāšān (TS KS. pāšam) prati sa (KS sū) mucīsta RV. TS. MS KS.

apo su (MS. su) myaksa . . . RV. MS

But in most of them the change is in the opposite direction: kīdhī sv (TS. sv) asmān .. RV TS MS KS

prati sma (SV. sma) deva rīsatah (SV nº) RV SV MS KS TB

prati sma (AV. sma) raksaso daha (AV jahi) RV AV.

asti hı şmā (TS MS KS. astu sma) te suşmını avayāh RV. VS TS. MS.

KS. SB. vayam ghā te apı sması (SV. smasi) RV SV. anupūrvam vatamānā vati stha (AV stha) RV AV. divi şañ (AV şan, SV san) chukra atalah RV AV SV dwn sad (RV. sad) bhūmy ā dade RV SV VS

ūtī şa (SV. sa) brhato dıvah RV SV.

parı şya suvāno akşāh RV . parı sya svāno akşarat SV. cf parı sya suvāno avyayam RV.

tasmād āpo anu sthana (TS sthana) AV. TS MS. KS. §988. Finally, we come to the few sporadic cases of longer uncompounded words. Note that in the first a later text introduces s where RV, has s:

trīni šatā trī sahasrāny (TB. şa°) agnım RV. VS. TB.

ye apsu şadānsi (KS. 'psu sadānsi) cakrire MS KS.: tesām apsu sadas kṛtam RVKh.

apsu dhautasya te deva soma (TS. tr soma deva te) nrbhih stutasya (KS. nrbhis stu°, TS. PB. nrbhih sutasya)...TS MS KS. PB. The mss of MS. read nrbhi, which von Schroeder as always (cf. §974) changes to nrbhih; but the presence of final h, as noted above, would have no influence here in any event

pari bhrātuh pari şvasuh HG. ApMB.: pari mātuh parı svasuh PG vāyo ve (TS. ApŚ vīhi) stokānām (VSK °nām juşānah, KS. stokānām) VS. VSK. TS. SB. ApŚ. KS † 3. 6 (with †ve, not veş).

SECONDARY CRASIS, AND HIATUS

- §989. Secondary crasis or double sandhi occurs rarely among the variants Most of the cases quoted below are capable of different morphological or lexical interpretations without assumption of double sandhi. There are however a few cases where it is clearly found, and we shall begin with one from MG, which according to Knauer (p. xxxviii f.) has it quite frequently:
- dhruvā strī patikule iyam (MG °kuleyam) SMB MG. In SMB, also, the v. l °kuleyam is recorded, as well as °kula iyam, which is the regular form and would seem preferable to the reading adopted by the editor, °kule iyam (with complete hiatus).
- uc chuşmā oşadhīnām (AV. chuşmauş°) RV. AV. VS TS. MS. KS. Whitney would 'probably' read chuşmā (for °māh) oş°; this is supported by Ppp, cf Whitney's note and Barret, JAOS 35. 50 f.
- viśvādītyāh [pratika] MG. This probably refers to the formula viśva (PG text †viśve, with hiatus) ādītyā vasavaš ca devāh (MG. sarve) AG. PG MG. All mss of MG (in the pratika) read viśvād°.
- sahasradhāre 'va (AV. °dhāra eva) te sam asvaran RV. AV. KS. Ap\$. Whitney, note on AV. 5 6.3, suggests that RV. stands for °dhārāh, with double sandhi. The RV pp reads °dhāre, ava Oldenberg, Noten, would read avate as one word, keeping °dhāre of p.p. The whole verse is difficult and obscure

anāmayaidhi etc , see §344.

§990. All the remaining cases permit, if they do not compel, interpretations of both forms of the variant without assuming double sandhi.

They are, however, similar enough to the foregoing to be worth quoting In this context:

ado ma agachatu ApS. ado magachatu MS KS MS. (not ApS which in 4. 13 8 reads tma aga°)—In ApS. me. in the others ma

māgadhah punscalī kitaiah klībo 'sūdrā abrāhmanās (VSK....'sūdrābrāhmanās) te prājāpatyāh VS. VSK. Two separate words in VS, a compound in VSK So also in the following; of the section on False Divisions, which contains other somewhat similar cases that might perhaps also be mentioned here

aslonā (AV. comm asro) angair ahritāh (TA aslonāngair ahritā, Poona ed. ahrutāh. v. 1 °tā) starge AV. TA 'Unmaimed in limbs', or 'with unmaimed limbs'. Of preceding

ลี่kravāvā ayooum VS.: ลี่krayāyāyogum (so Poona ed text and comm) TB. Different genders: fem in VS , mase in TB.

saha ojah (VS sahaujah; VSK sahojah) VS VSK. AB GB AS Vant In VS. VSK. saha plus ojas (on VSK.'s sandhi see §731): in the others, sahas plus ojas The latter form is probably original

yathaika rşir (KS °karşır) vijanate KS TA ApS See \$919. end yā (MS. ya) 15avo yātudhānānām VS TS. MS SB. NilarU. ApMB uesu vā uātudhānāh KS Serpents are referred to 'who are missiles of sorcerers' is certainly original, yet KS makes reasonable sense: 'either in whom are sorcerers' ... (correlative with the

following, which see). But it is clearly based on yā (or ya) isavo, mispronounced with secondary crasis

\$991. From a purely external standpoint, the variants concerning hiatus are indistinguishable from those concerning double sandhi or they may be called the converse of them In the cases of double sandhi, the form with hiatus is regular, in those we are about to give, it is irregular. A fitting bridge between the two is formed by a group of variants in which a secondary text resolves a long vowel or diphthong incorrectly, leaving a secondary hiatus, or at least one whose historicity is questionable:

ula śravasā (MS. śravasa ā) prthwīm VS TS MS TA. The p p of MS reads *śravasah*, \bar{a} ; but both meter and sense show that the MS has a stupid blunder.

yad ındra cıtra mehanā (SV. PB ma ıha na) RV. SV PB AS SS N

vasneva (KS tasna ira) mkrīnārahai VS TS MS SB AS. Since the uncombined form was a neuter nom -acc plur of an a-stem (vasna), it seems that we are to understand it as vasna (so MS pp), rather

We have, then, in KS, perhaps a case of what may be called partial sandhi, that is shortening of a long vowel before a following vowel, as in \bar{a} -r = RV etc. a-r: cf. Wackernagel I §267b for such shortenings before other vowels than r. Otherwise KS. would be a mere blunder, like MS in the preceding Cf. the next.

savatnā vācam manasā (AS. °sa) upāsatām TB AS 'His (or. mv) rivals shall obey his (or, my) word with their minds'. Both texts must intend manasa: TB. has complete hiatus, while AS. (if the text is correct: we have not much faith in the edition) shows 'partial sandhi': see under the preceding variant. The meter is against fusion.

See also the variant praty etā vāmā (sunvan) etc. §357.

\$992. The rest concern cases of complete hiatus, except in so far as they may be capable of different formal or lexical explanations will be noticed that the meter sometimes favors the hiatus, as in the variant last quoted:

bhūyo vā atah somo rāzārhati (MŚ. rājā arhati) ŚB KŚ ApŚ. MŚ. All Knauer's mss read thus for MS.; Knauer suggests pluts. The passage seems to be prose, but with hiatus as in MS it could pass for a fair jagatī pāda

pavasva deva ayuşak (RV. devayuşak) RV. SV. PB. The accent in SV. (devd) indicates a nom. form; but Benfey translates a voc. In any case SV. is secondary, and metri gr.

pāpmānam uta vāgham (SMB. vā agham) SMB. ApMB HG. Another case of hiatus for metrical reasons

ā pūşā etv ā vasu TS: ā puşţam etv ā vasu AV. Histus for metrical reasons in TS.; in AV the meter is improved without fusion.

tatra ındro brhaspatıh VS.: tatrā (SV. tatra) no brahmanaspatıh RV. SV Hiatus metri gratia in VS

tan ma (Vast mā) āpyāyatām punah GB. Vait. Not only the hiatus, but the meaning of the verb is strange in Vait. Garbe and Caland take it with active meaning, which it has according to BR. only in one epic passage (Mbh 5. 508) In GB. (with me) there is no hiatus and the verb is intransitive, both improvements But if mā be read, hiatus is necessary to give good meter.

sam tvā rınantı (Vait rnanti) LS KS Vait The hıatus in Vait may be connected with pronunciation of r as r, see §676

punantu rsayah TA MahanU. Hiatus in both forms

dawyā hotārāgna (MS. °gnā, ŠŠ hotārā agna) ājyasya vītām MS. KS. AŠ SS Probably SS stands for hotārā, not rāu, and therefore has hıatus, see §885d. For hotārāu we should expect "rāv in \$\$

achidrā usijah padānu taksuh TS: achidrosijah kavayah padānutaksisuh (see §627) KS. Keith, 'flawless abodes', as if achidra went with padā as in KS; but TS pp achidrāh, with usijah, and so comm

abhīm (SV. abhī) riasya dohanā anūsata RV. SV. Cf abhīm riasya (SV. abhy rztasya) sudughā ghrtaścutah RV. SV. On m as "Hiatustilger" see §309

vutrbhvah svadhāstu (MahānU svadhā astu) TA MahānU

\$993. With the last variant belongs the next group, all in like contexts: in them we might indeed think of nominatives of the radical \bar{a} declension (in $\bar{a}s$) varying with nominatives of the derivative \bar{a} declension in a. But the uncombined forms occur only in Tait texts. and-according to TS p.n. and TPr 5 2, 10 13, are to be regarded as uncombined forms of $-m\bar{a}$, without s.

māsi MS MS. mā asi TA ApS Likewise (in MS TA) pramā,

unmā, vimā, sammā, pratimā.

sahasrasva pramāsi (TS °mā asi) VS TS MS KS. SB The same with pratima, and sahasrasyonma.

5994. The next is different in character:

manāsı (KS manā asi) VS TS MS KS SB ApS MS N. All texts have a curious feminine stem (the gender doubtless due to attraction to parallel feminines in the context) which is supposed, no doubt correctly, to mean the same as the normal neuter manas In KS it has the form of a feminine s-stem (nom manā's) In the others it becomes an a stem

§995. The next group contains textually dubious cases:

pitaras ca upāsate (VS copā°) RVKh VS The hiatus improves the meter, but Scheftelowitz reads copasate, with all his authorities except the late Prayogaratna, which reads copa asate, with histus m a different place

yā medhā apsarāsu (MG. medhāpsarahsu) RVKh MG The meter is better, the still poor, with histus However, most of Knauer's mss read medha apso in MG, and on the other hand Scheitelowitz reads medhāpso in RVKh without report of variant; he also reads opsarassu.

devā brahmāna āgachata āgachata GB, Conc de bra āgachatāgacha-But Gaastra reads for GB agachatagachata, he tāgachata LŠ

notes a v l āgachatā āga°.

vibhur vibhāvā suşakhā (AV. sakha ā) sakhīyate RV AV. So the mss of AV, leaving sakha unaccented; SPP. follows them; the vulgate ed reads sákhā a' It seems at least possible that the AV. mss correctly

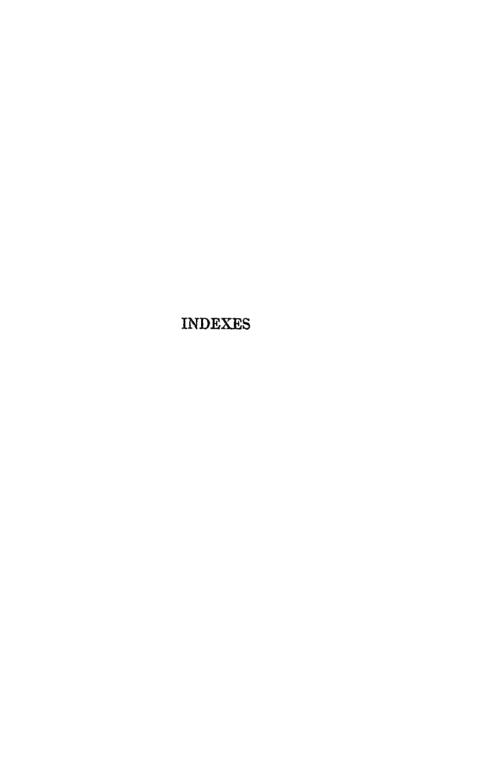
present the Atharvan tradition; the verse is addressed to Kāma, so that a vocative sakhe is conceivable. If we were to accept the vulgate text, we should have a case of histus. Whitney in his

SANDHI

Transl. assumes sákhā' (fusion of sákhā and ā').

§996. The variants concerning the pronoun sa followed by a vowel constitute a special case. Here crasis was originally the rule, but (especially in late texts) there is a tendency to approach the Classical Sanskrit rule which requires hiatus. The variants are not numerous; in some of them the meter favors hiatus, notably in the first where the RV. itself (tho it writes a combined form) seems by its meter to call for hiatus:

- semām (AV. sa imām) no havyadātīm juṣānah RV. AV. VS TS. MS. KSA. Oldenberg, Noten, thinks that RV. should probably be read sa īmām.
- agnir vidvān sa yajāi sed u hotā (AV. Kauś. sa id dhotā) RV. AV. TS MS KS ŚB. Kauś. Here both forms are metrically correct, since AV. omits the particle u.
- sa imām (ŚG. semām) devah pûşā (also aryamā, and varunah) ŚG AG SMB.
- soma āyuşmān sa oşadhībhir (PG. sauşa°) āyuşmān TS. KS PG ApMB This passage is prose. PG is hyper-archaizing





INDEX OF SOUNDS, SOUND GROUPS, AND LETTERS

Note —Here are indexed all sounds, combinations, and letters which are treated as varying from a phonetic or graphic standpoint. In so far as they have semantic significance, they are to be sought rather in the following Sanskrit Index. For example, \bar{a} as a sound, and ya as a phonetic combination (which varies with i, \bar{i} , and e), are treated here; but \bar{a} the preposition or privative prefix, and ya the suffix, are listed in the Sanskrit Index. All references in all the Indexes are to sections

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agnau

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